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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

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ART. I.—*Final Report of His Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the subject of Local Taxation: England and Wales.* Printed for H.M.'s Stationery Office by Eyre & Spottiswoode. London: 1901.

FINANCE must almost necessarily occupy a prominent position in the Parliamentary debates of the immediate future. The enormous addition which has been made to the ordinary expenditure of the country in recent years, the huge cost of the war in South Africa, and the consequent growth of taxation, must direct the attention of men of all parties to the requirements of the great spending departments and the inequalities or inadequacy of our financial system. But Imperial finance has during the last dozen years been so closely bound up with local taxation that the Legislature, in addressing itself to one subject, will find itself compelled to deal with the other. If there were no complaints of injustice from the ratepayers of the country, the necessity of revising our system of Imperial taxation would force every financial authority to consider the concurrent difficulties of local finance.

But there is a still better reason for thinking that local taxation must fill a large place in the political programme of the immediate future. Its rapid growth, the manner in which it is levied, the crushing severity with which it falls in many places on the real property on which it is a charge, combine to draw attention to the burden which it imposes. The taxpayer is hardly conscious of many of the imposts which he bears. Few men associate the cost of the cup, which they love, or of the weed, which they love more, with the requirements of internal administration or external politics. But every ratepayer knows that the sum which

he is forced to give to the rate collector is his contribution to the local authorities of his own neighbourhood. Few ratepayers, indeed, ever take the trouble to follow their money, or to ascertain whether it is wisely or unwisely spent. Still fewer consider whether they derive any corresponding benefit from the expenditure which they are called on to bear. They regard the whole system as an intolerable grievance, from which they see no possibility of escape, but of which they are ever ready to complain.

Let us add to all this that the arrangements which the present Government has made for affording temporary relief to the occupiers of agricultural land and to clerical owners of tithe rent-charge afford another reason for thinking that the question of local taxation must assume importance in the immediate future. Parliament will hardly consent to continue this relief without concurrently examining the whole subject. Neither the Opposition nor the Ministry can refuse to inquire whether other classes of ratepayers are not entitled to equal consideration with the agriculturist and the tithe owner. The Government has gone so far that it will find itself forced to go farther. The policy of doles must compel them, sooner or later, to address themselves to an examination of the whole system on which our local finance is founded, and of the manner in which it is aided by subventions from the Imperial Exchequer.

The publication of the report whose title we have placed at the head of this article removes, moreover, the only reason which Ministers might possibly have pleaded for doing nothing. Up to the present time they might fairly argue that it was their duty to wait for the conclusions of the very able Commission to which they had referred the subject. But they have now before them the views and recommendations of their own Commissioners. They have all the information which they can ever hope to obtain upon the subject. If they were right in issuing the Commission at all, they cannot refrain from some action on its report. They must consider what they shall do, and how they shall do it.

We admit, indeed, that the report of the Commission, or rather the conflicting opinions of the Commissioners, may create some difficulty. But for this difficulty the Ministers who constituted the Commission are themselves responsible. They adopted the now almost constant expedient of including in it men whose views on local taxation were known, pronounced, and opposite. They made judges of the men

who would have been admirable witnesses or advocates. The result of this arrangement was, of course, inevitable. We have a 'majority' report, signed by the bulk of the Commissioners, but with memoranda, or reservations, of dissent from five of its signatories. We have a 'minority' report, signed by two members of the Commission, with which the Chairman, who signs the 'majority' report, is obviously in close accord. We have a report on urban rating and site values, signed by five Commissioners, plainly inspired by the men who produced the minority report, and which, like the latter, is one of the most perspicuous and powerful papers which have ever been presented to Parliament; and, finally, we have a report from a single member of the Commission, which proposes changes so radical that we may dismiss them at the present time from the range of practical politics.

The expenditure of the various local authorities in England and Wales—and in this article it will be convenient to confine ourselves to this portion of the United Kingdom—amounted in 1898–9 to more than 92,000,000*l.* The debts of the various local bodies at the close of the year exceeded 276,000,000*l.* The figures with which our local budgets are concerned are therefore large enough to demand attention. They have grown with a continuous rapidity which, except during the last few years, has not been approached by Imperial expenditure.

The whole expenditure of 92,000,000*l.* is not, of course, met out of the rates on real property. Some 21,000,000*l.* of the amount was defrayed out of borrowed money. The residue was chiefly provided by rates yielding 38,600,000*l.*, and Government subventions amounting to about 12,000,000*l.* The balance was furnished by revenues arising from market, harbour, and other dues; from industrial undertakings in which municipalities have been permitted to embark; from the rents and sales of real property; and from other miscellaneous sources.

It is fair, therefore, to recollect, when we grumble at the expenditure of our local authorities, that some portion of it involves no charge on the ratepayer. It may be wise, or unwise, for municipalities to embark in industrial enterprises. But, provided these undertakings are soundly managed, the ratepayers are no poorer for paying for their gas or for their water to a municipality instead of to a company. The ratepayers ought also, in fairness, to recollect that many of the more costly services undertaken by local authorities are dis-

charged in their own direct interest, and that the expense of such services ought not to be regarded as taxation. For instance, a man dwelling in a country house usually incurs the expense of making his own drains, providing his own water, and lighting his own entrance, while the town householder expects that these duties should be performed by the local authority. These are salient examples of services, the list of which might easily be lengthened, which are 'preponderantly local in character, and confer upon ratepayers 'a direct and pecuniary benefit more or less commensurate 'with the burden.' Possibly, indeed, if the occupier of a town house took the trouble to analyse his annual expenditure, and the advantages which he derived from it, he would find that no portion of his income was spent more profitably to himself than the sum which he contributes as rates towards the cost of these and analogous services.

But if it is only fair to recollect that a considerable portion of the money which we pay as rates is spent in discharging services with which we can none of us dispense, and which the local authorities can perform more cheaply and more efficiently than we can ourselves, it is also right to admit that a large part of our local expenditure is devoted to objects in which we have no direct interest. Widely as the Commissioners differ on other points, they are agreed in distinguishing between services which are 'preponderantly 'national in character, and generally onerous to the ratepayers, and [those] which are preponderantly local;' and we cannot do better than follow the distinction which the Commissioners have thus drawn.

'The preponderantly national services,' as the majority call them—or the quasi-national services, to use the language of the minority—are defined by the latter to be those which the locality is required by the State to undertake, which are performed in the interest of the community at large, and which do not as a rule confer any direct benefit upon the individual ratepayer. They include the cost of (1) poor relief; (2) the punishment and prevention of crime; (3) asylums for pauper lunatics; (4) salaries of sanitary officers; (5) main roads; and (6) education. For the purposes of this article, however, we may exclude the sixth of these services from our list. The cost of elementary education in this country in many places throws no charge on the ratepayers, since it is supplied by the contributions of the State and the subscriptions to or endowments of voluntary schools. The objections which may be raised to this arrangement are

different in degree and in character from those which are urged to our system of local taxation. While, then, we must recollect that the burden on the ratepayers in many places, and the contributions of the Exchequer to our local expenditure, are sensibly increased on this account, it will probably be convenient to follow the example of the Commissioners themselves, and, in considering the incidence of local taxation and the methods by which its burdens may be partially shifted from the shoulders of those who now bear it, to exclude the whole question of elementary education from our inquiry.

Excluding elementary education, the cost of the preponderantly national services is estimated by Lord Balfour of Burleigh at 20,700,000*l.*, and by Sir E. Hamilton and Sir G. Murray at 20,050,000*l.** We may assume, therefore, that the cost of these services amounts to some 20,000,000*l.* or 21,000,000*l.* a year.

It might, perhaps, be plausibly argued that, when a service is 'preponderantly national,' or when, in the language of the minority, it is ordered by the State, conducted in the interests of the community at large, and confers no benefit on the individual ratepayer, strict logic should require that the whole cost should be defrayed by the National Exchequer. In one striking instance the State has acknowledged, or at any rate assumed, this obligation by taking into its own hands the management and expenses of the local prisons. But the Commissioners are unanimous in agreeing that this example cannot be carried further. It is practically impossible to transfer the task of administering even workhouses and asylums from the locality to the State. These, and other services which we have enumerated in the preceding paragraph, must continue under local management. And it is obvious that, if it is true that those who pay the

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* The two estimates may be given for convenience of reference:—

	Lord Balfour	Minority
	£	£
1. Poor relief and other services.	12,000,000	11,570,000
2. Police and crime . . .	4,600,000	4,510,000
3. Asylums	750,000	720,000
4. Salaries, sanitary officers .	250,000	250,000
5. Roads and bridges . . .	2,200,000	2,110,000
6. Technical education . .	900,000	890,000
	20,700,000	20,050,000

Final Report, pp. 73, 133.

piper may call for the tune, it is equally true that those who call for the tune must pay, at any rate, some portion of the cost of the piper. It is clear, then, that a sensible portion of the cost of services preponderantly national must continue to be borne by the locality. The most that the State can do is to make a liberal contribution to their expense.

For many years the State has recognised that it was its duty to contribute to the preponderantly national services. It has done so in various ways. For instance, it has undertaken, as in the case of the police, to contribute a definite proportion of the cost of certain services, or, as in the case of pauper lunatics, to pay a fixed annual sum towards the maintenance of each lunatic.* But since 1888, when Mr. (now Lord) Goschen revised the system, it has practically discontinued these grants, and in lieu of them assigned the produce of certain revenues to local purposes. It is on the expediency of continuing the system which Mr. Goschen thus originated that the majority and minority of the Commissioners part company.

The majority of the Commissioners have come to the conclusion that the system which was thus originated should be maintained. The minority, consisting of two eminent Civil servants, Sir Edward Hamilton and Sir George Murray, consider that it should be abandoned. Oddly enough, the Chairman of the Commission, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, signs the majority report, but agrees on this portion of it with the views of the minority. We can easily see that the preservation or extension of a system already in force must have offered many attractions to politicians desirous of choosing the line of least resistance. On no other hypothesis are we able to understand how men, who had the advantage of reading, and presumably hearing, the arguments of the minority, could have resisted the conclusions at which the minority arrived.

Let us try to state concisely an argument which ought to be read at length. In 1888 Mr. Goschen's primary object was to sever local from Imperial finance; his secondary object was to place the owners of personalty under some direct contribution to local charges. With the first object he withdrew the grants which the Exchequer had previously

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* The State also makes contributions in lieu of rates on Government property, but it does this rather in fulfilment of its local responsibilities as an owner, and not of its public responsibilities as a State.

made towards the cost of the police, the maintenance of pauper lunatics, and other services, replacing them with the produce of special taxes, like the Excise license duties, which he thought could be collected locally, or, at any rate, separated from the general revenue of the country. With the second object he rearranged both the probate and succession duties, practically assimilating these duties for Imperial purposes, but providing that probate duty, which was at that time a tax on personalty only, should contribute an additional 1½ per cent. for local purposes.

L'homme propose, mais Dieu dispose. The well-considered scheme of Mr. Goschen was never destined to be carried out in its integrity. 'The collection of the license duties has 'remained in the hands of the Imperial Government, and 'Parliament has shown no inclination to entrust local 'authorities with the power of varying the rates of duty. 'But even more destructive to Mr. Goschen's plan was the 'passing of the Finance Act of 1894, for this measure 'imposed a uniform system of death duties on personalty 'and realty alike.' Thenceforward it was impossible to contend that the unfair incidence of local taxation on realty had been redeemed by a special tax on personalty applicable to local purposes. Thenceforward, too, though the produce of certain revenues continued to be assigned to the local authorities, these grants, to all intents and purposes, were made out of the general taxation of the country. 'For 'if from the aggregate revenue of the country a given sum 'is diverted for purposes other than those of the Exchequer, 'it is clear that the deficiency so caused must, other things 'remaining the same, be made good by the imposition of 'new taxation or the retention of taxation which cannot be 'dispensed with.'

It is plain, then, that the objects which Mr. Goschen desired to accomplish have not been secured by his scheme; on the other hand, complications and anomalies which it is most desirable to avoid have been introduced into the national accounts in consequence of it; other inconveniences, which we have not the space to describe, have also resulted from it. Like the barren fig-tree, the scheme bears none of the fruit which it was expected to yield. We may safely cut it down, for it cumbereth the ground.

The first thing, then, which seems to us to be established, not, indeed, by a plurality of votes, but by superiority of argument, is that the objects which Mr. Goschen had in

view in 1888 have not been accomplished, and that consequently there is no reason for retaining the system which he then initiated. But we now approach a much more difficult and complicated portion of our inquiry. It is easy enough to vote 8,000,000*l.* or 10,000,000*l.* out of the Imperial revenue to local purposes. But it is not so easy to say how it should be allocated.

When the scheme of 1888 was originally introduced, Mr. Goschen intended that 'indoor pauperism—that is, allocation according to the proportion of indoor paupers'—should govern its distribution. But, as it was objected that such an arrangement would be unjust to those districts where relief was largely given outside the workhouse, the Government finally fell back, 'as a last resort, on allocation in 'proportion to the current grants in aid paid in 1887–8, 'notwithstanding that Mr. Goschen had already admitted 'that nothing could be more unjust than such a scheme of 'allocation.' In 1890, when the revenues assigned to the Local Taxation Account were suddenly and, as we think, unnecessarily increased by the surtaxes on beer and spirits, which were made applicable to technical education or other purposes, the same scheme of distribution was followed. 'It will be 'readily admitted that the amount of grants given fourteen 'years ago for such objects as pauper lunatics, main roads, 'and sanitary officers forms a singularly irrelevant basis for 'distributing assistance to technical education.' With similar indiscrimination 'the sum specially appropriated for 'police pensions (namely, 300,000*l.*) was divided in equal 'moieties, on no recognisable principle, between the Metro-'politan police district and the rest of England and Wales.' On the other hand, the produce of license duties was assigned to the areas in which they were collected. But this arrangement produced fresh anomalies. 'The yield of 'licences varies from 11*d.* to 3*s.* 9*d.* per inhabitant, and as 'compared with expenditure on poor relief and police the 'variation is at least from 2*s.* 1*d.* to 9*s.* 3*d.* per pound of 'such expenditure.'

This system, or want of system, has led to some singular results. Aid has been given most lavishly where aid is the least required. The wealth of a community may roughly be tested by the assessable value of the locality per inhabitant. The relief accorded can be accurately measured by the population; and the inequality which has arisen under Mr. Goschen's plan may be seen by contrasting the case of three counties, where wealth is conspicuous,

and three towns, whose inhabitants have comparatively little property.

	Assessable Value per Inhabitant, 1901			Receipts from Revenue assigned under Acts of 1885-1890, and under Agricultural Rates Act, 1896, per Inhabitant		
	£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*
Rutland . . .	7	6	0	0	10	2
Westmorland . .	6	16	0	0	7	10
Berkshire . . .	5	11	0	0	7	9
Burnley . . .	3	13	0	0	2	0
Oldham . . .	3	4	0	0	2	7
Gateshead . . .	3	0	0	0	2	4

Mr. Goschen, in introducing the Act of 1888, said, 'You 'must look to see where the shoe pinches most,' and, in flagrant disregard of this principle, relief has been granted most lavishly where the need was least, most niggardly where the necessity was sorest.

Separating themselves again, therefore, from the majority of their colleagues, Sir E. Hamilton and Sir George Murray consider that the present system of allocating the relief which the State grants to the localities must be revised. Assigned revenues, in other words, are not merely to be replaced by direct grants from the Imperial Exchequer, but the distribution of the money so granted must be made on new principles. For this purpose they adopt a scheme which is advocated by the Chairman of the Commission, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, avowedly based not merely on the 'necessity,' but on the 'ability' of each district, and they proceed to restate and re-explain Lord Balfour's proposal in language and by illustrations which make it easy to comprehend its purport.

'The first thing that has to be established is the amount which it is necessary to expend on national services locally administered; and the best means of ascertaining that amount is to take the minimum sum per head of the population, for which the service can, under the most favourable circumstances, be performed. This minimum would represent the standard expenditure, and the amount by which the actual expenditure exceeds it would represent the excess expenditure. Towards the minimum or standard expenditure it may be presumed that the State might contribute without any fear of abuse, and to this the Exchequer grant should be principally devoted. But, if the grant were a fixed proportion of the minimum or standard expenditure, no account would be taken of the ability of the district, as represented by its rateable value, to bear the burden of the remainder. A poor district would be relatively assisted no more than a rich district. Accordingly, in order to apply the correction which is rendered

necessary by the varying ability of different districts, it is proposed that a small standard rate of a given amount in the £ upon the assessable value should be assumed to be uniformly imposed; and that the amount of the State contribution to the minimum or standard expenditure should be the difference between such expenditure and the produce of the standard rate, which represents the measure of ability. The product of the standard rate would be smallest in poor districts with a low assessable value, and the contribution of the State would thus be largest where the ability to pay is least; while the product of the standard rate would be largest in rich districts with a high assessable value, and consequently the contribution of the State would be smallest where the ability to pay is greatest. The remainder of the Exchequer grant would be allocated in some fixed proportion to the excess expenditure.

'Let us now apply the scheme of allocation to poor relief and other services administered by Boards of Guardians. We find that the smallest sum for which those services are administered is about 3*s.* 6*d.* per head of the population. Accordingly, we take that sum to be the minimum or standard expenditure of guardians. The excess expenditure would be represented by the difference between 3*s.* 6*d.* and the actual expenditure per head of the population. We take 4*d.* in the £ to represent the standard rate, because a rate of that amount hardly ever produces more than 3*s.* 6*d.* per head of population, and because a rate of a smaller amount would result in giving to some of the poorer unions grants which would be too large to be consistent with prudence.

'We are now in a position to give a practical illustration of the operation of the scheme, and for the sake of simplicity we take a hypothetical case. We suppose that there is a union (A) whose population is 10,000, whose assessable value is 60,000*l.*, and whose expenditure amounts to 2,500*l.*

	£
An expenditure of 3*s.* 6*d.* per head of a population of 10,000 would amount to	1,750
And the product of 4*d.* in the £ on an assessable value of 60,000*l.* would be	1,000
Accordingly the difference, representing the primary grant towards the standard expenditure, would be	750
The total expenditure of the Guardians (less receipts in aid from local sources) being	2,500
And the standard expenditure being	1,750
The excess expenditure is found to be	750
One-third of this [it is proposed that the secondary grant should be one-third of the excess expenditure] would be	250
When the primary grant of	750
is added to the secondary grant	250
the aggregate grant would be	1,000
And as the total expenditure amounts to	2,500
The balance falling on the rates would be	1,500

'This balance of 1,500*l.* would be raised on an assessable value of 60,000*l.* by a rate of 6*d.* in the £.'

We have given at length this clear explanation of an ingenious proposal, because we are sincerely anxious that its merits should be thoroughly understood. It constitutes so great an improvement on the present system, or no system, that, if the choice lay between the system and the proposal, we could have no hesitation in advocating its adoption. It is, indeed, with some reluctance that we venture to criticise it. Yet we cannot help thinking that reasons, which it seems difficult to answer, may be advanced against its adoption as a whole; and that, much as the proposal has in its favour, it does not supply a final solution of the problem: How the subventions of the Government should be allocated. In the first place, the framers of the scheme seem to have overlooked a fact which must have a considerable influence on its fortunes. The assessable value of the country is growing faster than its population. Taking the ten years preceding 1899, and omitting fractions of a thousand, the assessable value of England and Wales rose from 150,485,000*l.* to 172,065,000*l.*, or by nearly 15 per cent.,* while the population increased from 28,763,000 to 31,742,000, or by very little more than 10 per cent. It is plain, therefore, that the assessable value of the country is growing at a faster rate than that at which its inhabitants are increasing; and it follows that the primary rate of 4*d.* will annually cover a larger and larger proportion of the sum equal to 3*s.* 6*d.* per head of the population which is to be regarded as the standard expenditure. Other things, then, being equal, it also follows that the primary (and principal) grant of the Government must tend continually to decrease. We cannot think that any scheme which involved the gradual reduction of the contribution made by the Government to the cost of local burdens, national in their character, could form the basis of a permanent settlement. This objection alone seems fatal to the adoption of the plan.

It may possibly be replied that this objection may be removed by the gradual reduction of the 4*d.* rate, so as to make its produce yield the same proportion of the standard expenditure as under the original scheme. If, for instance, the population of the typical union (A), which is now 10,000, rose in twenty years to 12,000, and its assessable value from 60,000*l.* to 78,000*l.*, the standard expenditure of 3*s.* 6*d.* a head would rise to 2,100*l.*, and a rate of 3¾*d.* in the

* The figures given in the text represent the rateable rental, not the gross estimated rental, of England and Wales. See Statistical Abstract, p. 47.

£ would produce 1,172*l.*, or very nearly the same proportion of the standard expenditure as the Commissioners contemplate. And, if the population and assessable value were growing in the same proportion in every part of the country, no doubt such a periodic correction of the proposal would enable it to be continued. But it is certain that the population and the assessable value are not growing in the same proportions everywhere, and it will not be denied that the assessable value is, on the whole, growing slower, and the population growing faster, in some of the poorer unions. But, if the rate in these unions were reduced to $3\frac{3}{4}d.$, we should be giving, in the minority's own language, 'some of 'the poorer unions grants which would be too large to be 'consistent with prudence.' We cannot, therefore, apparently accept the proposal without either contemplating (*a*) the gradual reduction of the Government grant, or (*b*) the issue of grants so large as in some cases to be inconsistent with prudent administration.

There is another though minor objection to Sir E. Hamilton's and Sir G. Murray's proposal which we ought also to notice. It is admitted that one of the evils inherent in our present system arises from the want of uniformity in the valuation of properties. The Commissioners in their first report, indeed, unanimously reported :—

'As between parishes and parishes, unions and unions, counties and counties, there is no uniformity in the system adopted for valuation. Consequently there is frequently considerable inequality in the valuation of properties of the same character in different districts, and also in the relative amount of rates paid by occupiers in different parishes in the same poor-law union. Indeed, under the present system of levying county and union rates, it is to the interest of the assessment committees to have a low valuation, and this result could be obtained by undervaluing, by neglecting to value, or by making large deductions from gross values of properties. . . . Indeed, it is clear that the authorities in the smaller areas have a positive interest in keeping their valuation low, so as to reduce their contribution towards common expenditure.'

We admit at once, that as between unions and unions and parishes and parishes the inequality may be redressed if a uniform system of valuation is established in every county, in accordance with the recommendations of the Commissioners in their first report. But, as between counties and counties, the existing inequalities seem more likely to be increased than diminished if Sir E. Hamilton's and Sir G. Murray's recommendations are adopted in their integrity. For, if a county whose valuation is low is in

future to receive a larger proportion of Government money than a county in which the valuation is high, it is almost too much to expect that the local authorities will not everywhere endeavour to reduce the assessment.

Our main objection to the minority proposal, however, is that it does not comply with the conditions of their report. If they are right in their argument that the 'onerous' services, for which they propose partly to provide out of the Imperial Exchequer, are national in their character—'national services locally administered,' as they call them in one place—if, as they imply, the contribution of the Exchequer to their cost should only be limited by the fact that 'the responsibility for raising the funds cannot be 'wholly divorced from those who administer the services,' it follows that the claim that the State should bear a substantial proportion of the cost of these services does not depend on the ability of the locality to bear the charge, but is inherent in the nature of the services themselves. If, in other words, it is right—and on this point there is practically unanimity among all the Commissioners—that the State should bear one-half the cost of the services which are preponderantly national, it does not seem fair that it should contribute nothing to their cost in a district which happens to be well off, in order that it may bear three-fifths in a district which happens to be poor.* The minority, in fact,

* It may be thought that this result could nowhere follow. But let us take the Commissioners' own illustration of a union with 10,000 inhabitants, and assume that the very wealthiest union (which we may call A) has a valuation of 12*l.*, and the poorest union (which we may call B) an assessment of 3*l.* per inhabitant. The figures will work out as follows:—

	Union A £	Union B £
An expenditure of 3*s.* 6*d.* per head would amount to	1,750	1,750
The produce of a 4*d.* rate would be . .	2,000	500
Primary grant	—250	1,250
The total expenditure of the guardians . .	2,500	2,500
Standard expenditure	1,750	1,750
	750	750
One-third of the sum=secondary grant .	250	250
When the primary grant	—250	1,250
is added to the secondary grant . . .	250	250
The aggregate grant would be	*Nil*	1,500
The balance falling on the rates	2,500	1,000

It is possible that the Commissioners may not intend, when the

in their laudable desire to redress the inequalities of local taxation, seem to have overlooked their own premise: that services 'preponderantly national' should be partially paid for by the State.

For these reasons we have come reluctantly to the conclusion that it is impossible to accept the proposals of the minority report in their integrity. Thoroughly as we are in accord with its authors in their criticism of the policy of assigned revenues, we cannot wholly agree with their proposals for distributing the money which we are with them in thinking that the State should contribute towards the cost of local expenditure. If, however, we reject both the report of the majority and that part of the minority report which relates to the distribution of the Exchequer grants, we must obviously frame some other scheme of allocation. We must leave the comparatively easy task of criticising the proposals of others, and embark on the much more difficult venture of devising some plan of our own.

Both the Chairman and the minority recommend that the Exchequer grants should amount to 10,025,000*l.*, or to exactly one-half the sum at which the minority estimate—as we have already seen—the cost of the national or onerous services. The grants would be as follows:—

	£
Poor relief	5,000,000
Police and crime	2,350,000
Asylums	450,000
Sanitary officers	125,000
Main roads, &c.	1,100,000
Technical education	1,000,000
	10,025,000

We venture to suggest that with respect to one of these items the State might wisely hold its hand till it had decided on some broad scheme under which technical education should be administered. With respect to the five other items, there does not seem to be any reason why the State should not grant from the Exchequer one-half the sum expended in each locality on the prevention of crime, the salaries of sanitary officers, and the repair of roads; and we have, therefore, only to consider how the sum granted in aid of poor relief and lunatic asylums should be distributed.

primary grant represents a minus quantity, to set it against the secondary grant. But the illustration will show that in certain cases the recommendation would carry with it no grant.

In considering this question, we see no reason why a recommendation of the majority report should not be taken, and the grant which was originally made to pauper lunatics in asylums should not be revived, and extended to pauper lunatics and epileptics for whom separate accommodation is made in workhouses. Such an alteration would encourage a reform, which all experts will pronounce desirable. We suggest also that two other recommendations of the majority might be adopted, and that some assistance might be given towards (1) the maintenance and education of poor-law children, and (2) the maintenance of the sick and infirm in infirmaries. These grants would, so far as we can gather, absorb—

	£
Pauper lunatics and epileptics .	1,000,000
Poor-law children . . .	450,000
Sick, &c., in infirmaries . .	470,000
	1,920,000

and would leave a balance of rather more than 3,000,000*l.* for distribution. We should see no objection, after these large sums had been allocated towards the relief of the poor-law authorities, if the balance were distributed as an equalisation grant in some such manner as has been suggested by Lord Balfour, Sir Edward Hamilton, and Sir George Murray.

We have hitherto been considering the very important question: How the burden of preponderantly national services should be distributed between the State on the one hand and the local authorities on the other. And we must now turn to another and more difficult problem, and try to determine how the money to be provided locally should be raised. Both in urban and in rural England there are constant complaints of the present system. In rural England agriculturists complain that they bear an unfair proportion of the burden of local taxation, since the rate on a farm is practically a tax on a man's whole income; while the rate on the farmer's neighbour, who is a resident or tradesman in the neighbourhood, is only a tax on that portion of his income which he pays in rent for his dwelling-house or for his business premises. Urban ratepayers complain that the whole of the rates fall on the occupier, and that the owner, who has an equal, or perhaps greater interest, pays nothing. Both in rural and urban England, moreover, there is a desire to supplement rates on real

property by taxation of some other kinds of property. We propose to consider the last claim, which, to a certain extent, is common both to urban and rural England, before we proceed to examine the separate complaints which they respectively raise.

There is no doubt that the wording of the Act of Elizabeth, on which the whole system of local rating is founded, gives some colour to the claim that all the property in the parish, and not merely the real estate, should be rated to the relief of the poor. But it must be recollected that when the Act of Elizabeth was passed there was no property except land, the buildings on it, and their contents, whether domestic articles or stock in trade. In consequence it soon became the custom 'to levy the rate in respect of the real 'property' alone. In 1839, indeed, the long-standing custom was rudely disturbed by a decision of the Court of Queen's Bench that some kinds of personalty [stock in trade] were rateable. But the decision was so far-reaching that Parliament, in the following year, interfered to prevent its being carried out. By a temporary Act, which has since been continued from year to year, it decided that it should not be lawful to tax any inhabitant of a parish 'in respect 'of his ability derived from the profits of stock in trade, or 'any other property.'

It has been sometimes suggested that if the Act of 1840 were suffered to expire the area on which local taxation now falls would be extended, and the ratepayer's chief grievance removed. But a little reflexion will show that this remedy would be very imperfect. The most important portion of a man's property at the present time consists of his investments in the Funds, in municipal loans, in foreign or colonial securities, or in industrial undertakings. A large portion of this personalty is already rated. Railway companies, for example, pay rates to every rating authority through whose district their lines are carried; and it would be manifestly unjust that the shareholders in a company, after paying their rates to the parishes through which the line runs, should be required to pay a rate proportionate to their holding in the company to the parishes in which they reside. There is, moreover, the further difficulty that the wealthier men, whom the local authorities desire specially to tax, have frequently many residences in different parts of the country. How would it be possible to decide in which of the many districts in which they reside such men should pay what would virtually be an income tax on

the proceeds of their personal estate? Should the Duke of Devonshire, for instance—if we may give a concrete example —contribute in Lancashire, in Derbyshire, in Yorkshire, in Sussex, or in London? The fact is that the claim that he should so contribute arises from a confusion of ideas. A man who inhabits a particular parish is rated, not in respect of his property, but in respect of his property in that parish. When this conclusion is reached the whole question becomes one of secondary importance. Once admit that a man ought to be rated, not in respect of his whole property, but of his property in the district in which the rate is levied, and convenience will plainly point to his being rated either on his real property only, or on his real property and such things, like machinery, which practically form part of, and are not easily removable from, the property on which the rate falls.

It does not, of course, necessarily follow from this conclusion that all kinds of real property should be rated at their full value for all purposes. Railways, for example, are already rated for particular objects at only one-fourth of their net annual value. Both the majority and the minority of the Commission recommend that agricultural land should in future be rated at only half its value for the national or onerous services. At this point, indeed, the majority and the minority again part company. For, while the majority 'see no alternative but to provide for the '[resulting] deficiency by means of grants out of moneys 'provided by Parliament,' the minority think that the deficiency must be met by an addition to the rates.

In this instance, too, we find ourselves unable to resist the conclusions at which the minority of the Commission have arrived. For if the views of either the majority or the minority are carried out, and Parliament contributes to the 'onerous' expenditure of the local authorities in the proportion which they recommend, the Exchequer grants will have been carried to the extreme limits consistent either with justice to the taxpayer or with economical administration by the locality. Any additional grant would throw an undue share on the taxpayer and indirectly encourage extravagance. The Government, which has already been required to bear one half of the onerous expenditure, would, under the recommendation of the majority, be called upon to pay one moiety of the other half.

If, then, relief is to be given to the agricultural interest—and the almost unanimous recommendation of the Com-

missioners makes it certain that it will be granted—it should be obtained by a redistribution of burdens among the ratepayers, and not by a grant from the Imperial Exchequer. If, indeed, the almost unanimous recommendation of the Commissioners did not make it hopeless to advance a contrary conclusion, we should be disposed to argue that good reasons might be given for thinking that the agricultural interest should not receive the special consideration which the Commissioners, probably influenced by recent legislation, have decided to bestow on it.

For, in the first place, it ought to be recollected that the usage of more than three centuries has practically thrown the whole weight of local expenditure on the real property of the kingdom. All the land which has been bought and sold during the intervening centuries has been bought and sold subject to this liability. Whatever may be said for relieving land from the burden of rates imposed more recently, the rates for the relief of the poor and for the maintenance of highways are hereditary charges upon it. If, then, the agriculturists at the cost of the State are to be relieved from their share of a moiety of these rates, there does not seem to be much injustice in saying that they should contribute their proportion to other rates. The majority of the Commissioners seem, indeed, to think that 'the abandonment of 'Protection in 1846 gave the owners of agricultural land an 'equitable claim to' relief, and they quote the opinion of the late Professor Sidgwick in support of this conclusion. But they have not even attempted to show that the value of agricultural land was depreciated by the adoption of a policy of Free Trade, and unless such a depreciation took place their whole argument necessarily fails. We believe, however, that it is certain that the assessment of agricultural land steadily rose during the thirty years which immediately succeeded 1846; and that its subsequent depreciation has been occasioned, not by Free Trade, but by the facilities which steam has afforded for the importation of all kinds of produce from countries which could not previously compete with the British farmer. If we are right in this conclusion, which it seems difficult to controvert, it follows that the abandonment of Protection cannot have given the owners of agricultural land any claim to relief.*

*We have not alluded in this argument to the clerical tithe-owner, because his case must stand or fall with that of the agriculturist. It is, however, difficult to see why a distinction should be drawn between the clerical tithe-owner and the lay non-impropriator.

The case of the urban ratepayer, with which we have still to deal, is much more complicated than that of the agriculturist. In the rural districts of England, as we have seen, the usual complaint is that one class of persons—the occupiers of agricultural land—are charged with an excessive portion of the local burdens. They pay what is virtually a tax on their whole income, while their neighbours pay a tax only on the rent of the house in which they reside, or of the premises in which they carry on their business. But in urban England the complaint is of a wholly different character. It is urged that the whole rate falls on the occupier, and that the owner makes no contribution to it; and it is argued that, in addition to the ordinary rate on the house, an additional tax should be placed either on its ground rent or on the land on which it is built.

The suggestion that the site value, or the value of land as a site apart from the buildings upon it, should be separately rated, is no new proposal. The fact that a large portion of the wealthiest districts of London is the property of some few great landlords, who make no direct contribution in respect of it to the cost of local burdens, necessarily draws attention to the expediency or propriety of taxing ground rents; and the taxation of ground rents is, of course, a rough and ready expedient for compelling the owner of the site to bear his share of the expenditure of the place in which his property is situated. Mr. Fletcher Moulton has for many years been associated with a proposal for the equitable, or at any rate proportionate, distribution of the rates on each house between the occupier, the ground landlord, and, when they exist, the intermediate lessors; while, more lately, the London County Council has supported a scheme, which was explained to the Commissioners by the late Mr. Costelloe, for the direct taxation of site values. The majority of the Commissioners in their final report, and the minority in their separate report on Urban Rating and Site Values, are agreed in condemning these and other analogous suggestions. Both, indeed, seem to think that the fact that the owner of the site has usually contracted with his lessee, just as the intermediate lessor has usually contracted with the occupier, that the lessee or the occupier should pay the whole of the rates, disposes of the matter. 'Legis-
'lation enabling occupiers to violate the contracts which
'they have deliberately made, and to escape the obligations
'which they have solemnly undertaken, would be, in our
'opinion, indefensible. We could admit no compromise on

'this matter of principle.' We trust that we shall not be thought guilty of any subversive or revolutionary opinions if we confess to a conviction that this conclusion is so extravagant that it is a serious blot on the admirable report in which it appears.

For what are the facts? The land on which the towns of the United Kingdom are built has been disposed of in various ways in different parts of the country. In some instances the freehold has been sold, and the owner of the house is the owner of the soil. In other places—of which Scotland is, of course, a prominent example—the land has been granted by the freeholder on a perpetual feu-rent. In other places, again—and examples of this arrangement may be found in London—land has been let on what seems to us an almost ideal tenure: long leases of 999 years; while in others leases have been granted for shorter periods of, say, ninety-nine years. The argument which we are about to use applies to the occupiers under any of the last three arrangements. But in the concrete example which we will give we will deal with the ordinary householder. We will, in fact, take the hypothetical case which is put forward in the separate report:—

'In 1830, A, the owner of a plot of land in a town where the rates amounted to 2*s.* 6*d.* in the £, granted a 99 years' lease of it to B, a builder, at a ground rent of 15*l.* a year, which was, in fact, the true value of the ground at that date. The ground rent would have been larger had it not been that B covenanted that he or those holding under him would pay all usual tenant's rates and taxes, present and future, in respect of the hereditament during the term of the lease. In fact the estimated portion of this burden constituted an important factor in B's calculations when he contracted to pay 15*l.* a year to A for 99 years.'

Now, what were the circumstances of 1830, when this lease, the type of so many leases, was granted? There was at that time practically no sanitary legislation in force in this country: there was consequently no rate for sanitary purposes; except in London, there was no police force: there was, therefore, no police rate. There were no school boards, and there was, therefore, no education rate. There were no lunatic asylums, free libraries, and baths and wash-houses, and there were consequently no rates for these objects. Now, can it be said that, when B covenanted that he, or those holding under him, would pay all usual tenants' rates and taxes, any reasonable construction of the word 'usual' can be held to cover rates for an expenditure which

no man had ever contemplated? Can it be said that the estimated amount of a burden which no human being could have foreseen 'constituted an important factor in B's cal- 'culations when he contracted to pay 15*l.* a year to A for 'ninety-nine years?'

But these questions do not supply the whole of the criticism which we are forced to apply to the argument. In 1830 there was no income duty; but a very heavy income tax had been repealed only fourteen years before. The recollection of this tax must have been very present to the minds of those who had paid it; and A and B—at any rate if they had attained middle age—must have taken the possibility of its revival into consideration. It is probable, therefore, that when they covenanted in 1830 that B should pay 'all usual tenants' rates and taxes,' they were thinking, *inter alia*, of the income tax; while it is certain that they could not have been thinking of an education rate, which at that time had occurred to no one. There were, therefore, some grounds for contending, when the income tax was revived, that B, in the terms of his agreement, should pay the income tax on A's ground rent of 15*l.* But in 1842 Sir Robert Peel refused—and Parliament endorsed his refusal—to be bound by the contract, and B, notwithstanding the agreement, was directed to deduct the income tax on the 15*l.* ground rent from A. The course which Parliament thus took was either justifiable or unjustifiable. If it was unjustifiable, it follows that A for seventy years has been the victim of grave Parliamentary oppression. But the common sense of the nation has long ago determined that there was nothing oppressive in the arrangement. At any rate, A has acquiesced in it without a word of protest, and B's conscience has never been disturbed by it. We are justified, therefore, in inferring, from the unanimous consent of those affected by it, that the legislation of 1842 directing (not merely enabling) occupiers 'to violate the contracts which 'they [had] deliberately made' was not, after all, indefensible. But if it were consequently legitimate for Parliament, in reviving an old tax, to say that B, notwithstanding his agreement, should deduct it from A, why are we to assume that Parliament, in imposing a new rate, would be guilty of allowing B to break the Eighth Commandment if it gave a similar direction?

And the case does not end here. Most of the new rates—certainly the heavier rates, which have been introduced since 1830—have been imposed to cover the cost of national

services which all the Commissioners agree in thinking should be largely paid for out of Imperial taxation; and they are practically unanimous in recommending that one moiety of the cost of these services should in future be so paid. If their recommendation is adopted, this moiety will largely fall, in future, on the payers of income tax, because the income tax is the tax which is usually increased or reduced as the charges on the Exchequer rise or fall. If, then, the recommendation of the Commissioners is carried out, one half of, say, the police rate will fall on the payers of income tax. The contributors to Schedule A who happen to be ground landlords will be consequently compelled, even under the Commissioners' recommendation, to pay their share of the burden, which they had so carefully covenanted should be borne by the tenants. The Commissioners, then, indirectly and to a lesser extent, do recommend that the same injustice which they deprecate should be committed. They shrink from allowing any one openly to break the Decalogue, but they are good enough to allow him to do so indirectly and in a roundabout way.

The Commissioners, we understand, reply to such criticisms as these, that in reviving the income tax in 1842 Sir Robert Peel was compelled to gather into his net all the income of the kingdom, and that he could not allow a few fortunate owners to escape the tax because they had happened to make arrangements by a solemn covenant that some one else should pay it for them. But it may be answered that, if it is desirable that no income above a certain amount should escape from the operation of the income duty, it is equally right that no property should escape from contributing to the burdens of the locality in which it is situated. It is obvious that the question whether a landlord or his tenant pays the income tax has no more effect on the revenues of the State than the question whether the one or the other pays the rate has on the revenues of the locality. And the same considerations, therefore, which induced Sir Robert Peel, in reviving the income tax, to disregard the contract between landlord and tenant, seem to justify a similar disregard in the case of new rates imposed since the contract was made.

It may, indeed, be said that, whatever arrangements the law may make, no practical difference will be effected. The landlord, in renewing his leases, will charge so much more or so much less rent if he in the one case, or his tenant in the other, is liable for rates. And this is undoubtedly true in the case of new leases running for short periods. But

it is not true of long leases running for ninety-nine, or for 999 years, during which new rates may be imposed to meet the constantly increasing charges of local government. And even in the case of the new lease there seems to us to be the highest advantage in compelling the landlord to pay his portion of the rates. For, so long as the occupier is charged with the whole rate, all the arguments of even Sir Edward Hamilton and Sir George Murray will not persuade the public that the burden of them falls on the owner. Property will be thought to enjoy an unreasonable exemption from taxation, and will be subject to the attacks of agitators from which, in its own interest, it is of the highest importance to release it.

Strictly speaking, this reasoning would point to the conclusion that in all future contracts, notwithstanding any provision to the contrary, the occupier should be allowed to deduct the whole rate from the landlord. But in practice such an arrangement would be plainly inconsistent with economical administration, since the occupiers elect, and the owners, as such, have no voice in the election of, the various local authorities who spend the rates. In order that the electors may have a real interest in economy, it is necessary that a portion of the rate should fall upon their own shoulders, and the fairest and best arrangement will probably, therefore, be that in all future contracts half the rate shall be paid by the occupier, and the other half deducted from the rent payable by the occupier to the owner. Similarly, in old contracts, made before the change in the law which we are advocating, a proportion of any new rate imposed by Parliament, and not contemplated when the contract was drawn up, should be deducted from the landlord. In making such a deduction, regard would necessarily be paid to the beneficial interest, which the ground landlord, the intermediate lessor, and the occupier had in the premises. A, for example, is a ground landlord, who let a plot of ground, for building purposes, to B, at a ground rent of 20*l.* a year. B, after building a house on it at the cost of 2,000*l.*, lets it, at a rent of 150*l.*, to C. After the date of both these transactions a new rate of 1*s.* in the pound is imposed, with the sanction of Parliament, for some new and wholly unforeseen purpose. Our contention is that C, after paying the rate (7*l.* 10*s.*), should deduct one moiety of it (3*l.* 15*s.*) from the rent which he pays to B; and that similarly B should deduct 10*s.* (one moiety of 20*s.*) from the ground rent which he pays to A.

We have stated frankly, and in some detail, where we differ from the very able report on 'Urban Rating and Site Values;' and we must now proceed to consider its authors' own very ingenious recommendations for dealing with this portion of the subject. In doing so they take the case of three properties, each of an annual value of 100*l.* a year, but in one of which, A, the value of the site (75*l.*) is treble the value of the building (25*l.*) upon it; in another of which, B, the value of the site (50*l.*) is equal to the value (50*l.*) of the building upon it; and in the third of which, C, the value of the site (25*l.*) is only one-third the value (75*l.*) of the building.

'The question at issue as between an ordinary rate and a site-value rate can now easily be made clear. Suppose 3*l.* has to be raised. Under the present system, as each house is of the same rateable value, 1*l.* will be charged in respect of each; but under a site-value rate the result would be different, because A's site is worth three times as much as C's; and therefore the charge will be:—

	£	s.	d.
In respect of A . .	1	10	0
„ B . .	1	0	0
„ C . .	0	10	0
	3	0	0

'The illustration shows the manner in which the burden would be redistributed if a site-value rate were substituted for an ordinary rate. It is this redistribution of burden between hereditaments and districts which constitutes the essential and peculiar feature (good or bad) of site-value taxation.'

The Commissioners, after deprecating 'the crude and 'violent theories which some witnesses [put before them] 'on the subject of the taxation of land,' go on to say that 'a 'careful consideration of all the circumstances of urban 'local taxation has led [them] to the conclusion that a 'moderate rate, proportioned to site value, ought to be 'imposed.'

The reasons which seem to have influenced the Commissioners are that—

(1) As a general proposition, the benefit of improvements undertaken by the local authorities attaches to the site, and not to the structure.

(2) A tax on site values would necessarily fall, as a rule, most heavily on the central, and least heavily on the outlying, portions of each town. The substitution of a rate on site values for a rate on buildings would tend to encourage

building in the outskirts, and to this extent diminish the difficulties of the housing problem.

(3) As the site is permanent, and the building upon it is wasting and perishable, 'when the main part of the value of 'a hereditament can be attributed to the site, that hereditament represents a greater ability to pay than one in which 'structural value predominates.'

(4) If it be true, as most authorities think, that the ultimate burden of local taxation falls upon the owner, 'unless the owners of urban ground values are to be relieved 'at the expense of the taxpayer (a course which probably 'no one would advocate), it seems most necessary to accompany the increase of subventions in urban districts by the 'imposition of a site-value rate.'

(5) The present system of valuing the building and the site together, and allowing a deduction from the gross value of each hereditament for repairs, has the effect of unduly relieving the more valuable sites. 'Thus, if a property has 'a gross value of 900*l.* a year, made up of site value '600*l.*, and structural value 300*l.*, at present a deduction of 'one-sixth of the whole gross value (one-sixth of 900*l.* = '150*l.*) would be allowed, and the rateable value would be 'put at 750*l.* Properly the deduction of one-sixth should 'only be allowed on the structural value (one-sixth of '300*l.* = 50*l.*), and the rateable value should be 850*l.*'

For these reasons the five Commissioners who sign this particular report consider that the inequality of the present system should be redeemed by a special rate on site values; that in all future contracts one half of this rate should be deducted from the owner by the occupier; but that it should be confined to purposes strictly defined by the Legislature, and limited to an amount fixed from time to time by Parliament.

This ingenious recommendation, if it should be carried out, as we hope it may be, will, of course, necessitate the separate assessment of site values. Some difference of opinion exists whether it is possible to arrive at any equitable valuation of this character. But all assessments, from their very nature, are to some extent arbitrary. 'We doubt 'whether a site valuation of London would present any 'problem more difficult than some questions which have to 'be answered under the present system—*e.g.* at what rate 'the Bank of England, Charing Cross Station, large buildings used for clubs or warehouses, and, in fact, a large 'number of structures built and used for special purposes,

'might reasonably be expected to let from year to year.' Lord Balfour and his colleagues who sign this report are, therefore, probably right that 'a valuation of sites 'sufficiently accurate for the purpose, and not inferior to 'the present valuation of hereditaments, could be made 'without undue labour and expense.'

We have endeavoured in this article to deal with the more important problems which any review of our present system of local taxation must inevitably raise. Considerations of space have made it impossible for us to embrace the whole subject, and we have not thought it desirable to allude to such matters as the necessity of a fresh valuation, on which practically all persons are agreed, and to the expediency of rating unoccupied property and uncovered land in towns, a matter which has a political rather than a financial importance. Confining ourselves to the greater questions, with which the final report of the Commissioners is chiefly concerned, we have endeavoured to show that the arrangement which Lord Goschen devised in 1888, of assigning certain revenues for the relief of local taxation, has not, at any rate since the passage of the Finance Act of 1894, fulfilled the objects which its author had in view, while it has been attended, on the other hand, with many inconveniences. We have had, in consequence, no hesitation in supporting the recommendation of the minority of the Commissioners, that this system should at once be replaced by direct grants from the Exchequer to meet a portion of the local expenditure on onerous or quasi-national services. We have, however, been unable to agree with the ingenious suggestion that these grants should be solely distributed with a view to equalising these charges throughout the country. On the contrary, we are satisfied that it will be simpler, and we think that, on the whole, it will be more logical, that their amount should, at any rate partly, depend on the requirements of the service in each locality.

The grievances of ratepayers, both in urban and rural England, will to some extent be met if the grants from the Imperial Exchequer are made on the liberal scale which both the majority and the minority of the Commissioners agree in recommending. So far as the rural ratepayers are concerned, we think with the minority of the Commissioners that the doles which have lately been granted to agriculturists and tithe owners should cease. Indeed, if the grants in aid of local taxation are made with the liberality which

is proposed, there would be no excuse for supplementing them with further grants for the relief of particular classes of ratepayers. The State will have already paid its full share of the cost of these services, and it would be unjust to the taxpayer to call on it for a further contribution under another name. If anything is to be done in the future, therefore, to relieve certain classes of ratepayers, like agriculturists and tithe owners, relief must be effected by an internal redistribution, and not by external help. Something, in other words, can be urged for the contention that agricultural land should be rated only upon a portion of its value. Nothing, so far as we can see, can be said for the argument that the resulting loss of revenue should be borne not by the locality, but by the State.

The still more difficult problems of urban rating have been examined by us at some length. We have given our reasons for thinking that there would be no breach of faith, but, on the contrary, much equity, in enabling the occupier to deduct from the owner a moiety of any rate imposed by Parliament after the contract on which his premises are held was made. Unless, indeed, we assume that Parliament in 1842 committed a gross wrong in requiring the tenant to deduct the income tax on his rent from his landlord, we can see no answer to this argument. We have further given our reasons for thinking that in future contracts half the rates should always be deducted by the occupier from the owner. It may be quite true that such a provision will, in reality, involve no redistribution of burdens, as the landlord, in every case, will add the amount of the rate so deducted to the rent. But in the interests of property it seems to us highly politic that the owner should visibly and openly make some contribution to the cost of local taxation. It is dangerous to create the impression, which certainly now prevails, that the great urban landlords are able to throw the whole cost of local burdens on to the shoulders of their tenantry.

We are further of opinion that some of the inequalities inseparable from urban rating will be diminished if the very original, but very skilful, suggestion for the taxation of site values be adopted to the extent and within the limits recommended in the separate report on site values. It is no slight advantage that the proposal will incidentally assist to facilitate the settlement of the housing problem, since it will tend, to a certain extent, to encourage the erection of new houses in the outlying portions of towns, where land is comparatively cheap.

In conclusion, we may perhaps remark that the present Government has a unique opportunity for settling this difficult problem. All questions affecting property and its taxation can, as a matter of fact, be more easily dealt with by a Conservative than by a Liberal Administration. The Conservative party, as a whole, is naturally inclined to accept from its own leaders changes which it might regard as grave infringements of the rights of landlords if they emanated from their opponents. The fact, too, that there are no great measures before the Legislature at the present time affords leisure both for the preparation and consideration of a Bill dealing with local taxation; while, in addition, the Conservative party enjoys the great advantage of having a Finance Minister whose sound views on financial policy have commended him quite as favourably to his Liberal opponents as to his Conservative supporters. If Sir Michael Hicks-Beach will only grapple with the complicated question, we believe that there is no man in England more capable of mastering it; we believe, moreover, that he could render no greater service to the community as a whole than by placing our whole system of local taxation on an intelligible, reasonable, and permanent basis.

ART. II.—1. *Reports of the British National Society for Aid to the Sick and Wounded in War: Franco-German War,* 1870–1871; *Turco-Servian War,* 1876; *Russo-Turkish War,* 1878; *South African War,* 1901.

2. *Report of a Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for War to inquire into the Terms and Conditions of Service in the Army.* 1892.

3. *A Few Theories carried into Practice: being an Article contributed by Lord Wantage to the 'Economic Review,' and subsequently reprinted.* 1893.

4. *Report of the Small Holdings Committee of the House of Commons.* 1889.

5. *The Royal Commission on Agriculture.* 1894. [c. 7400–1.]

6. *The Coming of Age of the Volunteer Force.* 'Nineteenth Century,' August, 1881.

7. *Private Correspondence.*

'LORD WANTAGE is a great loss, but he had been a great 'gain. And what he had gained for us can never be 'lost. It is my experience that such men exist only in 'England: a man who had everything (to use the common 'phrase) which this world could give him, but who worked 'as hard, and to the last, as the poorest able man—and all 'for others—for the common weal. A man whose life 'makes a great difference for all: *all* are better off than if 'he had not lived; and this betterness is for always, it does 'not die with him—that is the true estimate of a *great* life.'

These are remarkable words, and in them Miss Florence Nightingale gives admirable expression to the feeling with which all men who know anything of the life and work of the late Lord Wantage regard his career. A *great* life truly, and for the reasons she has given; but, neverthless, a singularly quiet and unostentatious life, in which the good work that was done was done for its own sake, without the remotest thought of its producing personal advantage or winning public applause. In what is sometimes described as an 'advertising age' Lord Wantage at least did not court publicity. He was, indeed, without that kind of personal ambition which makes a man burn to pass others in the race for fame or power; but no one ever had a higher sense of duty or a keener desire to employ his energies in helping others; and in this direction assuredly very few

lives have been so successful as his. The privacy, so to speak, in which his hardest and best work was done should not be allowed, now that Lord Wantage is gone from among us, to prevent a wide circle of his countrymen from recognising how truly and wisely patriotic was his career, and how much wise thought and patient labour he ungrudgingly devoted to the service of his fellow-men.

Robert James Lindsay was the second son of Major-General Lindsay of Balcarres (grandson of the seventh Earl of Balcarres) and of Anne, eldest daughter of Sir Coutts Trotter, Bart. By the marriage of his sister with the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres (then Lord Lindsay), Robert Lindsay became at an early age still more closely connected with the head of his ancient house, whose earldom, it may be remembered, dates from the fourteenth century. It was at Balcarres that he for the most part spent his early childhood, climbing among the rocks and sea-caves of the Fifeshire coast, and galloping his pony over the long stretches of turf links. In other years many months were passed, after the fashion of those days, in travelling through France and Italy with his parents—children, nurses, and tutors all packed together in a large lumbering *vetturino* carriage. After a short stay at an old-fashioned private school, Robert Lindsay went to Eton, where he found himself in a more congenial atmosphere, learning, perhaps, little from the teaching, but much from the life of the place, and enjoying to the full all the man-making pastimes of Eton boys. It was the intention of Lindsay's parents to send him into the Indian Civil Service. Accordingly, after leaving Eton he studied under private tutors with that object in view; but the lad was at heart a soldier, and when, at the age of eighteen, the offer came to him of a commission in the Scots Fusilier Guards it was eagerly accepted. These early days were lived in close companionship with his cousin, Viscount Bury, also in the Scots Fusilier Guards, the son of the sixth Earl of Albemarle, who was, till a very short time ago, the last personal link between our own generation and the field of Waterloo. Of the same age almost to a day, the two lads began and continued through life as twin brothers. Perhaps the sharp contrast between the two made the bond the closer. Bury was clever, volatile, light-hearted, brilliant in talk, with marvellous quickness and facility in mastery of any subject he took up, but wanting somewhat in the clear judgement and steadfast purpose of his cousin. Each had what the other lacked, and each reacted on the other, the

result being a companionship as delightful to themselves as it was pleasant to others.

Early in 1854, in anticipation of war with Russia, the Guards were ordered to the East, the Scots Fusilier Guards marching on the last day of February from Wellington Barracks to Waterloo Station, the Queen and the Royal Family, from the balcony of Buckingham Palace, cheering them as they passed. Lindsay, with his regiment, spent some weeks at Malta, and afterwards in Bulgaria, where he almost lost his life from that malarial fever which caused such terrible ravages in our army. On September 14 and following days the allied army of 60,000 men—British, French, and Turks—landed near the Old Fort of Eupatoria, some thirty miles from Sebastopol, and the Crimean War had begun.

Six days later the great nations of Europe, after forty years of peace, once more stood confronted in battle. The victory won at the Alma by the English and French was decisive, but the Russian position was a strong one, and the day did not pass without vicissitudes—without, indeed, some moments of very sore trial to the attacking forces. Lindsay, as the senior subaltern in his battalion, had the privilege of carrying in action the Queen's colour, Thistlethwaite, as junior, carrying the regimental colour. The Brigade of Guards had not faced an enemy in the field since the battle of Waterloo, but several of the officers had been on active service, and greatly were they looked up to in consequence by men completely new to war. Lindsay was much impressed when, on the firing of the first gun, one of these veterans, Hugh Annesley, an old soldier of twenty-three, who had seen hard service and been badly wounded in the Kaffir war, with much *sangfroid* pulled his watch from his pocket with a magnificent air, and announced, 'The battle 'begins at 1 o'clock.' Poor Annesley came out of the engagement with only one tooth left in his head; but when, years afterwards, Lindsay and he used to meet in the House of Lords, the face of the latter showed hardly a trace of the frightful wound he had received. Accuracy of recollection is, however, only one of the elements upon which the truth of historical detail depends. Kinglake, who aimed at a fulness of detail which is, in truth, incompatible with complete accuracy, has recorded that it is absolutely impossible in any battle to specify the exact spot where or the exact time when any officer fell! And Lindsay himself became convinced that there must have been something

wrong with Annesley's watch, for on the right of the British line the French had been engaged for at least half an hour before he spoke.

Lindsay was not one to speak much of his own deeds. It is, however, possible to glean interesting and vivid details from his private letters and memoranda. The services he rendered at Alma and Inkerman belong to the history of his country. As the Guards descended through the vineyards upon the river, they saw clearly enough, from the confusion into which the Light Division had temporarily fallen, that a crisis had been reached, and that the battle was yet to win. Losing heavily on their way, they crossed the stream, and were able to re-form under the shelter of the low muddy bank on the further side, the respite reminding Lindsay of the moment in rough sea bathing when a big wave has just done its worst, and another bigger wave appears to be silent for a moment before roaring down on the top of the bather's head. The Scots Fusilier Guards were soonest, perhaps over-soon, in advancing from this shelter across an open plateau directly upon the Russian batteries. A portion of its left wing became disorganised by the hurried retreat upon it of the men of the Light Division; but fortunately on the right, where the battle raged round the colours, not a yard of ground once won was yielded during the advance. The two or three minutes—and in battle two or three minutes seem a long time—were critical moments in the lives of Lindsay and his companions. This was the time when the Russians, seeing what they doubtless considered their success, sprang from their earthworks, hoping to capture the colours, which for a short period were in imminent danger. The advance of the Grenadiers and Coldstreams in perfect order changed the whole position of affairs. The French, moreover, were rolling back the extreme left of the Russian position, and the Highlanders were turning their right, and the whole Russian centre began to fall back. Thistlethwaite was killed, and almost the whole of the colour-escort fell; but young Lindsay himself, who is described as having been as cool throughout the action as if he had been a veteran of a hundred fights, was untouched, though as bearer of the Queen's colour he was an especial mark for the Russian riflemen. At the close of the day, which had cost the English army alone 106 officers and nearly 1,900 men killed and wounded, it was found that the colours had been shot through in a dozen places and the staff was cut in two. Lindsay himself had neither drawn

his sword nor fired his revolver throughout the engagement, his whole object being to plant the standard on the Russian redoubt, into which, so far as he knew, no one was before him.

At Inkerman Lindsay commanded No. 1 Company, which was conspicuous in the battle from being the only one in the battalion in red, the men's great-coats having been thrown off at his orders on advancing to the fight, so as to give them more freedom. Inkerman has been called a soldiers' battle, but few victories have been won with which the personal influence of company officers has had so much to do. No divisional, brigade, or even regimental order was given. The men, headed by their officers, fought in companies and half-companies, guided solely by the instinctive perception that it was their business to drive the Russians back down the ravines up which they had come, and when the enemy got more into the plateau—as happened towards the middle of the day—then to interpose the defending force between the enemy and the British camp, and so to drive the Russians back towards the besieged city. In the struggle in the ravines men fought hand to hand, Lindsay finding more use for sword and pistol than in the fight for the colours at the Alma. On one occasion his generous intervention was of service to a foe. A Russian officer, in advance of his men, was surrounded by four or five Guardsmen. He was of distinguished appearance, and evidently of high rank, and wore over his shoulder a strap, to which was fastened a bag full of money. The soldiers were about to make short work of him with their bayonets, and one of them had already laid hold of his money-bag. In all probability, had there been no money-bag, Lindsay would have allowed things on the battle-field to take their natural course; but he could not bear the idea of killing a man for his money, and, throwing up the men's muskets with his sword, he released the Russian from his enemies, and in less than an instant the rescued officer was flying towards Sebastopol, making signs of gratitude as he ran.

For his gallant conduct with the colours at Alma and for acts of valour at Inkerman, Lindsay was recommended for the Victoria Cross, then only just instituted. It has never since been better earned. During the whole of the war he remained in the Crimea. For a time he was aide-de-camp to Sir James Simpson, the Commander-in-Chief, till he was promoted to the rank of captain, and became adjutant of his battalion. When peace came, in 1856, Major Lindsay,

for he had gained another step, returned with the Guards to England. He came back as simple and modest as the day he left home, but widened and deepened in character by his two years' training in the greatest of all schools. Those two years of patient endurance and strenuous action, face to face with the sternest realities of life and death, left a deep and lifelong impression on him. He seldom spoke of these things, but clearly they had taught him to see the facts of life in their true proportion, to estimate character, and to pitch his own inner standard high.

Thirty-four years later, in the autumn of 1888, he found himself once more in the Crimea, standing with Lady Wantage on the bleak and exposed beach where he and his comrades had landed and bivouacked—landed like shipwrecked mariners, without clothing save the uniforms in which they stood—full of the high hopes and confident of the rapid triumph with which young and brave men enter on a campaign. They went together over the field of Alma, and he gazed again over a scene familiar surely to the mind's eye of most Englishmen. Nothing seemed changed. The same cottages, the same little river, the vines and brambles growing as before over the same low walls; the same Tartar peasants, in their sheepskins, driving the same old creaking arabas along the same old tracks, always covered in dust in summer, and always deep with mud in winter. No one has thought it worth while to disturb the few Tartar families who cultivate the sparse patches of fertile land in that part of the Crimea. Their houses now are as they were then. The very haystacks piled up against the hovels looked the same—stacks which had facilitated the firing by the Russians of the little village of Bourliouk, thereby greatly hampering the advance of the Allies on the famous September 20th. When Lindsay had last been in those vineyards soldiers of the Guard and soldiers of the line had been pressing forward with teeth set and brows bent in desperate earnestness, and here many of our best soldiers had fallen. But now the roaring sound of a great battle had given place to the perfect calm of an autumn day, in which teams of drowsy cattle were wending their way slowly along the tracks to that little stream now famous in history. Many a long-forgotten incident of personal interest was recalled to his mind by the familiar scene, too small, perhaps, to occupy the attention of the historian, but full of interest for those whose feelings and affection are involved in the lives and fortunes of the actors in the events described. A deep feeling of

thankfulness predominated in his mind over every other sentiment.

Lindsay returned from the Crimea with the well-deserved reputation of a hero—one, perhaps, not without its dangers to characters of less innate modesty and simplicity than his. Moreover, his tall soldierlike figure, his noble face and head, his distinguished yet absolutely unaffected manner, would have marked him out in any society or in any assemblage of people as no ordinary man. Mrs. Cameron, whose artistic skill in photography has never been surpassed, and who was perhaps at her best in her impersonations of the characters of Tennyson's 'Idylls,' used to wish in the early sixties that she was acquainted with Lindsay, as he was nearer in appearance than any one else she had ever seen to her ideal of King Arthur. The social adulation of London might prove more dangerous to not a few men than the rigours of a Crimean winter or the hail of Russian bullets. But with Lindsay, through life, in war or peace, it was not 'the glory,' but 'the thing,' upon which his heart was set. Some people, men and women, are not to be spoiled let fortune do for them what it will. They are not too numerous, but assuredly Lindsay was one of those exceptional persons.

Soon after his return from the Crimea, Lindsay was selected by the Prince Consort to form part—as Equerry—of the Household of the young Prince of Wales. In 1858 he married Harriet, the only daughter and heiress of Lord Overstone, one of the wealthiest men in England. The marriage, of course, affected the whole course of his after-life, imposing upon him new duties, giving him wide influence, bringing the younger son of Lindsay of Balcarres into equal importance, so far as wealth can give importance, with the first of British subjects. The marriage was for him a great one, yet no reasonable being could think it an unequal match. He had found a wife who, through their forty-two years of married life, strengthened his own innate feeling that wealth and position were trusts that were held on behalf of others, and that their own truest happiness would be found in making the best and wisest use of the vast opportunities which life had given them.

Fresh spheres of duties and responsibilities now opened before him, and Lindsay's receptive and sympathetic nature widened and expanded under new influences. Powerful among these was his intimate association with Lord Overstone. It was impossible to live for twenty-five years in the

close intimacy of daily life with a man of such powerful intellect, far-seeing judgement, and high standard of character without being affected by it. Lindsay's father-in-law had long been recognised as the highest financial authority in the country. For some years before the Reform Act he had sat in the House of Commons as Whig member for Hythe. He had, however, never held political office, and his great weight in council was due, not to his Parliamentary position, but to his writings on financial affairs, and to the evidence which he had given before Parliamentary Committees on banking and currency questions. Upon the principles advocated and expounded by him, which were at first subjected to much criticism, the Bank Act of 1844 was founded. It was known that the Whig Government (1846–1852) and the Whig Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Charles Wood, relied greatly upon his advice, and, indeed, for many years his influence on the financial side of current politics was much greater than the public was aware of. The relation between Lord Overstone and his son-in-law was a happy one—the elder man with his great gifts of mind leaning upon the simpler nature and fearless courage of the younger. This warm friendship and tender respect was paralleled by the equally close bond between Lindsay's wife and his mother, a highly gifted and accomplished lady, who down to extreme old age (she died in 1895 at the age of ninety-one) retained all the freshness of mind of her youth.

On each side Lindsay came of a stock distinguished for its love and appreciation of art. Lord Overstone had a no less strong love of art, and a discriminating judgement in the selection of pictures. The collection he had made in his house in Carlton Gardens was already famous. His daughter had inherited his tastes, and thus Lindsay's native instincts were strengthened by his new surroundings. He and his wife possessed the means to indulge their taste, and the splendid collection at Lockinge bears witness to his discrimination in the purchase of works by old masters, and to the encouragement he gave to the best art of his own day.

Very soon after his marriage Colonel Loyd-Lindsay (as he had now become) warmly identified himself with that 'Volunteer movement' which was destined to produce results, directly and indirectly, of the first importance to his country. He was no longer a professional soldier, but throughout his life his heart was always with the army, his best energies devoted to its welfare, and to rendering as effective as possible the armed power of the nation. Early

in May 1859 war had broken out between France and Sardinia allied against Austria. The Continental press had for some time past been indulging in the most violent vituperation against England, rousing here a strong popular sense that measures must be taken to render the country secure against the possibility of the translation of these threats into action. In the same month Tennyson's 'Rifle-'men, Form,' appeared in the 'Times,' and 'rang like a 'trumpet-call through the length and breadth of the 'Empire.' Three days later appeared the War Office order approving of the formation of Volunteer rifle corps. Another year passed, and twenty thousand riflemen were reviewed by the Queen and Prince Albert in Hyde Park, Loyd-Lindsay marching past at the head of the Berkshire Volunteers, with whom he retained his connexion for thirty-five years. Lord Wemyss (then Lord Elcho), Loyd-Lindsay, and Lord Bury were foremost among those who deserve the chief credit for the early direction of a movement which they themselves had done so much to inspire.

It was fortunate that Loyd-Lindsay, unlike many old soldiers, was always abreast of the times. The Volunteer service, from comparatively small beginnings, has grown steadily in importance, and Lord Wantage had the satisfaction of witnessing in the last years of his life that which he had never doubted—viz. that Volunteers, if wisely employed and well led, could take their place in warfare side by side with our regular troops. In the early years of the force much prejudice had to be overcome; but 'the 'movement' was never checked, and in August 1881, 'on 'the coming of age of the Volunteer force,' Lord Wantage was able to review the work done and to consider its actual position in words which no apology is needed for here quoting:—

'Not only has the value of the Volunteer force become of late years more generally recognised, but the standpoint from which the public regard it is also somewhat changed. The successful operations of the Boers in the Transvaal have brought more clearly to the public mind a knowledge of the importance of the breechloading rifle, and have also shown how great is the amount of individual intelligence, and even craft, which is needed to obtain the best results from the use of that weapon; and, further, how very formidable unprofessional soldiers may become when they thoroughly understand its use.' *

* Nineteenth Century, August, 1881.

We had reached a time, he continued, when rifle-fire might easily silence artillery; but to make most use of his weapon the rifleman must be protected, hence the capacity to use the spade was only second in importance to skill with the rifle.

Loyd-Lindsay was one of the first to perceive and to advocate the importance in warfare under modern conditions of mounted infantry; and he did much by establishing the annual 'Loyd-Lindsay Prize' at Wimbledon to popularise that branch of military service. He had always delighted in handling troops, and was never happier than when drilling in the park at Overstone the little corps he had formed out of farmers, tenants, and members of the Pytchley Hunt. It was due to his initiative and example that similar bodies of men were raised in many parts of Great Britain; and subsequent and recent experience has proved the prescience with which Loyd-Lindsay had from the first recognised the part which a force so trained would play in future war. When, in 1888, another step forward was taken in the organisation of the Volunteer force, and its infantry battalions throughout the country were divided into thirty-four brigades, Lord Wantage was appointed to the command of the Home Counties Brigade, with its headquarters at Reading—a command he held till he retired from the Volunteer service in 1895.

Though no longer in the service, Lord Wantage continued to take deep and active interest in his old corps, rendering much assistance in the preparation and equipment of the Berkshire Yeomanry and Volunteers for active service in South Africa, and in March 1900 giving a 'send-off' dinner at Reading to the departing men. From small beginnings he had thus lived to see his hopes realised by the employment of the Queen's Volunteer army in actual war. The corps, after a year's arduous service, landed again in England on June 10 of last year, the day of Lord Wantage's death.

As we have seen, Lord Wantage left the regular army soon after the close of the Crimean War; but as a civilian he was able to render the greatest assistance to his old service. He knew the British soldier thoroughly, understood his likes and dislikes, sympathised with his prejudices, and all through his life was the friend of the non-commissioned officer and the private. He wanted to see them better paid and clothed, more comfortably housed, and more liberally fed. Brought up in the old school of army thought, he very soon had the good sense to realise that our army organisation was

out of date and required drastic reforms. Accordingly, in Mr. Cardwell's day, when very many of our best-intentioned officers set their faces against all the changes that were proposed by 'army reformers,' he was able to judge each and all of these proposals with an open mind, having moreover a sound knowledge of the improvements that had been then lately introduced into the best Continental armies. In those days party feeling ran high, and not every one had the moral courage to face the taunts of 'Society,' and to refuse to join in the general denunciation of 'Radicals bent upon 'destroying the army.' The country has owed much to Lord Wantage, an influential and respected Conservative, for the support he gave throughout his life to those who were striving in the face of much unpopularity to modernise and make efficient the out-of-date army. Lord Wolseley in fighting the battle of short service, and of many other changes now acknowledged on all hands to have been valuable reforms, had the patriotic and steady assistance of Lord Wantage. If anything to-day is certain, it is that the present war would have been absolutely impossible to an army constituted as ours was in 1870.

In 1892 Lord Wantage was appointed chairman of a Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for War (the Right Hon. E. Stanhope) to inquire into the terms and conditions of service in the army. A number of valuable recommendations, many of which have since been carried out, were made in order to enable the military authorities to obtain a sufficient number of recruits of the right quality, and to enable the army to perform all the multifarious duties at home and abroad then supposed to be incumbent upon it. Among other recommendations, the pay of the men was to be increased so as to amount to a clear 1*s.* a day, or 7*s.* a week, free from compulsory stoppages, and 3*d.* a day for messing allowance, and the periods of service were to be made more elastic and to be modified in various directions.

On Loyd-Lindsay's marriage his father-in-law had presented to him and his wife the estate of Lockinge, in Berkshire. Henceforth his life became that of the many-acred country gentleman, upon whom, if he is a willing worker, there falls in this country no small share of public duty. He was, moreover, by nature interested in everything pertaining to farming, whether agriculture or stockbreeding. As years passed on the property was added to by frequent purchases, and on Lord Wantage's death the Berkshire estate

consisted of no less than 26,000 acres, of which half was in his own hands and half let to tenant-farmers. Of the 13,000 acres which he farmed himself, and which constituted him, we imagine, the largest farmer in England, 6,000 formed the Home Farm, and 7,000 the hill farms on the Downs. On this huge holding there are nearly 1,000 head of cattle, 10,000 sheep, and 350 horses. Adding to the Berkshire estate the properties in Northamptonshire and other parts of England, Lord and Lady Wantage were ultimately the owners of about 52,000 acres. With so large a stake as owner and occupier of land, he could not but feel deeply interested in the many discussions, practical and political, which have been stirred in our time as to the best means of developing the agricultural resources of the country, and of resting our rural social system on firm foundations.

When, a few years ago, a great crisis occurred in the arming business, an entire change was necessary in the management of the Berkshire estate; unless, indeed, much of the land was to be allowed to go out of cultivation, and, as a consequence, nine-tenths of the population be forced to leave the district to seek employment elsewhere. Farms, the leases of which had been eagerly sought a few years before, could be farmed no longer. Offers for fresh leases there were none. Lord Wantage, as a capitalist, was able to face the situation. He took over the farms as they were given up, and farmed them himself. Many of them only just paid their way; some, in better situations, were remunerative; and by means of the economy possible in farming on a very extensive scale a profit was realised. Lord Wantage cultivated the land, paid the men, rebuilt the cottages, built schools when the need was shown, and finally put up co-operative stores to enable the people to spend their money to the best advantage.

It is interesting to notice that Lord Wantage, while believing in the economy of a large farm system, was nevertheless a constant and consistent advocate of small holdings. While urging the advantages of large farms, managed by men with ample capital and a professional training, he thought—and here we give his own words—

'that the two modes of cultivating land fall in admirably together, and even assist one another. What the small farmer lacks in capital he makes up for by his own industry, and that of his family, and by having no labour bill. The land occupiers who have been most hard hit in these days are those who fall between two stools, having neither capital sufficient for working large farms, nor the habits of personal

industry which would enable them to work small farms with their own hands.' *

His attention was given very largely to methods of improving the means and status of those who laboured on the land with their own hands. With this object in view he started for those on the estate in receipt of weekly wages a savings bank on exactly the same lines as the Government Post Office Bank, except that he paid 5 instead of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on deposits.

About fourteen years ago Lord Wantage started a system of profit-sharing on his Home Farm, where from 350 to 400 hands were employed, among those who have been two years or more in his service. Under this arrangement a bonus varying in good or bad years from 60*s.* to 10*s.* per man has been paid, thus directly associating the labourer with the success of the undertaking. He was in a position, granted to few, of being able to put his theories into practice upon a very considerable scale. A true friend of the labourer, he consistently advocated 'the giving of better 'cottage accommodation, the increasing facilities for obtain-'ing allotments and small holdings, the giving assistance 'to those too old to work, with consequent exemption to the 'farmers from the necessity of employing broken-down 'labourers, the regulation of public-houses, the encouraging 'of thrift, the readjustment of taxes.' † And in every one ot these directions—except, of course, the last—he was able to do much. The son-in-law of Lord Overstone was not likely to fall a victim to the specious folly of Protection as a means of improving the condition of the agricultural labourer. 'In the supposed interest of the latter a most 'extraordinary doctrine is promulgated, which, plainly 'stated, amounts to this: that food is too cheap, and must 'be made dearer. The doctrine requires only to be stated 'to be condemned.' Nevertheless he believed much might be done to secure for the home farmer the supply of home demands now largely met by foreign products. It would be very possible, he thought,

'to develope village life, making each large village one independent self-supporting centre, where all necessary industries can be carried on, and where men earning good wages can become customers of the farmers for whom they work. The tendency of late years has been against village life, the stream setting into the big towns. . . . A turn

* See 'A few Theories carried into Practice,' by Lord Wantage.
† Ibid.

of the tide was possible, and the high scale of union wages in towns would promote the employment of village artisans, such as bricklayers, carpenters, wheelwrights, &c., who are not bound by union rules.'

Many years ago, in Lord Wantage's village of Ardington (before the Bishop of Chester had advocated the plan), a public-house had been established on lines very similar to those now adopted by Lord Grey and the Public-house Trust Association. A manager was installed at a fixed salary, having no interest in the sale of liquor, while he made a profit out of the sale of coffee and tea and soup; the profits on the liquor business, after payment of rent, taxes, and expenses, being devoted to various useful purposes, such as lighting the village street, improving the public room, and providing it with newspapers and periodical literature.

In the same village a store on the Rochdale system—*i.e.* ready-money payments, market prices of the district, and the division of profits among the purchasers in proportion to the amount of their purchases—has proved a great success; and it is interesting to learn how as time went on the taste of customers turned gradually towards English products, away from the American bacon, cheese, tinned meats, &c., which were originally in most demand. Both in co-operative trading such as this, and in co-operative farming, one great end was accomplished when labourers and employers were convinced that they had the same interests and were working for the same ends.

A practical farmer, Lord Wantage also valued highly the advantages that come from the scientific study of agriculture. As he said in addressing the Prince and Princess of Wales in 1898, when they were opening the new buildings of the Reading College (of which he was President, and to the founding of which he had given very material assistance), 'scientific knowledge must be added to practical knowledge 'if the best use is to be made of the land. . . . Walking 'over the land with a bailiff cannot do all that is needed in 'this matter.' And accordingly, in appealing for their countenance and support for the college, he pleaded especially for the newest of its schools—the School of Agriculture.

When Parliamentary inquiries were held on the subject of the owning and occupation of land, and on the condition of agriculture, the practical experience of Lord Wantage was, of course, in demand. Before the House of Commons Committee which in 1889, under the chairmanship of Mr. Chamberlain, inquired into the subject of small holdings,

Lord Wantage gave evidence of the operations of the 'Small 'Farm and Labourers' Land Company,' of which he was chairman. The company had been formed to purchase land in blocks for the purpose of reselling it, or letting it in small plots, to occupiers. As regards the resale to occupiers very little was done; but the land was eagerly taken up by yearly tenants, and, so far as it went, the experiment was successful in showing on the three estates acquired for the purpose in Berkshire, Cambridgeshire, and Wiltshire, that the land would produce more, pay better, and support a larger number of people than before. Five years later he was able to give further information of the doings of the company before the Royal Commission on Agricultural Depression, when he again testified to his strong desire to facilitate the obtaining of land in small portions by labourers. Good work had been done, but as a commercial success the company had hardly been prosperous from the point of view of the shareholders, who had not made a sufficient profit to tempt others to a similar investment.

As a practical farmer Lord Wantage achieved much fame, carrying off again and again the highest prizes at the great agricultural shows, and doing much to stimulate zeal in others by himself offering prizes for local competition. His stud of Shire horses at Lockinge is one of the best in the country. Among other improvements, a great tract of down-land, part of which had been broken up during the days of high wheat prices in the early part of the century, was re-sown with grass and converted into a cattle ranche. Reservoirs were established, water was pumped up, wells were sunk. Always alive to the present, but with his eyes bent on the future, he was by instinct a pioneer and experimentaliser in the pursuits which interested him.* He was never satisfied with that routine which has hung like a dead weight upon British agriculture. What use could be made of new methods? How to avail himself to the full of modern inventions? were questions always present to his mind. He was not afraid to risk much in experiment (and he could afford it); indeed, he felt it both a duty and a pleasure to make use in this way of the great opportunities which wealth afforded him. Rarely have the means and the man

* Thus he was a pioneer in the electric lighting of London, and the London Electric Supply Corporation practically owes its existence to the generous financial support he gave it at great risk to himself in its early days of difficulty.

been more happily combined to produce a maximum of public advantage. To him farming was a fascinating pursuit; it appealed strongly to his imagination, though he approached the study of it with a strong practical sense, and with a determination to treat agriculture, not as a rich man's hobby, but in order to show what could be done and what amount of produce obtained where farming is backed up by the capital and appliances of a rich man. But the poetry and the picturesqueness of agriculture also appealed to him. He wrote once at harvest-time to a friend :—

'The period of the year is most exciting owing to the carrying of the harvest. My wagons and horses are measured by tens and fifteens, and my men by the score. There is so much to be admired in the labourers, and so much to be learned of their character when they are fighting a real battle with the weather and the seasons, and the overpowering though not constant heat.'

He always delighted in a country life, with its manifold and ever-expanding interests. He greatly enjoyed and appreciated the varied scenery of foreign lands; but his heart was in his home, and he loved passionately the far-stretching downs, the cornfields, and the meadows of Berkshire.

Besides the constant duties entailed upon him by the management of his property, he had much to do as a magistrate, a member of the County Council, and chairman of many county committees. He was the head of, as he was the inspiring force in, almost every beneficial undertaking in the county. For twenty years—1865 to 1885, when he was made a Peer—he sat in the House of Commons as Member for Berkshire, of which county he was appointed by Lord Salisbury Lord-Lieutenant, an office he held for the last sixteen years of his life. Loyd-Lindsay was neither a great orator nor a brilliant debater, but he not unfrequently took part in debates on subjects of which he had practical knowledge and in which his opinion carried much weight. He was constantly called upon to preside over committees—a quiet but useful form of work which commended itself to him more than the intrigues and strife of purely party controversies. A steady Conservative in politics, his moderation of character and breadth of view saved him from that unreasoning dread of change which formerly oppressed the bulk of the country gentry. In the democratising of county government, and the entrusting of local powers and authorities to the elected representatives of the people, he was greatly interested, and his own experience of the new system entirely

confirmed the hopes he had formed of it. We have seen him urging a policy of small holdings and allotments when most Tory squires could hardly find words to express their contempt for the 'Radical fad.' He had little ambition for playing a prominent part in political life, and he disliked the extravagance and violence of party conflict. Nevertheless he was one of those men who cumulatively exercise no little influence as a steadying element in British politics. He had no personal ends to gain by party triumphs, and he wanted always to make the best of things in the interest of the country, though to make the worst of them might be the party cue of the moment. The only political office he ever held was in the Government of Lord Beaconsfield, as Financial Secretary to the War Office, 1877-80. The two Conservative leaders with whom he felt, perhaps, most in personal touch were Lord Beaconsfield and the Right Hon. W. H. Smith. The former appealed to his imagination; the straightforward devotion to duty was what attracted him in the latter, and between them grew up a cordial friendship.

As we have seen, amid all the interests of his new life, the old feeling for the army and everything that concerned its welfare still maintained its hold upon him. The love of soldiering, and sympathy with soldiers combined, moved him to undertake one of the great works of his life, viz. the provision of a systematic alleviation of the horrors of war by rendering what outside assistance is possible to its sick and wounded victims. Before the Franco-German War no organised work of this voluntary kind had been done in England, though the Geneva Convention of 1864 had already directed attention to the subject. On August 2, 1870, the first shot was fired at Saarbrück—an illusory victory for the French arms, which two days later were signally overthrown at the great battle of Woerth. On the 4th was held at Willis's Rooms the first meeting of the 'National Society ' for Aid to the Sick and Wounded in War,' with Colonel Loyd-Lindsay in the chair. The Society had sprung into existence after the declaration of war, when in this country the strongest emotion had been stirred at the sight of more than a million of men preparing to close upon each other in deadly conflict in a country so near our own as to bring the horrors of war vividly before the public imagination. The great battles which followed intensified the compassionate feelings of the people. It is impossible here either to describe the depth or universality of the sentiment of pity then aroused

for the sufferers in a conflict to which our own nation was no party, or to recount the measures taken to satisfy as far as possible the demands of humanity. Men who are old enough remember how, in almost every country house in the autumn of that year, the preparing of comforts for the French and German soldiers was undertaken. From rich and poor an overwhelming torrent of subscriptions in money and in kind flowed in. Among the very first received was a cheque for 1,000*l.* from Mr. Arthur Balfour. Colonel Loyd-Lindsay and his wife were the very soul of the movement. He had learned from the experiences of his youth how a well-managed Aid Society ready at the commencement of the Crimean War might have saved his countrymen much suffering and many deaths. Now, what was wanted was that which in English affairs is too often lacking—organisation. There was plenty of spirit, there was plenty of money, there was readiness to work as well as to pay. All that was needed was the organising and superintending mind; and this was supplied by the executive Red Cross Committee, for Colonel Loyd-Lindsay had gathered round him a group of men of the right quality for the work they had undertaken. Captain Brackenbury (now Major-General Sir Henry Brackenbnry, K.C.B.), Captain Galton (the late Sir Douglas Galton, K.C.B.), Mr. (now Sir John) Furley, Lord Bury, Lord Rothschild, Lord Overstone, the Earl of Shaftesbury, and Sir Harry Verney, under the presidency of Loyd-Lindsay, formed this very able executive body. In July 1871 they presented their report. They had received in cash nearly 300,000*l.*, sent by auxiliary committees, bankers, firms' staffs of employés, schools, regiments, men-of-war, concert-halls, congregations, &c., and from some 12,000 individuals. In such vast quantities did the bales and packages arrive that warehouse-room ran short, and the vaults under St. Martin's Church were hired for their temporary deposit. 'The majority of the contributions were 'in small and broken sums, extending from a thousand 'pounds down to a few shillings, and frequently little orna-'ments and trinkets were given to be sold for the benefit of 'the fund. Articles consisting of small packets of food or 'clothing were daily brought into the office, and it has been 'estimated that upwards of eight hundred thousand people 'sent their gifts in money or in kind, through the society, 'to the suffering soldiers of France and Germany.'* The

* Report of the Operations of the British National Society for Aid

suddenness with which the work was thrust upon them taxed the administrative powers of the Committee to the utmost, and only six weeks from its foundation it had in its employ at the seat of war 110 persons, of whom sixty-two were surgeons and sixteen ladies acting as nurses.

In October 1870 Colonel Loyd-Lindsay, at the request of the Committee, undertook to convey the sum of 20,000*l.* for the use of the German medical authorities at Versailles, and a like sum to the heads of the French medical military department at Paris. He was thus afforded a unique opportunity of visiting the headquarters of the besiegers and the besieged at a moment of unexampled interest.

Paris was closely invested. The German armies had carried everything before them, and were in occupation of great part of France. On the whole, Colonel Loyd-Lindsay thought that the conduct of the victors was marked by moderation; but the question of the Francs-Tireurs, who in small bands picked off German soldiers, and then resumed the character of peasants, was becoming a very serious one. 'This conduct,' he said, 'was exciting the direst animosity 'upon the part of the Germans, who doubtless would like to 'invade and conquer France with as little bloodshed, and be 'at the same time on as good terms as possible with the people 'whose country they invade and whose property they take.'

The work that Loyd-Lindsay accomplished is recorded in his letter to the committee, contained in an appendix to their Report; but perhaps of greater interest to modern readers are his references in private letters to incidents of his visit. On October 9 he drove from St. Germain into Versailles, which he found crowded with German Princes, supposed to form part of the King's staff, but in truth leading a perfectly idle life, without any real command or duties to perform, and concerning themselves only that due deference should be paid to their rank and position. Bismarck was more ready than the King to go shares with the French in the charitable assistance of England. The former, however, warned Loyd-Lindsay that entering Paris was a service of danger, for the French almost always fired upon the flag of truce, and he said that each *parlementaire* usually cost them a trumpeter.* He (Bismarck),

to the Sick and Wounded in War during the Franco-German War, 1870–71.

* It must be remembered that charges such as these have been made by each belligerent against the other in every war. In each alleged case the maxim, 'Hear the story as told by the other side,' should be borne in mind.

however, would do what he could to help him into Paris in safety. Loyd-Lindsay dined with the King, and had a good deal of talk with 'that bluff, good-natured, outspoken 'old soldier.' The Crown Prince, in conversation, recalled his visit to the Emperor and Empress at Paris, at the Exhibition, three years before, was full of sympathy for his foes, and manifestly a strong lover of peace. He was much liked, and Loyd-Lindsay heard a young Frenchwoman in the street exclaim as he passed, 'Mais il est très beau, ce 'prince, et on dit qu'il n'est pas méchant.' But Bismarck (whom he saw frequently, both at luncheon and dinner parties, and less formally in his smoking-room) was 'the 'life and soul of the Prussian headquarters, moving and 'directing everything. Never had he seen any one giving 'so strong an impression of commanding talent and intense 'determination and energy.' In speaking about the war, Bismarck said that the Prussians were desirous of peace, and were willing to come to terms; 'but,' he added, speaking always of *I*, without any allusion to the King, 'it is abso-'lutely impossible I can return and show myself before the 'Assembly of Prussia, after the sacrifice of a hundred 'thousand of her best and bravest sons, without having 'made a peace which the people will feel to be a secure and 'lasting guarantee against any possible future invasion by 'France.' He thought the razing of the fortifications of Metz and Strasburg would not be sufficient protection, for it was the natural position of the former that rendered it so formidable, and both must be held henceforth by the Germans. As for the correspondence and negotiations on the subject of the war, Bismarck spoke with confidence as to their establishing the right and justice of Prussian policy, and wished that they could be laid before impartial men, representing the Powers of Europe, including England, for their judgement. As to the chances and probable result of the war, Bismarck observed that 'he considered the Germans 'had every prospect of ultimate success if God Almighty 'would only remain neutral.' Only that morning the King of Prussia had received a curious letter direct from M. Ollivier, the Emperor's late Minister, written from Italy, stating that reflexion had convinced him that the injurious treatment of M. Benedetti at Ems was the chief cause of the war, and that he, as Prime Minister, would never consent to such treatment of his country's representative, all which he now considered it his duty to write to the King. This letter Bismarck read to Loyd-Lindsay, together with

his terse and crushing reply, in which he informed the unhappy Frenchman that he had no right from the depths of the obscurity into which he had fallen to dare to intrude his opinions or to place himself in this manner before His Majesty.

On October 12 Loyd-Lindsay entered Paris. Leaving his carriage at Sèvres, he passed on foot the last German outposts, and, the bridge being broken down, ferried across the Seine, and so found himself on French territory. On this occasion, at all events, the white flag was fully respected, and he was permitted as a favour to take with him his servant, Whittle, an old sergeant of the Scots Fusilier Guards, who was lucky enough during their short stay to witness a sortie from the French capital. They were conducted in safety to the quarters of the nearest general officer, who was established in Baron Rothschild's beautiful villa in the Bois de Boulogne; whence they were passed on to Paris, where Loyd-Lindsay had interviews with General Trochu and M. Jules Favre. Paris was on short rations, without news, and deeply depressed, as well it might be; and such was the suspicion of treason everywhere that no foreigner could walk in the streets in safety. Loyd-Lindsay was himself arrested as a Prussian spy, and had some little difficulty in persuading his captors to take him to General Trochu, where he was recognised and released.

Loyd-Lindsay was able to see to the useful application of the 40,000*l.* with which he was charged, and was well satisfied with the work that was being done. He visited almost all the hospitals, and himself looked into everything. At Versailles the wounded were lying in the magnificent galleries with the great pictures of the French victories around them; but even as regards the most moderate comforts, such as changes of clothes, warm flannels, good food, drink, &c., the sufferers were entirely dependent on voluntary aid. In Paris there was a great lack of surgeons. This visit to Versailles and Paris was, however, but an episode in the extensive work carried out by the Society over the whole seat of war, extending from Germany to the Loire country. France was covered by a network of red cross depôts, hospitals, and ambulances worked by a vast staff of agents (including many men of distinction in the army and other professions, surgeons, nurses, storekeepers, &c.). The Report of 1871 shows the vast amount and the great value of the work done by the National Aid Society throughout the war, and when peace came it was possible to carry forward

a considerable sum as a reserve, to put the society in a position to meet future and sudden contingencies—a matter of great importance.

Thus in 1876, when war broke out between Turkey and Servia, the society had a sum in hand, and was ready at once to take action. The Report issued in March 1877, after peace had been re-established, shows what was done in the Balkan Peninsula in the supply of stores, transport, field hospitals and appliances, beds, clothing, travelling expenses and pay of surgeons, dressers and assistants, &c. And as in 1870, so in 1876, Loyd-Lindsay himself visited the seat of war and made personal inspection on both sides into what was being done to further the 'Red Cross' work. On behalf of the National Aid Society he was able to render valuable assistance to Servian and Turkish sufferers.

Accompanied by Mr. A. K. Loyd (now member for North Berkshire), Colonel Colebrooke Carter, and Mr. (the late Sir William) MacCormac, he proceeded in August to the seat of war *viâ* the Danube and Belgrade, arriving at Alexinatz on the morning of September 1, the day of the battle. The view taken by an observer at once so competent and impartial of the state of affairs in that region is worth recording in the interest of true history. One of those emotional waves which occasionally sweep over Englishmen, rendering them blind and deaf to all evidence that does not square with the sentiment of the moment, had been stirred by the 'Bulgarian atrocities' of June and July. At times such as these trusted statesmen have it in their power to effect much, for good or for evil, by calming or by fanning the passions of the hour. Mr. Gladstone, deeply moved by the feeling of horror at the enormities that had been perpetrated, and dreading lest Lord Beaconsfield's Turkish sympathies should involve his country in another Russian war, led the agitation. It was supposed to be worse than unpatriotic, it was supposed to be inhuman, to doubt the accuracy of every unsifted story against Turks and Mohammedans that came from a Russian or a Christian source. The war in Servia was accepted as a genuine and generous uprising of the Servian people out of sympathy for their oppressed co-religionists in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Loyd-Lindsay was one of the first Englishmen to speak out, from direct personal experience, as to the real state of things. In letters to Lord Overstone and others (which were shown privately to leading statesmen on both sides) a most interesting account is given of facts that came under

his own personal observation. He had watched the battle of Alexinatz, and was convinced that had there been on the Turkish side only a thousand resolute men the Servian army would have been swept out of existence. As it was, it was heavily defeated, and he had himself to make a hurried retreat in order to escape capture. Writing on September 4 from Semendria, he says:—

'The Servian people are beaten and conquered, not by the vigour of the Turks, for they have none, but in the same way that a horse is beaten when neither whip nor spur can bring him on his legs again. It has been from the first a war in which the people have no sympathy whatever, for they have no grievance of the smallest kind to complain of. . . .

'. . . When in the country it is impossible to believe that the Servians are moved with indignation against the Turks for their bad government in Bosnia and Hertzegovina. They know nothing about it, and would care nothing if they knew. The war has been brought about, and is being carried on, by cunning rascals, who have caught hold of the reins of government in Belgrade.'

Nothing could be worse than the leaders, civil and military. 'These men in other countries would have been thought 'lucky to have obtained places as managers and markers in 'billiard saloons. . . .' The hospitals, he goes on to say, were filled with poor peasants who had blown off their own fingers to escape military service; and the adventurers, who had made war to serve their own purposes, were now denouncing the Servians as cowards. 'This sham rebellion 'has now failed. Pray let its imposture be thoroughly 'understood in England, and if there is any power to stop 'these poor people from being goaded on in the war, let it 'be exercised without delay. There are twenty-five officers 'of the Russian Imperial Guard here. They have dropped 'their commissions, but are to resume them again, as I was 'told by one of themselves.' Much disgusted with the imposture of the whole thing, only a feeling that it was his duty to stand by these unfortunate peasants induced him to prolong his stay. 'The insurrection,' he repeats, 'is a 'sham; a mass of riff-raff and tag-rag—500 so-called 'officers' and so-called doctors ill-treating rather than helping the wounded. The war could not have existed, nor could it be carried on, but for Russia, who was finding the money and furnishing the officers, and, in fact, 'making 'war on Turkey "under the rose."'

These impressions were forced upon him by what he saw with his own eyes when among the Servians. What he

afterwards saw and heard in Turkey further confirmed him in the belief that the English public had been greatly deceived and misled, and on his return home in the autumn he felt it to be his duty to do what he could to undeceive them. Accordingly, at a great meeting at Reading he recounted his own experiences, and with absolute frankness expressed his own opinion. So strong at that time was public feeling that many of his friends thought beforehand that he would not be able to obtain a hearing. To tell an English audience that 'the Turkish soldiers were sober, 'patient, and enduring; that he had never seen finer men; 'that English officers should have been taken into their 'service; and that Mr. Gladstone, in declaring that the 'Turks should be driven out of Europe, showed that he 'knew neither the Turks nor his own countrymen,' required some little courage in October 1876. Nevertheless he had an excellent reception, and was most attentively listened to, even by those who did not share his views. As time went on Englishmen became better acquainted with the pros and cons of the Eastern Question; others followed Loyd-Lindsay's example, and spoke and wrote of what they knew, and less fanatical views gradually began to prevail. In short, the country regained possession of its normal good sense before irremediable mischief had been done to 'British 'interests,' a regard for which it was the fashion of the day to denounce as incompatible with ordinary sentiments of humanity.

In April 1877 war was declared between Russia and Turkey, and again Loyd-Lindsay and the Executive Committee of the National Society were engaged in carrying out their benevolent work—despatching to both sides doctors, nurses, and dressers, establishing hospitals, sending out stores of every kind and comforts, bedding and clothing, medicine and surgical instruments. The Russians at first had supposed that their own medical service was amply sufficient to meet every possible contingency, and they accordingly began by declining to accept assistance except of a pecuniary kind; but experience soon showed them their mistake, and Russians, Turks, and Montenegrins were all glad to benefit by the exertions and the generosity of the English Society. The report of the Executive Committee of September 1878 shows in detail what was done.

So far the services of the Society had been rendered with equal hand to both sides in wars in which this country took no part. With the war in Egypt the Society's work entered

upon a new phase. Our own nation was now at war, and the object of the Society was to supplement the work which it was incumbent upon official administration to the best of its ability to perform. It is unnecessary to go into the details of what was accomplished in providing assistance and comforts for our own countrymen in the wars in Egypt and the Soudan ; but the report of the Executive Committee of the present year on the work done in South Africa during the war with the Dutch Republics shows how the system of affording voluntary aid to our troops has steadily developed along the lines which Loyd-Lindsay had always urged. In 1897 the International Congress of Red Cross Societies had reported on the desirability of organising, *in touch with the military authorities*; and on the danger of the 'overlapping' of the work undertaken by different organisations; and accordingly, the following year, at the request of the Secretary of State for War (Lord Lansdowne), a conference was held and a 'Red Cross Central Committee' for the Empire was formed, in which were represented the National Aid Society, the St. John Ambulance Association, the Army Nursing Service Reserve of which the Princess Christian is president, and the Army Medical Service. In April 1899 this committee, thus definitely constituted and officially recognised, was publicly announced, under the chairmanship of Lord Wantage. The Prince of Wales accepted the presidency of the committee, the object of which was declared to be to *supplement the Army Medical Service.* Regulations were framed and were submitted to the Secretary for War, and a division of business was made between the various organisations represented by the committee. Thus pecuniary subscriptions were to be carried to the general funds of the National Aid Society, while contributions of clothing and hospital comforts were to go to a central depôt in London to be administered by the St. John Ambulance Association. Offers of medical aid, doctors' applications, and so forth, were to be referred to the Director-General of the Army Medical Service ; while offers of houses for invalids were to be managed by the Soldiers' and Sailors' Help Society. In Africa the Red Cross Committee was to co-operate with the principal medical officer of the Field Force ; and hospital trains and hospital ships were to be fitted out by means of the funds of the National Aid Society, and to be placed at the disposal of the committee. In this way the greatest possible assistance has been rendered to the department whose business it is in the first place to provide succour to our sick and

wounded in war. Up to May of the present year, contributions, including grants from the Lord Mayor's Fund, amounted to 179,000*l.*, and the Red Cross Committee has now clearly become a permanent part of the system provided by the nation to mitigate as far as possible the inevitable sufferings of our sick and wounded soldiers.

There is something very characteristic of English ways in the rise and growth of the movements which have given us a 'Red Cross Organisation' and a Volunteer army, and in both Lord Wantage from the beginning took the lead. Each movement was spontaneous. Indeed, as regards the Volunteers, it is wonderful how little our official rulers have had to do with the creation of a force which directly adds so much to the armed strength of the nation, and which indirectly has conferred benefits on the people not easily overrated. Owing to the zeal and hard work of private individuals, and the hearty support of the general public, from comparatively small beginnings great things are accomplished, till at last the State recognises that what is being done is the business of the nation, and voluntary organisations and their work become incorporated with the national system.

For the most part Lord Wantage's life was spent at home, save for an occasional short trip abroad, and such visits in connexion with Red Cross work as have already been noticed. A holiday spent in South Africa in 1883 afforded him an opportunity of learning something of those racial difficulties that have lately brought so much trouble upon that afflicted land. The Boers were doing nothing, he said, to help the trade of the country, but there was much in their character that he liked, for

'they possessed qualities which Englishmen are usually willing to admire. . . . They are very hospitable and good-natured; they are men of fine appearance, and are immensely strong. . . . In the matter of hospitality the Boer is quite a gentleman; he gives you the best he has without any fuss. He is, in this respect, what we believe our ancestors to have been a hundred years ago when inns were uncommon. A night's lodging and meal are never refused by a Boer. But tales are told how the hospitality of the men has been abused by a certain class of Englishmen whose vulgarity and selfishness cannot be too severely condemned.'

At Kimberley—in those days far beyond the railway—he found a small but a 'high-toned, high-class English society.' Everywhere in South Africa the English provided the energy and capital, and it was clear that the future prosperity

of the country would be due to them. The Dutch, however, seemed the more permanently settled on the soil. They were essentially the landholding community of South Africa; the better class and superior people among the English having never cut themselves off from a possible return to England. There was a good deal of jealousy between the races, 'and there was no question more hotly 'argued all over South Africa than the rights and wrongs 'of the Convention with the Boers after the defeats of 'Laing's Nek, Ingogo, and Amajuba. The action of the 'English Government is almost universally condemned by 'Englishmen in the colony. The Dutch take a different 'view, and maintain that nothing less than lifelong bitter-'ness and hatred between the English and Dutch would 'have resulted.' Lord Wantage saw clearly enough the impending dangers of the situation. The Boers, while ready to welcome the material advantages that came to them from the increased prosperity and wealth of South Africa, the creation entirely of British settlers, strongly objected to British restrictions. 'In the Transvaal towns 'people might wish for profits, but the majority in the 'country would rather forego them than take them in 'company with curtailment of liberty and the obligation to 'pay taxes.' An election to the new Parliament at Cape Town was at hand, and it seemed that Boer dislike to the necessary concomitants of British progress was likely to effect the return of a majority of Dutch farmers. Over and above the jarring between English and Dutch there was the tremendous drawback caused by the overwhelming number of the black population; and he concludes that, on the whole, South Africa possesses a larger share of difficulties than any other British colony.* There could be no doubt in the mind of any impartial observer as to the nature of the problems with which English statesmanship had to deal in South Africa. Twenty years have passed away, and the problems have not found their solution.

In the winter of 1896 Lord and Lady Wantage visited in a very different part of the same continent the then utmost frontier of British rule. With General Sir Frederick Stephenson (his old friend and brother-officer of Crimean days), who a few years before had commanded the British troops in Egypt, they saw much of that country, interested equally in the antiquities of the valley of the Nile and in the great

* The Nineteenth Century, December, 1883.

work upon which our countrymen were engaged—the founding of stable institutions and the establishment of a firm and just rule in countries long a prey to the rapacity of tyrants or the desolating conquests of barbarian tribes. They had hardly returned from Wady Halfa when the order was given for the British advance, which was to end in the annexation of the Soudan and the whole valley of the Nile. Here, at least, the passage of years has tended to confirm the high hopes that Englishmen had formed of what British power would do for Egypt and the people of the Nile.

Perhaps, however, not the least useful part of Lord Wantage's life was the part of it about which there is the least to be said. We have purposely avoided all mention of his abundant charity, and of the constant aid he gave as a staunch churchman to the work of his diocese and neighbourhood. There was nothing narrow about his churchmanship, and he took little interest in the keen contentions of rival religious factions. Lord and Lady Wantage liked best to live at home among their own people. They drew round them at Lockinge a large circle of relations and friends, among whom were included no small number of men and women eminent in many various lines of life. Soldiers and statesmen, men of letters and artists, agriculturists and engineers, people who knew and cared about things which were worth knowing and caring about, found themselves as much at home at Lockinge with their host and hostess as the younger and gayer throng of both sexes which was always welcome. Lord Wantage was not a great reader, but he was interested in many subjects, and he was never afraid of detail. He was very thorough in all he undertook, never resting satisfied with a half-knowledge of the business he had in hand. The entire absence of affectation in his character, his transparent simplicity, his kindly sympathy, and his courteousness of manner, made him the friend of old and young alike; and among the latter the influence of his example was strongly felt. He had that gift of leadership which consists in the knowledge of how to select men. They on the other hand knew how to appreciate him, and they gave him of their best. His high sense of duty was instinctively felt by others, for he himself never mentioned the word. It was part of his nature, and seemed to come to him as a matter of course. Perhaps his attitude towards life is best expressed by his answer to a friend who, in his latter days of bodily weakness, was urging him to give up some public business: 'But I must do something to justify my existence.'

In the work of his life, and his life was largely made up of work, he was seconded, and more than seconded, by his wife, for without her constant help much of what he accomplished would have been impossible. Here we have been able to give only an outline of what he did, leaving people from that to infer for themselves what he was. He did not claim the possession of transcendent abilities or exceptional genius; but he was endowed with a clear brain and with an exceptionally calm sound judgement of men and things. When he had made up his mind, he was never afraid to take his own line, and he paid very little attention to the public criticism it might evoke. It was his straightforward singleness of purpose, his sense of duty, his never-failing courage, and what by these qualities he was able to accomplish, that made the life of Lord Wantage stand out among the lives of English gentlemen of his generation.

ART. III.—*Inaugural Address of the Earl of Rosebery, K.G., to the University of Glasgow, November* 16, 1900.

FEW problems connected with life and legislation have of late years exercised a greater number of tongues and pens than that of education. Speeches and lectures from different platforms, leading articles and essays in the press, and even sermons from the pulpit have been devoted to this subject. And not undeservedly. No question can be of greater importance to a nation than the question of what and how to teach those on whom the future prosperity of the nation depends. The answers given to the problem are almost as numerous as the persons who attempted its solution. The speakers and writers, even when quite free from party and class bias, could rarely divest themselves of those most deeply rooted of all prejudices—temperament and early association. The innate disposition of some to remain where they are, and the equally natural tendency of others to move on—these perennial springs of conservatism and progress—have in this, as in every other large question of the day, asserted themselves. In the following pages an attempt will be made to supply some hints—we do not presume even to attempt a solution—which may be found of assistance to those who wish to arrive at a calm and impartial decision on the subject. We shall chiefly occupy ourselves with that side of the question which belongs to higher or university education. When we have discovered what our highest ideals of education are, it will not be difficult to agree as to the steps leading up to them.

The ground must first of all be cleared of a certain ambiguity as to the nature of the task which a university undertakes to perform. It has repeatedly been stated that the universities have in many cases been unjust to the greatest of their sons, that to men of transcendent genius the Alma Mater has often proved a harsh and cold stepmother. This, within certain limits, is perfectly true. The university lives of great men seldom afford any but melancholy reading. To confine ourselves to a few common instances which will readily occur to most readers' minds. Shelley was ignominiously expelled from Oxford. Wordsworth, throughout his career at Cambridge, lived in a mood of sullen antagonism against the powers that be, and in determined opposition to the ideals and traditions of his college. Tennyson as an undergraduate inveighed in musical

verse against a system of education that 'feeds not the 'heart,' and left Cambridge without a degree. So did his great contemporary, Thackeray. In older days Gibbon ridiculed Oxford as a place 'of port and prejudice,' and the mysterious Junius denounced Cambridge as 'a seat of 'slumber and thoughtless meditation.' Carlyle, who belonged to neither university, could find no stronger terms to express his contempt for the narrow-minded and narrow-hearted, the uninspired and uninspiring pedant than by describing him as a person who looks at the world 'through 'a college window.' From Bacon to Coleridge, and from Locke to Froude, hardly any man of genius lifted up his voice in praise of these ancient and religious foundations.

Nor could it be otherwise. The university has often and aptly been compared to a nurse; and, like most nurses, it has an invincible and not altogether unreasonable belief in the efficacy of leading-strings. A youth of genius is a giant just beginning to realise his powers. His impatience of leading-strings is proportionate to the consciousness of his own strength. He is, therefore, moved to chafe against or to break away from the bonds devised for the guidance of ordinary mortals, and to rail against the nurse for her inability to distinguish between him and the latter. But how, in the name of common justice, is the poor nurse to draw the distinction? Mighty giants, extraordinary pieces of work though they are, bear no hall-mark of their quality. Even the infant Herakles had to establish his claims to exceptional treatment by strangling the monsters sent to attack him in the cradle. It was only after that feat that his wonder-struck parents realised that they had no ordinary baby to deal with. On the other hand, men distinguished not so much for genius as for talent, men who adorned their generations with their culture rather than enriched it with fresh contributions to its stores of thought or knowledge, have always found in the universities the training and guidance and stimulus of which they stood in need, and have been grateful accordingly.

The truth is that universities never were intended for men of transcendent genius. Such men need no human fostering, Nature herself being their nurse. This truth was recognised by the shrewd and philosophic author of 'English Traits,' who sums up his impressions of Oxford in these memorable words: 'Universities are, of course, hostile 'to geniuses; which, seeing and using ways of their own, 'discredit the routine: as churches and monasteries perse-

'cute youthful saints.' What was true in Emerson's day is true to-day, and ever will be. History is full of the lives of men who have left behind them deep 'footprints on the 'sands of time,' and yet who had never had a university education. Shakespeare and Keats, Bunyan and Burns, Socrates and Spinoza, and legions of other intellectual luminaries of greater or less magnitude, were beholden to no academical institution for their light. To descend from heaven to earth. Some of the inventions which have exercised the greatest influence over modern life are due to humble self-taught mechanics. Watt and Stephenson and Edison, Dalton and Faraday, and hosts of others whose names have become household words, belonged most emphatically to the 'town' and not to the 'gown.' But if we cannot make men of genius, 'we can,' in the words of Mr. Chamberlain,* 'multiply tenfold the number of those who 'are qualified to be the assistants and interpreters of these 'men, who can take their ideas and carry them into prac-'tical operation in the different walks in life to which they 'may devote themselves.' This is indeed the legitimate function of all educational institutions, whether their object is to advance the cause of culture or to foster the material welfare of mankind, or whether they aim at both. To use the language of commerce, men of genius are the producers and wholesale dealers in science and literature; men of mere talent are the retailers and popularisers of the goods produced by others. The former are the pioneers and explorers of new intellectual regions; the latter are the settlers who develope and exploit the lands discovered by others. Both classes are useful and each depends on the other, while the community depends on both. But education can only concern itself directly with one. The university, therefore, is not to be judged by the few great poets and thinkers whom it has occasionally expelled or ignored, but by the large mass of men of average ability whom it annually sends forth into the world to fight the battle of life in Parliament and the Church, at the Bar and in the Civil Service, and the many other ranks chiefly recruited from among the members of Oxford and Cambridge. In so far as these men are well equipped for the work which their generation expects of them, in so far has the university fulfilled its mission and merited well of the nation. The

* Speech delivered at the meeting of the Court of Governors of the University of Birmingham, January 17, 1901.

ideal university ought to be a complete embodiment of the ideals—intellectual as well as practical—of its own age. Its vocation is to instil those ideals into its children. Now it follows that, as those ideals in a healthy state of society are not stationary but progressive, so the university must help the work of progress by training its children in a manner which will enable them to absorb the new and assimilate it with the old. In other words, while aiming at teaching the lessons of the past and qualifying its children for the needs of the present, it must be careful not to block the way to the possibilities of the future. How far do our modern universities realise and fulfil these conditions?

The question can best be answered by a comparison of the standards held up to university students at various times during the last fifty years, with the practical application of those standards. For this purpose we need only glance at the addresses delivered by distinguished men at various seats of learning during the period. The Scottish universities, thanks to their excellent custom of periodically electing to their chief magistracies such men, supply us with a splendid opportunity of establishing the comparison which we want. In these inaugural speeches we find a faithful and most interesting reflexion of contemporary opinion on the ends and aims of academic instruction. The speakers, while each after his own fashion expressing his own opinions on the subject, are all more or less unconsciously voicing the views of their generations. And great is the variety of the rival views expounded. Equally great are the changes and modifications which the ideas of each successive generation as a whole have undergone during the past half-century.

The speech delivered by Macaulay on the occasion of his installation as Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow in 1849 is a good specimen of the self-complacent attitude of the Englishmen of his day. As was to be expected of one who in the midst of the wonders of India could write Greek iambics, and who passed over in silence novelists like Dickens and Thackeray, while he revelled in the works of eighteenth-century fiction, Macaulay's address is retrospective. He draws a brilliant picture of the progress achieved in the past, and with his usual optimism foretells like progress for the future. His ideal of a university, so far as can be seen through his periods of dazzling declamation, is perfect—perhaps too perfect to be even partially realised on this imperfect planet of ours. A university is to include 'a long list of eminent men, great masters of

'experimental science, of ancient learning, of our native 'eloquence, ornaments of the senate, the pulpit, and the 'bar,' and 'to promote the physical and moral good' of the species. How this glorious end is to be attained the orator does not say. It is a fine, though somewhat vague prospect: it fills the imagination without exactly convincing the understanding. While Macaulay was speaking Cardinal Newman was composing his 'Idea of a University,' a work devoted to the consideration of a question which had already occupied men's thoughts for many years. And yet from Macaulay's speech it would be impossible to guess that university education had ever been the subject of debate in his time: that its aims and methods had ever been questioned; that its ideals had ever been assailed and defended.

In striking contrast to this masterpiece of eloquence stands Mill's inaugural address delivered to the University of St. Andrews in 1867. During the eighteen years which intervened the complacency with which Englishmen were accustomed to contemplate their own perfection—so far at least as education was concerned—underwent considerable modification. Men began to ask themselves if, where there was so much excellency, there might not also be room for further improvement. The old controversy regarding the comparative merits of the ancients and the moderns, which some two centuries earlier had occupied the minds of Sir William Temple and Dean Swift, was resuscitated under a slightly different aspect. It was no longer a theoretical discussion as to whether the works of the Athenians of the age of Pericles were superior or inferior to the works of the French of the age of Louis XIV., but a question as to how far the study of the classics was useful for educational and practical purposes. The question is one which will never cease to be raised, so long as classical literature continues to form an integral part of modern education. And so long as mankind is divided between mind-worshippers and matter-worshippers, so long will either cause find firm and enthusiastic supporters. In Mill's day the discussion took the form of a rivalry between the literary and the scientific sides of education, and the educational world was divided into two opposite camps—conservatives, espousing the cause of the ancient classics, and ardent reformers fighting for modern languages and science. Mill brought to the controversy qualities and qualifications such as few of his contemporaries could boast. He possessed the advantage of

knowing a great deal more about both sides of the question than the majority of those who spoke in favour of either. To the literary man's appreciation of the beauties of literature he joined the philosopher's capacity of seeing the merits of a scientific training, and he blended the two in the practical statesman's regard for the common good. His address still remains the most valuable contribution to this important and vexed question. Many of the arguments brought forward by advocates of either side at the present day have long ago been used by Mill, and many of the objections raised by their opponents have long ago been answered by Mill.

In this essay—for it really is more of an essay than of a speech—Mill gives it as his opinion that a liberal education should include both literature and science. Nothing can deserve the name of a good education which excludes either. With regard to the function of a university, he defines it as 'not a place of professional education. Universities are not 'intended to teach the knowledge required to fit men for 'some special mode of gaining their livelihood. Their 'object is not to make skilful lawyers, or physicians, or 'engineers, but capable and cultivated human beings.' In other words the primary and proper mission of a university is not education in the limited sense of the term, but culture. 'Its province ends where education, ceasing to be general, 'branches off into departments adapted to the individual's 'destination in life.' The university, according to Mill's ideal, should not aim at qualifying the student for any particular pursuit, but at training his intelligence and forming his character in a manner which shall influence his conduct in life, whatever profession he may choose to adopt. This, with a few notable exceptions, was the view generally held by the intellectual world until Mill's time. It was the view of the founders of our old universities who, by erecting and endowing colleges, carried out the principles of the humanists of the Renaissance. It was the view expounded by the old Greek philosophers, and the term 'education' was used by Mill exactly in the sense in which Plato would have understood it.

It is undoubtedly a noble and lofty ideal. But Mill, in advocating a system of general education, covering every branch of knowledge, perhaps over-estimated the capacity of the average human brain. It is not every one who can or wishes to take 'all learning for his province.' Every man is not a Bacon or an Aristotle. Besides, in regarding univer-

sity education as a continuation in every line of school education, he takes it for granted that the majority of men who go to the university can afford to employ the years spent there in general self-improvement. When he says that 'these things (viz. law, medicine, engineering, and the 'like) are needed only by a comparative few,' he makes a statement hardly borne out by facts. On the contrary, actual experience shows that among the thousands of youths who go up to the universities every year, there are very few who can afford the luxury of pure culture. The vast majority of them are only enabled to go through an academic training at a great personal sacrifice. Many parents have to pinch themselves in order to give their sons such a training, and many sons are obliged not only to keep themselves at college, but also to assist their parents out of the work of their brains. These students—very often some of the noblest objects of national education—seek in the university a training which, besides qualifying them to cope successfully with the moral and intellectual problems and perplexities of the day, will also equip them for the struggle for existence. A livelihood is for them of much greater and more immediate moment than any ornamental culture.

This need did not exist in the age when the universities were founded. In those golden days a college education was the privilege of two classes of men—those who set intellectual riches above material wealth, and were, therefore, content to lead an existence of 'plain living and high 'thinking,' and those whose social rank and family connexions enabled them to dispense with the anxiety for a career. As for what are now called the masses, they considered a grounding in the moral truths of the Bible an ample provision for the soul and the acquisition of a craft an equally sufficient means of satisfying the needs of the body. But all this is altered. The progress of the exact sciences, the consequent multiplication of the subjects of knowledge, the enlarged range of activity, and the necessity for division of labour brought in their train many new wants and awoke ambitions and aspirations no longer to be satisfied by the old provisions. The whole aspect of life underwent a complete revolution. The apprentice system was swept away, and the Bible fell a prey to Higher Criticism. The necessity for a broader education became more and more felt through all social strata, and the ancient university system was found less and less competent to meet the new demands made upon it. The universities found themselves confronted

by the dilemma: either to conform to, and keep pace with, this altered state of things, or to make room for institutions better fitted to supply the requirements of the times. They wisely chose the first alternative, and, though slowly and somewhat reluctantly, they began to bestir themselves. Already before Mill's time natural and moral sciences were admitted to share the honours of classics, mathematics, and theology.

But the progress was much too slow to satisfy the ardent reformer's soul. Scarcely two years had passed since Mill delivered his speech at St. Andrews, when Froude addressed the students of the same university on the same subject. His address amounts to a direct answer to his predecessor's utterances. Froude takes a diametrically opposite view of the whole question. If Mill went too far in counselling general culture, Froude goes still farther in advocating special education. Specialisation is the keynote to his theory. It must commence in infancy and be continued throughout the boy's scholastic and academic career. He begins by laying down the principle that

'every boy born into the world should be put in the way of maintaining himself in honest independence. No education which does not make this its first aim is worth anything at all . . . Add knowledge afterwards as much as you will, but let it be knowledge which will lead to the doing better each particular work which a boy is practising; every fraction of it will then be useful to him.'

All general culture is superfluous, for 'every honest occupa-'tion to which a man sets his hand would raise him into a 'philosopher, if he mastered all the knowledge that belonged 'to his craft.' Nor is this stern and uncompromising doctrine to be applied merely to those who will adopt a manual occupation.

'As the world requires handicrafts, so it requires those whose work is with the brain, or with the brain and hand combined—doctors, lawyers, engineers, ministers of religion. . . . To the education for the professions I would apply the same principle. The student should learn at the university what will enable him to earn his living as soon after he leaves it as possible.'

He recognises that his scheme is not sublime: 'The principle 'that I advocate is of earth, earthy.' Froude, unlike Mill, has a poor opinion of man's intellectual power of acquisition. He admits that 'history, poetry, logic, moral philosophy, 'classical literature are excellent as ornament,' but he characteristically observes: 'You cannot learn everything. '. . . You must choose . . . and the only reasonable guide

'to choice in such matters is utility.' Specialisation and utility, utility and specialisation are the two poles between which Froude's educational ideal revolves. They undoubtedly are the two guides to worldly success. They are the foundation-stones of material prosperity. But is material prosperity the only or the chief object of national education? Froude was fond of quoting the Bible. It is a matter of wonder that the words 'Man shall not live by bread alone' never occurred to him.

'What is man,'

asks the bewildered and doubt-tossed Hamlet,

'If his chief good, and market of his time,
Be but to sleep, and feed?'

and the old, old answer comes, 'A beast, no more.'

The absolute specialist is a creature who, fortunately for humanity, can only be found in Froude's system and in second-rate fiction. But, if he existed in reality, he would be an intellectual freak, even more unnatural than the half-man of Eastern folklore. The average specialist, whom one occasionally meets in real life, is at the best a victim. He is an individual doomed to forgo many sources of mental enjoyment for the welfare of his fellow-men. He is compelled to confine his interests and sympathies within the narrowest possible limits. He looks upon life through a microscope, and the minute details of his special subject obscure his vision to the great truths and beauties of this glorious universe. We recognise that specialisation is necessary. It is a necessary evil. As, in humbler spheres, millions of men are condemned to spend their days in sunless mines, or on the wastes of land and water, so in higher walks of life some few must sacrifice themselves to the good of the species. Yet they themselves do not always feel the greatness of the sacrifice. The hardened entomologist finds in his beetles all the beauty that he is capable of conceiving. The discovery of a new specimen is to him a source of as great and genuine happiness as a victory is to a general, a political triumph to a statesman, or an unexpected half-crown to a beggar. Happiness is subjective, and perhaps we need not waste too much pity on the specialist. In like manner we need not pity the born blind for his inability to enjoy the beauties of colour, or the born deaf for his insensibility to the joys of music. But are blindness and deafness, therefore, things to be sought after as positive blessings? On the other hand, it would not be

difficult to mention scores of men who excelled in various pursuits, just because they were not specialists in Froude's sense of the word. Grote's 'History of Greece' is a monument of the classical erudition of a banker. It won a pre-eminent place amid the works of scholars by profession, and, despite the results of more recent research, it holds its ground gallantly to this day—a proof of what talent unfettered can achieve. Colonel Leake's 'Travels' still remains a valuable mine of information to scholars, while Colonel Mure's 'History of Greek Literature,' though lately superseded, was in its day the standard work on the subject.

The cry for utility in education, originally raised by Locke in the seventeenth century and echoed often and loudly by others before Froude, has been gathering strength during the thirty years that have elapsed since Froude spoke. The arguments which first set the 'practical education' theory in motion have been gaining in volume and vigour, if not in intrinsic value. During this period knowledge—the knowledge of facts—has been accumulating with ever-increasing velocity, the standard of living has been rising, and fewer men are content to pursue culture for its own sake. In a word, the world has become more materialistic. To the causes already enumerated, quite sufficient to influence English education by themselves, has been added the fear of foreign competition. To the old insular arrogance and sublime self-sufficiency, which rendered the Briton unpopular and ridiculous abroad, succeeded a state of scepticism as to the titles upon which such an estimate of himself rested. The belief in our own superiority, which made us regard ourselves as being 'at the centre of the situation,' and which Matthew Arnold had the courage—rare in those days—of caricaturing in his parable of 'the young man from the country who talks to the nursemaid after she has upset the perambulator,' gave way to an anxious inquiry into our position as a nation. Men ceased to talk of our own 'unparalleled progress,' and we began to hear more of the progress made by others. Finally this tendency culminated in a feverish alarm for our leadership among the nations of the earth. The old state of mind, after all, had something of dignity in it. But the new attitude, albeit a trifle undignified, is not entirely unjustified.

At the time when Macaulay indulged in his historic retrospect, England stood out as the only country that

had come unscathed through the revolutionary ordeal which had ruined so much that once was great and venerable in Europe. He was guilty of no exaggeration when, referring to British institutions, he said: 'The hurricane, which has re-
'cently overthrown so much that was great and that seemed
'durable, has only proved their solidity. They still stand,
'august and immoveable, while dynasties and churches
'are lying in heaps of ruin all around us.' The institutions still remain unimpaired, having 'nothing of age but its
'dignity,' and 'their strength is still the strength of youth.' But their relative position towards the world at large is no longer the same. Great changes have come over Europe and America since those days. The 'heaps of ruin' have been displaced by new edifices. Europe, gradually recovering from the devastations of the Napoleonic wars, began to restore much that had been destroyed, and to lay the foundations of much that had never existed before. New States sprang from the ashes of older ones, and set themselves to work with the vigour and enthusiasm appertaining to youth. America emerged from the trial of her civil war with renewed strength. A period of unprecedented prosperity—largely due to the favourable conditions of a new country—set in.

On the old hemisphere, also, the Franco-German war stimulated both belligerents to extraordinary exertion, and the long peace that ensued favoured their progress. France, secure from without, and within enjoying at last with comparative tranquillity the blessings of civil liberty, bought at a price never before paid for liberty, began to seek fresh outlets for her industry and to discover new fields for activity. The increase in commercial and manufacturing prosperity necessitated increase in territory, and French efforts at colonisation resulted in the occupation of a large portion of Africa. Russia also expanded and is daily expanding in Asia—spreading an iron network over vast tracts of land scarcely accessible to our fathers. Like a gigantic spider she entangles in the meshes of her web new peoples and races, absorbs them, and with increased vitality proceeds to further conquests. If Italy has been left behind in the race, her failure is not due to lack of ambition. But of all European nations none can compete in rapidity of progress with Germany. Prussia, Lord Palmerston's 'country of d—d professors,' has shown to the world that she can do other things than produce professors. After having humbled Austria and France and consolidated the

German Empire, she raised herself from a second-rate power to the position of umpire of European politics—a position which she has ever since maintained. Industry flourished under this new régime, trade carried the German flag to the furthest corners of the earth, and trade, as usual, was soon followed by territorial expansion.

So we find that England, both as a commercial and as a colonising nation, has ceased to enjoy a monopoly, and must now reckon with rivals daily growing in numbers and strength. The progress of Germany and of America especially threatens to deprive England of her long-held supremacy on those two lines. A superficial investigation into the origin of this progress reveals the fact that it is in great measure due to the principles of utility and specialisation applied to education in both those countries with a thoroughness and strictness which would have evoked even Froude's admiration. The conclusion to be drawn from these premisses is obvious: if we are to preserve our ancient position as leaders in the race for material wealth, we must imitate our rivals. We must fight them with their own weapons. This is the lesson which Lord Rosebery endeavoured to impress upon his hearers from the place once filled by Macaulay. We shall resist the temptation of comparing the two speakers and their speeches, and content ourselves with an examination of the new Lord Rector's address on its own merits.

After a masterly survey of European and American progress in the directions described above, Lord Rosebery enters upon a discussion of the shortcomings of our own educational system. He seems to take it for granted that our present position as a nation, no longer alone in the pursuit of discovery, developement, and annexation, is due as much to inertia on our part as to movement on the part of the others. The illusion is not unlike the one familiar to travellers by rail or motor-car. He complains that our universities do not produce an adequate supply of Civil servants. Surely a glance at the successful candidate lists of the Civil Service is sufficient to set any one's fears on that score at rest. Whether the system of examination for posts in the Civil Service—especially Indian and colonial—at present in vogue is the best possible, is open to question. We are as much inclined to doubt its perfection as Lord Rosebery himself. But, until a better one is devised, we must be content to see that the candidates are duly qualified according to its rules. On this point few people, who will

take the trouble to cast a look at the annual results, will entertain any apprehension. The standard rises by leaps and bounds. During the last three or four years the maximum of marks from 3,000 reached the astounding figure of 5,000, while the minimum requisite for a place is well over 2,000. These figures—to those who can realise their meaning—are eloquent of mental labour exacted by few other callings. Whether mental labour, however, should be the sole requisite for success; whether brain capacity should form the basis of an examination for a career in which so many other kinds of capacity play an important part, is a question upon which we do not propose to enter. Suffice it to say that the system has hitherto been attacked by two classes of critics whose criticisms neutralise each other. Some object to its standard as being too low, and others as being too high; while a third class complains of the amount of 'cramming' that it involves. Now 'cramming' is a term liable to endless extension and misapprehension. What does constitute cramming? The committing to memory undigested or imperfectly digested facts. No candidate ever scored many marks by pure cramming in a test conducted on the Civil Service examination lines. The degree of excellence on each particular subject required in order to obtain any marks at all, precludes the possibility of the mere crammer beating a really clever competitor. As to committing things to memory in a more or less mechanical manner, there are many kinds of knowledge that cannot be acquired in any other way. Such are the vocabulary of a foreign language and the dates of events and names of places in every language. Besides, it is a noteworthy fact that the men who obtain the highest places in the examination as a rule are men who have had no 'coaching' and *a fortiori* no 'cramming.'

A considerable portion of Lord Rosebery's address is devoted to an attack on the teaching of the classics in our public schools and universities. The complaint strikes one as somewhat antiquated. It arises, as usual, from a confusion of the two objects which national instruction has in view, namely, culture and education. Now both the ancient languages are admitted on all hands to be the best training instruments ever invented, and they are, therefore, invaluable as means towards awakening and exercising the intelligence. Their utility even from this limited point of view is great. Lord Rosebery concedes even more than this

to Latin. He grants its usefulness as a 'universal language.' 'But how about Greek?' he asks. 'It is perhaps the 'noblest of tongues; it enshrines perhaps the noblest 'of literatures. To learned men it is a necessity. But 'must it be a part of the necessary equipment of the 'ordinary youth of the nineteenth century who has so much 'to learn in order to be equal to the age?'

Why, no! we answer. But in our turn we ask, To what extent is Greek 'a part of the necessary equipment of the 'ordinary youth' at the present day? The place assigned to Greek nowadays is very restricted. The Classical Tripos forms only one of a number of triposes. No privilege is accorded to the classical student that is not enjoyed by the student of modern or Oriental languages, of history, of law, of moral or mental science, to say nothing of theology and mathematics. In the case of natural science—that is, physics, chemistry, &c.—the relative positions are reversed, and the quantity of money and attention expended on these subjects is such as no classical scholar ever dreamt of claiming for his own subject. So great is the change that has come over the spirit which animates the old universities—Cambridge especially—that could Tennyson visit the haunts of his youth again to-day he would most probably see reason to reconsider his verdict. He would still find, indeed,

> 'The portals statued with old kings and queens,
> The gardens, myriad-volumed libraries,
> Wax-lighted chapels, and rich carven screens,'

but side by side with these institutions he would also find palatial museums and laboratories devoted to researches in a world hardly suspected by

> 'the doctors and the proctors and the deans'

of his day. So much have the old universities conceded and are daily conceding to the 'changed conditions of the 'world' of which Lord Rosebery speaks. So much have they done and are doing in order to meet the new demands of the age. To ask them to do more is to ask them to lose sight of the object which has been stated as forming the other half of their dual mission.

To refer to Germany, whose example is ever held up to us as a model for imitation. Germany has attained her present rank not by abolishing the old educational system, but by supplementing and improving it in accordance with the requirements of modern civilisation. Germany is producing

a great number of scientists and scientifically trained manufacturers and merchants; but she has not therefore ceased to produce a great number of scholars. Scholarship has not been ousted or superseded by trade. Lord Rosebery's remark that 'now every nation wishes to be a nation of 'shopkeepers,' as applied to Germany, is particularly infelicitous. It is only that portion of each nation which, under any conditions and in all periods of time, sets money-making above spiritual perfection, that wishes now, as it ever wished before, to become a class of shopkeepers. It is a curious way of asserting our claims to supremacy by aspiring to justify the taunt of our rivals. England did not attain her present pre-eminence among the peoples of the world by being 'a nation of shopkeepers.' It is to far other qualities than those appertaining to shopkeeping that she owes her greatness, and it is far other qualities that will enable her to retain it. And when the day comes on which England will, in the inevitable course of things, be obliged to resign her place to a younger successor, we may be certain that this successor will not be a glorified shopkeeper, but something quite different.

We do not mean to imply that commerce is not essential to national happiness, or that any system of national education can claim to be perfect which does not attribute due importance to this side of national life. What we protest against is the lack of sense of proportion betrayed by all proposals that tend to sacrifice the cultivation of the mind to a mere bread-and-butter education—to make it subservient to the class of studies which our German friends aptly call 'bread learning' (*Brodwissenschaft*). Let such studies flourish by all means. Let all those who are intended for a commercial or an industrial career have abundant means of fitting themselves in the best possible manner for their pursuits. But do not let us therefore disregard the claims of other pursuits. We shall be glad to see more technical and commercial schools established throughout the country. We shall be glad to see the old schools enlarging their curriculum so as to embrace the course of instruction more immediately adapted to the exigencies of the age. Much can be done in that direction by clipping the classical side of superfluous matter. The time consumed in the profitless task of forging spiritless poetry in the dead tongues might with great advantage be devoted to the writing of sensible prose in a modern language. Room might be made for science by a judicious

curtailment of the hours given up to sports. Athleticism, an admirable thing in itself, should no longer be allowed to encroach on the provinces of mental improvement. In a word, let our boys be made to work more and play less. Let them be taught, in addition to classics, modern languages and science, history, and English literature. There is no danger of overwork if the various subjects are distributed with judgement. The oft-quoted Germans may serve us as models in this instance also. The average graduate of a German gymnasium—which roughly corresponds to an English public school—knows as much Greek and Latin as the average English youth of the same standing. But, unlike the English youth, he knows many things besides Greek and Latin.

With regard to higher education, it is a splendid sign of wakefulness that the old universities have welcomed the new subjects of instruction. But the number of these guests might be enlarged. The demand of the mercantile committee of Edinburgh, cited by Lord Rosebery, is both sensible and feasible: 'that to our universities shall be added 'a commercial faculty which would stimulate the com- 'mercial side in our secondary schools, and which would be 'of substantial importance in attracting to the university 'men who are about to enter on a commercial life.' The experiment has been tried elsewhere with marked success. But the scope of developement in that direction is necessarily limited by other considerations, and after all, perhaps, the new subjects may best be cultivated in a new soil. For this reason we hail with hearty satisfaction the establishment of universities with a purely practical programme in our great industrial and commercial centres. We agree to a certain extent with Lord Rosebery that 'the newest of our 'universities has advantages which are denied to the 'ancient, with regard to modern requirements. For the 'practical purposes of the present day, a university which 'starts in the twentieth century has a great superiority over 'a university founded in the fifteenth.' But this is a matter on which our children or grandchildren will probably be in a better position to pronounce than ourselves.

We have passed in review the two contending theories: general *versus* special education. We have freely criticised both. It is only fair that we should proceed to state our own views on the subject. It seems to us that the two theories are not irreconcileable. There are room and time for both systems, if room and time are used with economy.

Let school education be as general and comprehensive as possible. Specialisation in a mild form might begin, as it actually does in several of our schools, a year or two before leaving—the amount of special study to be determined with a view to the difficulty and extent of the subject. A youth thoroughly well grounded in an elementary—which, as Mill points out, does not mean a superficial—general knowledge, and adequately prepared for the particular course of study which he means to take up as a profession, can from the very commencement of his academic career devote himself to his speciality. Let then, but not until then, specialisation be applied in the strictest sense of the term. Thus what is best in each system can be secured without any apprehension that school education may produce the prig centuries ago ridiculed as one who

ἔργ' ἠπίστατο πολλά, κακῶς δ' ἠπίστατο πάντα,

nor that, on the other hand, university training may degenerate in the type of man pithily described by the mediæval wit, 'purus mathematicus, purus asinus.'

A youth so trained and so equipped will fairly answer to the modest definition of a well-educated man as 'a man who 'knows something of everything, and everything of some-'thing.' All the faculties of his mind will be developed harmoniously and symmetrically. His taste will be refined, his observation quickened, and his judgement strengthened. His intellectual horizon will be widened, and his sympathies deepened. His early encyclopædic culture, if it does not do all that the most sanguine idealist may claim for it, if it does not quite fit him 'to perform justly, skilfully, and 'magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of 'peace and war'—the standard contemplated by Milton's lofty imagination—will at least enable him to treat his own special work in a broad philosophic spirit; to estimate the work of others, who labour in remote yet not foreign fields, at its true value, and to benefit by it. He will realise in some degree that the various subjects of knowledge, howsoever dissimilar they may appear when viewed separately, are nevertheless connected by internal ties of kinship, as the branches of a tree are connected with the trunk, which again has its roots deep in the soil of Universal Wisdom.

No one subject can be truly understood, unless it is considered in its relation to other subjects. In Cardinal Newman's words, 'the sciences, into which our knowledge 'may be said to be cast, have multiplied bearings one on

'another, and an internal sympathy, and admit, or rather 'demand, comparison and adjustment. They complete, 'correct, balance each other.' This applies not only to the sciences, in the narrow and popular acceptation of the word, but to all subjects of knowledge alike. Socrates realised this all-pervading law more than twenty-three hundred years ago, and the Dialogues in which he figures as the protagonist are so many illustrations of his consciousness of the unity of things. But the truth expounded by the philosopher had already been divined by the poet. What is all poetic simile and all allegory but a tacit recognition of the correspondence between the material and the moral worlds? Who is so dull as not to feel the force of Coleridge's remark, when he explained that he attended Sir Humphry Davy's lectures on chemistry in order 'to increase his stock of metaphors'?

These are elemental truths, world-old and world-wide in their application, affected neither by geographical nor by chronological distance; the Greek of the fifth century B.C. is at one with the Englishman of the nineteenth century A.D. But in a discussion of the practical issues of any question it would be well not to ignore or underrate the minor difficulties arising from difference of country, race, and age. This is unfortunately what most frequently happens. This is the error into which fall most of those who advocate sweeping reforms on foreign patterns. To compare the Continental with the British educational system to the disparagement of the one or the other is like comparing a dark with a fair complexion, a tropical with a temperate climate. One nation can doubtless gain much by imitating what is best in another; but the imitation must be conducted with extreme care and caution, and after due consideration of the peculiar qualities which differentiate one nation from another. Unless the copyist is gifted with insight and discrimination, and is guided by the wisdom of past experience, the experiment is apt to produce results anything but satisfactory. No country has ever profited by a wholesale importation of institutions foreign to its soil. Parliamentary government, to which England and the English-speaking world owe so much, proved an utter failure when transplanted into countries whose previous developement had not prepared them for such an institution. It only bore fruit after a long and painful process of modification and adaptation, which cost so much labour and involved so much loss, in more ways than one, that we may well wonder whether it would not have been better for

those countries had they never heard of the British Constitution.

Nor is education to be treated as an isolated feature of national life. It is only one of a great number of elements which go to make up a heterogeneous and yet not inharmonious whole. To say that English education is different from French or German education is the same thing as to say that an Englishman is not a Frenchman or a German, that the British Isles are not Continental Europe. The difference, of course, is no matter for self-congratulation, no more than it is matter for self-commiseration. It is an accident with which we have as much or as little to do as with the accident of our difference in speech, or with the geographical position and the climatic conditions of our country. Further, our own historic developement has been entirely different from the historic developement of the Continent. The deluge which time and again swept the soil of the Continent clean, and prepared it for the reception of fresh growths, was spared England. We have had no conflagration such as the Thirty Years' War or the French Revolution to lay the ground bare for new structures. Every inch of it is occupied by the works of past builders. As a nation we possess a wholesome horror of hasty and comprehensive demolition. Hence it is that English life of the present day bears indelible marks of a slow and uninterrupted evolution, easy to be traced in its various stages. Our constitution is not the work of one man or of one set of men; our laws are not included between the covers of a single scientifically elaborated code; our language and literature are not regulated by the rules of an Academy; our religion recognises the infallibility of no earthly Court. Wherever we turn we find the result of the patient toil of ages, sometimes inconsistent in detail and appearance, but always permeated by a community of plan and purpose, all the stronger because it is not visible on the surface.

English life is like a stately ancient edifice in which the styles and tastes of many races and many successive generations are represented. It possesses all the variety and venerable beauty of one. To seek much outward uniformity in a pile of this description is as absurd as it would be dangerous to attempt to introduce it. Bring the edifice up to date by judicious addition, but do not presume to effect such alterations as might imperil its existence. Introduce modern conveniences and comforts, but do not attempt to shift it from its ancient foundations. System and organisation are

excellent things if not pushed to the extreme of sapping individuality. England has achieved infinitely more by the efforts of individual enterprise and initiative than Germany or any other country ever attempted through the collective endeavour of systematised energy. In this connexion it is amusing as well as instructive to compare the utterances of our own British reformers with the views of those very foreigners whose methods and manners we are so zealously urged to copy. There is no warmer admirer of the English character, and of the education of which it largely is the product, than the intelligent and well-informed German or Frenchman whom one meets on the Continent. Such persons, greatly as they may differ from one another and from ourselves in other matters, concur in an enlightened appreciation of the 'lack of system' which has given to the world a greater number of first-rate men of thought and action than any well-organised system.

Nowhere are the advantages of this orderly confusion more conspicuous than in our Church and State administration. Even the most cursory survey is sufficient to bring out these characteristics, to show that in the affairs of men there is a more potent rule than the Rule of Three; to prove that the prosperity of nations, as of individuals, is based on higher and holier principles than any paper regulations. It is the beauty and the blessing and the boast of the British Empire that it combines the strength and the resources of a large body with the versatility and mobility of many separate and independent bodies. The bonds which hold it together, loose in appearance, are in reality stronger than any bonds that ever united large and widely scattered societies of men in a common ideal and a common endeavour. In like manner no other country of ancient or modern times has given birth to so many different religious sects, and yet Christianity has nowhere else had so firm a hold on men's consciences, or has influenced men's conduct so powerfully, as it has done in Great Britain and her numerous daughters beyond the seas. It may be that religion, if systematised and controlled here as it is elsewhere, would have yielded equally good or even better fruit; this is a matter for speculation as profitless as it is harmless. The fact which none who has eyes can fail to see is that excess of organisation has not produced such an effect elsewhere, and, what is more to the point, it has proved impracticable and impossible here. Let us then allow our education also to continue in the channels marked out for it by the genius and the historic

evolution of the country; receiving into the Academic Body what is good and useful from abroad, but assimilating it in accordance with the internal laws which have hitherto governed the life of the entire Body National; bearing in mind that haste does not always imply speed, and that antiquity does not necessarily mean decay.*

* Even Matthew Arnold—than whom England has seen no more fervent advocate of a foreign cult—feels constrained to qualify his eloquent panegyric on continental academies with this significant limitation: 'But nations have their own modes of acting, and these modes are not easily changed; they are even consecrated, when great things have been done in them. . . . An academy quite like the French Academy . . . we shall hardly have, and perhaps *we ought not to wish to have it.*' (The Literary Influence of Academies, p. 77.)

ART. IV.—*In re the Petition of D. F. Marais.* Reported in the 'Times' of November 5 and December 19, 1901.

THE proclamation of martial law at the Cape, first in particular districts, but more recently throughout the length and breadth of the colony, and the rejection by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of the petition of Mr. Marais for special leave to appeal against the decision of the Supreme Court of the Cape of Good Hope, refusing his application for release from custody, would seem to be in themselves events sufficiently grave to justify some examination of the nature and methods of enforcement of martial law, its constitutional aspect, and the circumstances necessary to warrant its imposition. It is also to be remembered that since 1689 there has been no instance of the proclamation of martial law in Great Britain, that the last Act authorising it in Ireland was the Act of 3 and 4 Wm. IV. c. 4, which expired on August 1, 1834, and that there has been no instance of it in any British colony since 1865 (a date coinciding with the termination of the American Civil War and the last application of martial law in United States territory). So it is perhaps not too much to assume that to the average intelligent British citizen little beyond its name is known of the subject which gives the title to this article. We feel, therefore, that we owe our readers little, if any, apology for the discussion upon which we purpose entering in the following pages.

The term 'martial law' has been used by English authorities in several significations, with the not unnatural result of a certain amount of confusion. Possibly the best way of arriving at a clear apprehension of the various applications of the term, and the precise meaning in which we intend to discuss it here, will be found in a brief survey of the history of martial law in the several senses in which it has been understood and applied within the dominions of the British Crown. The pages of this Journal are not the place for an elaborate legal disquisition, and we do not propose to trench to any serious extent upon the province of those of our contemporaries who devote themselves exclusively to juridical discussions. But we shall venture to state in outline the history and the legal aspects of martial law, as we understand them.

In its earliest phase of use the term was spelt 'marshal law,' and denoted the law administered by the Court of the

Constable and Marshal of England. The jurisdiction of this Court extended to 'the cognisance of contracts touching 'deeds of arms and of war out of the realm which cannot be 'determined or discussed by the common law.' In this sense the jurisdiction of the Court (which had been already dealt with by a statute of 8 Richard II., not material to be here referred to) is declared by an Act of 13 Richard II., passed, as its preamble recites, in consequence of the grievous complaints of the Commons that 'this Court hath 'encroached to itself, and doth daily encroach contracts, 'covenants, trespasses, debts, and detinues, and many 'other actions pleadable at the common law, in great 'prejudice of the King and his Courts, and to the great 'grievance and oppression of the people.' The Act goes on to provide that all questions which may arise concerning the jurisdiction of the Court shall be determined by the King's Council. By a subsequent Act of 1 Henry IV., apparently relating to criminal appeals, it was enacted that the Court of the Constable and Marshal should try all appeals made of things done out of the realm. The jurisdiction of the Constable and Marshal was thus recognised by Parliament on more than one occasion as being part of the law of England.

An account of the jurisdiction of this Court is given by Sir Matthew Hale in his 'History of the Common Law' (edition of 1820, pp. 42, 43), and this very learned writer states that it extended, as regards matters of war, to—

'1. Appeals of death or murder committed beyond the seas according to the course of the civil law :

'2. The right of prisoners taken in war :

'3. The offences and miscarriages of soldiers contrary to law and the rules of the army : for always preparatory to actual war the Kings of this realm, by the advice of the Constable and Marshal, were used to compose a book of rules and orders for the due discipline of their officers and soldiers, together with certain penalties on offenders ; and this is called martial law.'

The same high authority speaks of the law of the Constable's and Marshal's Court as being, in truth, not a law,

'but something indulged, rather than allowed as a law : the necessity of good order and discipline in an army is that alone which can give these laws countenance, and the indulged law was only to extend to members of the army or to those of the opposite army, and never was so much indulged as intended to be exercised and executed upon others. For others, who had not listed under the army, had no claim

or reason to be tried by military constitutions, applicable only to the army wherein they were part. But they were to be ordered and governed according to the laws to which they were subject, though it were time of war. And the exercise of martial law whereby any person should lose his life or member or liberty may not be permitted in time of peace, when the King's Courts are open for all persons to receive justice according to the laws of the land. This is in substance declared by the Petition of Right, 3 Car. I., whereby such commissions and martial law were repealed and contrary to law, and accordingly was that famous case of Edmund Earl of Kent, who being taken at Pomfret 15 Ed. II, the King and divers lords proceeded to give sentence of death against him, as in a kind of military court, by a summary proceeding, which judgment was afterwards, in 1 Ed. III., reversed in Parliament.'

From the record in the Earl of Kent's case, quoted by Hale, it appears that the grounds of error assigned were that he was condemned *tempore pacis*, when the Courts were open, without being properly arraigned and allowed an opportunity of answering the arraignment according to the ordinary course of law. From the same writer's 'Pleas of 'the Crown' (edition of 1800, vol. i. pp. 344, 345) it appears that a similar course was pursued in the parallel case of the Earl of Lancaster, who had been concerned in the same rising. From Hale's account, which is echoed in almost the same language by Blackstone,* it seems clear that the law martial in its original sense of the law of the Court of the Constable and Marshal was properly applicable only to military persons, and to them only in time of war.

However, under the Tudor and Stuart reigns the Crown on various occasions claimed to extend the operation of martial law in various directions beyond its legal limits as above described, either by applying it in time of peace, or to non-military persons, or to non-military offences. Finally the issuing by James I. and Charles I., in time of peace, of commissions to proceed under martial law for the purpose not only of maintaining the discipline of the army, but also for bringing to more speedy punishment any crimes of whatever nature committed by offenders in the pay of the Crown and civilians associated with them, led to the Petition of Right in 3 Car. I. (1628). In the arguments which took place in the House of Commons on that occasion the right to proclaim martial law was thoroughly discussed, and the views expressed by such high authorities as Rolle (the author of the 'Abridgment,' afterwards Chief Justice

* Commentaries, i. 412, 413, 5th edition.

of the King's Bench under the Commonwealth) and Coke agree with those subsequently formulated by Hale, and already quoted here. Rolle says:—

'I will not trench upon this power, but upon the abuse of it. The law of the Marshal is the King's law and the common law takes notice of it, and we acknowledge it to be; but now the question is, when it is to be used. . . . Martial law is merely for necessity, where the common law cannot take place. If the Chancery Courts and Courts of Westminster be shut up, that are the *Officina Justitiæ*, it is time of war, but if the Courts be open, it is otherwise: yet if war be in any part of the kingdom, that the sheriff cannot execute the King's writ there, there is *tempus belli*. If an enemy come into any part where the common law cannot be executed, there may martial law be executed. If a subject be taken in rebellion, if he be not slain at the time of his rebellion, he is to be tried after by common law: but if an alien enemy come into the realm, he cannot be executed by the common law, for he is not a liege of the King's, and so is to be tried by martial.'

And Coke expressed himself to the same effect. The Petition of Right enacted that the illegal commissions for executing martial law should be revoked and annulled, and that thereafter no commissions of like nature should issue forth to any person or persons whatsoever to be executed as aforesaid.

It is here of historical interest to note that Henry VIII., esteeming the constableship, which was hereditary, and carried with it the right to command the army in war under the King, of too high authority to be safely entrusted to any subject, had taken advantage of the attainder and execution of the Duke of Buckingham to allow the office to lapse. Since that time it has never been created except *pro hac vice*. As the result of the lapse of the constableship doubts were raised in the reign of James I. as to the power of the Marshal to hold the Constable's and Marshal's Court without the Constable, and the question was finally settled, in the reign of Charles I., by an opinion of all the judges adverse to the jurisdiction of the Marshal sitting alone, and by the abolition of the Court, so far as related to the power of hearing criminal matters enjoyed by it.* For the purpose, however, of exercising discipline over the military forces of the Crown in time of war, the powers of the Court were, subsequently to the lapse of the constableship, executed by the Marshal or the general commanding those forces, under a commission from the Crown;

* See the Queen *v.* Nelson, Special Report, p. 94.

for this Court could be held by commission, and the Petition of Right does not, it seems, affect the issue of commissions for the legitimate exercise of the disciplinary authority of the Marshal.* And such commissions were, on several occasions, issued, in time of rebellion, to the generals commanding the forces charged with the suppression of the same. However, to go into any details as to the various methods adopted or proposed for the government and discipline of the army, between the passing of the Petition of Right and the Mutiny Act of 1689, is hardly material for the present inquiry.

In 1689 came the first Mutiny Act, the preamble whereof recites that the maintenance of a standing army in peace without consent of Parliament is against law, and that no man may be forejudged of life or limb or subjected to any kind of punishment by martial law. By this Act, and the Mutiny Act of 1702 (1 Anne, c. 16) and the successive Mutiny Acts passed since that date (all of which insert the words 'in peace' after the word 'subjected' in the recital quoted above), the maintenance and discipline of a standing army in time of peace are legalised.

From the foregoing review of the history of the term down to 1689, it is clear that 'martial law' in the mouths of Coke, Rolle, and Hale (and also in that of Blackstone) meant, or at any rate included, what is more properly described as military law—that is, the law under which discipline is enforced upon such persons as are members of the military forces in the pay of the Crown, and by which punishment is meted out to such persons in respect of offences committed by them against the law military; the law, in fact, which is now contained in Army Acts and Army Annual Acts.

Lord Loughborough appears to use the term in the same sense, if we rightly understand a somewhat confusedly expressed passage in his judgement in 'Grant *v.* Gould.'† He there says:—

'Martial law such as it is described by Hale, and such also as it is marked by Mr. Justice Blackstone, does not exist in England at all. When martial law is established in any country it is of a totally different nature from that which is inaccurately called martial law merely because the decision is by a Court Martial, but which bears no affinity to that which was formerly attempted to be exercised in this kingdom, which was contrary to the constitution, and which has been for a century totally exploded.'

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* Hawkins, 'Pleas of the Crown,' ii. 17.

† 2 H. Blackstone, p. 99.

He then states his view of martial law, and remarks that where it prevails the authority under which it is exercised claims a jurisdiction over all military persons in all circumstances and for every species of offence.

With martial law in the sense in which it is used by Rolle, Coke, Hale, Blackstone, and Loughborough, as including or meaning what is properly spoken of as military law, we have nothing to do here.

We find, however, another meaning in which the term 'martial law' is employed by English writers. It is sometimes used to describe the common law right of the Crown and its servants to repel force by force in cases of invasion, insurrection, riot, or generally any violent resistance to the law. In this sense, in which it denotes the power of the Government, or loyal citizens, to maintain public order at all necessary cost of blood or property, martial law is stated by Professor Dicey * to be assuredly part of the law of England. Of martial law in this sense Sir James Fitzjames Stephen speaks as the common law right of the Crown and its representatives to repel force by force, in case of invasion or insurrection, and to act against rebels as against invaders. But with martial law in this use of the term, which we should say was improper, inasmuch as the exercise of a common law right or authority, put in force by the civil power, can hardly be described as martial law, we have again nothing to do in our present discussion.

The remaining sense in which martial law has been understood by English authorities is that of the suspension of ordinary law and the temporary government of a country, or part of it, by military tribunals, and this is, as we conceive, the proper signification of the term. It is with martial law in this acceptation—differing, on the one hand, from the law of the Constable and Marshal, and the military law of the Mutiny and Army Acts in being applied to civilians as well as military persons, and, on the other hand, from the common law right of the Crown already spoken of, in involving the suspension of the ordinary courts, and in being executed by the military and not the civil authority—that we are here concerned.

In connexion with martial law, in this its proper meaning, considerable controversy has arisen between writers on constitutional and military law over the question whether it is rightly to be regarded as forming

* Law of the Constitution, p. 270.

part of the ordinary law of the British dominions. The constitutional lawyers take the view that martial law is unknown to English law, while the military writers regard the Crown as having a prerogative right to declare and execute martial law in the British dominions in time of insurrection and invasion, unaffected by the Petition of Right. Upon the whole, though the subject is somewhat barren of judicial authority, the better opinion would seem to be that martial law, in its proper sense, is unknown to the law of England. We do not propose to discuss the question with any great degree of elaboration, but we shall venture to refer to a few of the precedents and some of the leading considerations which bear upon it.*

It is not unworthy of remark at the outset that, as we have said already, in no case has martial law been proclaimed in Great Britain since 1689. It was not set up in either of the Jacobite risings in 1715 or 1745. The 1715 rebellion was dealt with by a proclamation by the King in Council which authorised all officers, civil and military, by force of arms, if necessary, to suppress the rising. In 1745 another proclamation was issued directing all civil magistrates to use their utmost endeavour to prevent and suppress all riots, and to put in execution all existing laws for the prevention of the same. In neither of these rebellions was martial law proclaimed, nor were military courts set up for the trial and punishment of offenders: they were dealt with by the ordinary Courts. In 1780, on the occasion of the Gordon riots, the military forces were authorised to suppress the disturbances independently of the civil power, but there was previous public intimation that all offenders would be brought to trial before the ordinary Courts. The civil power was superseded for the purpose of suppression, but not for trial and punishment. Martial law was not proclaimed.

It has, however, unhappily been found necessary to proclaim martial law in Ireland on more than one occasion. In the rebellion of 1798 an Order in Council was issued directing that the military forces of the Crown should be employed with the utmost vigour and decision for the prompt suppression of the rebellion, and another order was subsequently

* Most of the precedents will be found to be either quoted or referred to in Mr. Forsyth's Cases and Opinions on Constitutional Law, and a more exhaustive collection is contained in an excellent article on 'Martial Law in Rebellion,' by Mr. G. G. Phillimore, which appeared in a recent number of the Journal of the Society of Comparative Legislation (April 1900).

issued, addressed to all general officers, empowering them to punish all persons engaged in or in any manner assisting the rebellion, according to martial law, by death or otherwise, as they should think expedient for the suppression of the rebellion and the punishment of rebels.

In this state of things, but after the rebellion had been crushed, Wolfe Tone, one of the chief Irish leaders, was taken prisoner, tried by court martial in Dublin, and sentenced to death. The ordinary courts were still sitting in Dublin, and an application was made for a *habeas corpus*, on the ground that Tone was not a military person, and that while the Courts were open no court martial could try him for any crime alleged against him. The Court of King's Bench granted the writ, but Tone had cut his throat in prison, and was dead; and so the question was not finally solved. However, as the result of this case the Irish Parliament in 1799 passed an Act enabling martial law to be enforced notwithstanding that the ordinary Courts were open. A similar Act was afterwards passed in 1803 by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, for the purpose of suppressing insurrection in Ireland. In both of these Acts provisoes were inserted, in which Parliament expressly recognised 'the acknowledged prerogative of His Majesty for the public 'safety to resort to the exercise of martial law against 'enemies or traitors.' And Mr. Pitt stated in the House of Commons that the object of the Bill was not to enable the declaration of martial law, for that power already existed, but to enable the trial of rebels by court martial, though the ordinary Courts remained open, so that the subjects in civil causes might not be deprived of the ordinary law of the land. Another similar Act was passed in 1833.

How far the recitals and provisoes of the Irish Acts are to be treated as evidence of the existence of such a prerogative as therein referred to, was discussed in the celebrated charge of Lord Chief Justice Cockburn in the case of the Queen *v.* Nelson hereinafter referred to.

In the meanwhile it is worth noting that, possibly as a matter of precaution, the Act of 1799 was in fact followed by an Act of Indemnity. And it may well be that the remarks of Mr. Pitt, and also the recitals and provisoes of the several Irish Acts, may really refer to the common law right of the Crown spoken of by Professor Dicey and Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, and sometimes improperly described as martial law.

There seems to be no question that whatever be the

powers of the Crown in respect of the proclamation of martial law, they are, in the absence of special legislation, the same, neither more nor less, in the Colonies as in the United Kingdom; for, as was stated by Cockburn, C.J., in his charge already referred to (pp. 65, 66 of the special Report), the Petition of Right applies to the Colonies, as being merely a declaration of the common law of England in regard to the limits of the prerogative and the rights of the subjects of the Crown.

In the course of the last century martial law has been proclaimed in various British colonies upon about a dozen occasions, on several of which the right of the Crown to do so has been discussed in Parliament, while it has twice been judicially considered, and on several occasions opinions of the law officers of the Crown and other lawyers of high authority have been delivered with reference thereto. The view which has upon the whole prevailed in the various Parliamentary discussions upon this question is perhaps best expressed in the words used by the late Lord Cardwell, then Mr. Cardwell (himself an ex-Colonial Secretary), in the debate in the House of Commons on the subject of the Jamaica troubles (July 2, 1867). Mr. Cardwell said that

'while there was properly no such thing as martial law there was no doubt a law of necessity which required that certain acts should be done for the suppression of the rebellion, but not for the punishment of the persons concerned in it: a law of necessity which nobody acted under, except under very great responsibility and liability to render an account to the ordinary tribunals of the country. Persons who, called upon by no act of their own, but for the public safety, took a great responsibility of that kind, were placed in a position of extreme difficulty, and it often happened that to protect them, as Parliament afterwards thought just, a Bill of Indemnity was passed. That, however, was an act, not of Prerogative, but of Parliament, and until such an Act was passed these persons acted subject to a liability to account to the ordinary tribunals. . . . The law of necessity to which he had referred was strictly limited in time, and operative only for repression, and not for punishment.'

Opinions in effect coinciding with that of Mr. Cardwell, have at different times been delivered in Parliament by Lord Brougham, Earl Grey, Mr. Forster, and Mr. Mill; and it has been remarked that, whether the law spoken of by Mr. Cardwell be called martial law, or the law of necessity, it was the same thing: the difference was merely verbal.

In 1837–38, during the rising in Lower Canada, the law officers of the Crown (Sir J. Campbell and Sir R. M. Rolfe, afterwards Lords Campbell and Cranworth), while advising

that the Governor of Lower Canada had the power of proclaiming in any district in which large bodies of the inhabitants are in open rebellion that the executive will proceed to enforce martial law, went on to say that the Governor did not by such proclamation acquire any power that he did not already possess, and that such proclamation is nothing more than a notification of the methods that he intends to adopt for dealing with the rebellion. When, by reason of insurrection, the ordinary course of law cannot be maintained, the Governor may, without proclamation, proceed to put down the rebellion by force of arms, as in the case of a foreign invasion, and for that purpose may lawfully put to death all persons engaged in resistance. But the right of resorting to such an extremity is a right limited by the necessities of the case, and the prerogative does not extend beyond persons taken in open resistance, and with whom by reason of the suspension of the ordinary tribunals it is impossible to deal according to the regular course of justice. When the regular Courts are open so that criminals may be delivered over to them to be dealt with according to law, there is no power in the Crown to adopt any other course of proceedings: such power can only be given by the Legislature, as it was in Ireland on the occasions already cited. The question how far martial law supersedes the ordinary tribunals could never, in their view of the case, arise; it cannot be said in strictness to supersede the ordinary tribunals, inasmuch as it only exists by reason of those tribunals having been already practically superseded.*

In the two trials arising out of the Jamaica troubles in 1865—namely, those of General Nelson, who had been in command of certain of the military forces employed to suppress the rising, and of Governor Eyre—the nature and position of martial law were elaborately discussed by the Chief Justice Sir Alexander Cockburn, and Mr. Justice Blackburn. The latter, after pointing out that the Petition of Right dealt in terms only with commissions for executing martial law in times of peace, and did not declare that the Crown should not have the power to proclaim martial law in time of war, refused to draw the inference that the Petition of Right, by not condemning martial law in times of war, therefore sanctioned it. He then went on to remark that since the Petition of Right there had never been any

* Forsyth, 'Cases and Opinions on Constitutional Law,' p. 198, 9.

case in which it had become necessary to examine judicially what were the limits of the powers of this prerogative in time of war. After citing the opinions of Hale from the 'History of the Common Law' and the 'Pleas of the Crown,' he comes to the conclusion that it has not been quite settled what is the Crown's prerogative in such cases, and what is not. If it exist at all, he says, it must be strictly limited to necessity; and Mr. Eyre, by keeping up martial law for thirty days, after all armed resistance had been put down in a day or two, and when it would have been quite practicable to try any one by the ordinary tribunals, had beyond all reasonable doubt much exceeded that which would be authorised on the most extended view of the prerogative.*

In his charge to the Grand Jury in The Queen *v.* Nelson the Chief Justice, Sir Alexander Cockburn, after an elaborate review of the history of martial law, points out that with regard to the construction and effect of the Petition of Right there are two views—one that it is limited to commissions such as those of which the Commons had more immediate cause to complain, and especially to commissions issued in time of peace; the other that it was intended to prevent the exercise of martial law against the civilian under any circumstances. He thinks the latter view has the support of Hale, and remarks that the words of the statute are certainly large enough to embrace the more general position.† He discusses the effect of the recitals and reservations relating to the prerogative right of declaring martial law which are contained in the Irish statutes already referred to, and comes to the conclusion that not much weight is to be attached to the recitals, and that the reservations are not decisive of the question, if we are satisfied upon further investigation that Parliament has formed an erroneous opinion thereon (pp. 72–74). Apart from these recitals and reservations, he considers that as well authority as principle would appear to negative the power of declaring martial law. And he considers that Lord Loughborough's opinion in Grant *v.* Gould, already referred to, supports him in this view (pp. 60–61).

The general result of these authorities and precedents (notwithstanding that the military writers, and apparently also Mr. Forsyth, advocate the other view) appears to be

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* The Queen v. Eyre. Finlason's Special Report, p. 74.

† Cockburn's 'Special Report,' p. 66.

that, though there is room for argument to the contrary, the better opinion is that martial law in the British dominions is not part of the ordinary law—that is, if by martial law we mean the proper sense of the term, as before defined, and not merely the common law prerogative of the Crown and its officers to preserve public order by the use of force, including the assistance of the military. The result of this is that any person who exercises martial law is liable to be proceeded against in the courts by any one injuriously affected thereby, unless Parliament or the local Legislature, as the case may be, indemnifies him against any action that he may have taken to meet the exigencies of the moment; and an execution inflicted by a Court exercising martial law is, technically speaking, murder.

The view that the Crown is not legally competent to declare martial law either in the United Kingdom or the Colonies, even in time of war or rebellion, would seem to derive considerable confirmation from the fact that after every proclamation of martial law there has followed an Act of Indemnity; and it does not appear to us that this argument could be disposed of by the suggestion that they are only measures of precaution. It is to be further observed that these Acts of Indemnity are always framed so as to protect only such acts and proceedings as have been *bonâ fide* and of necessity done and taken to meet the requirements of the emergency which called for the application of martial law. It has been held on more than one occasion that such an Act will not protect persons who have put martial law in execution from criminal liability for any excesses of authority committed by them, on the ground that these are not justified by necessity.

In view of the fact that martial law has been proclaimed throughout Cape Colony, that it will be enforced there for such time as the Imperial Government may consider necessary, and that the proclamation, and all acts and proceedings *bonâ fide* done and taken thereunder in execution of martial law will be covered by the passing of an Act of Indemnity, it may be thought that the discussion of whether or no the right to proclaim and execute martial law in British territory in time of rebellion and invasion be constitutionally a branch of the prerogative of the Crown, and recognised by the laws of England and her Colonies respectively, is somewhat academic in character. But, in answer to that, we would say that the determination of the question is of great importance. If the view that

there is no constitutional power to proclaim martial law be the right one, it would seem that this ought to furnish an additional motive to any Government that may be minded to proceed to a proclamation of martial law to weigh well the necessities of the case before taking action, to provide with the most anxious and scrupulous care against any harsh, excessive, or unnecessary enforcement of a *régime* unknown to the constitution, and to be prompt, ready, and eager to reinstate the normal legal condition of things at the very earliest moment at which this can be done consistently with the restoration of public order and safety, and the attainment of those objects to ensure which martial law was originally imposed. A heavy responsibility will rest upon the Parliament and people of the United Kingdom if the Government has, light-heartedly and without careful and anxious deliberation, superseded the ordinary law of the land by martial law, or has neglected to take steps to control properly the execution thereof, or shall hereafter continue it in existence for a day longer than is absolutely necessary.

It is doubtless true that formally and technically the proclamation is the act of the Governor of Cape Colony acting on the advice of the Cape Ministry. That ministry, it is to be noted, is at present subject to no parliamentary responsibility owing to the fact that the legislature, to which it is in theory accountable, is prorogued practically *sine die*. In effect, government by the Crown through ministers without a parliament prevails in Cape Colony at the present moment. But one is at liberty to look beyond mere formalities, and it does not require more than ordinary penetration to divine what really took place. One may feel reasonably assured that Lord Kitchener informed the War Office that in his judgement the exigencies of the situation required the establishment of martial law, first in particular districts, and afterwards in the whole of Cape Colony; that the Minister for War brought Lord Kitchener's request before the Cabinet, who considered it, assisted doubtless by the advice of the military chiefs in Pall Mall, and decided to accede to it. The next step, it may be assumed, was that the Colonial Office, by direction of the Government, would communicate with the Governor of Cape Colony, acquainting him with their decision, and directing him to put pressure, if necessary, upon the Cape Ministry, to obtain their concurrence in the proclamation. The final step would be that the Cape Ministry, either with or without the application of

pressure, should 'advise' the Governor to proclaim martial law.

Assuming that these conjectures of ours are, as we believe them to be, well founded in substance, we do not in the least complain of the course which we assume to have been pursued. The present war is one in which Imperial interests, vastly greater than those of Cape Colony alone, important though those are, are at stake; and few, we suppose, would deny that in such a case, when it was essential to expel an invader from the colonial territory, and when this was rendered difficult or impossible by open rebellion on the part of some of a disaffected colonial population, and covert assistance of the enemy on the part of others, the Imperial Government, who are conducting the war, are the authority upon whom devolve the right and the duty of deciding on the steps to be taken to put an end to such a situation. Our object is rather, in pointing out that the proclamation must be in reality the act of the Imperial Government, to bring home to our readers the fact that for the proclamation of martial law, for the manner in which it is executed, and for its discontinuance at the earliest possible moment, the people and Parliament of the United Kingdom, as well as the Ministry, will be responsible at the bar of history.

We do not propose to ourselves the task of pronouncing whether the proclamation was justified by the facts of the situation at the Cape. In view of the fragmentary, and often untrustworthy, character of the information which reaches this country as to the condition of the Colony, as to the extent to which active revolt and covert disaffection have spread among the Dutch population, as to the amount of assistance which they have furnished and continue to furnish to the invaders, as to the measure of success which is attending the invasion, and generally as to the position from a military point of view, he would be a foolhardy person who pretended to a clear opinion upon the propriety or the reverse of the proclamation. For ourselves we feel that we must be content for the present to assume that the Government did not blindly adopt the suggestions of their military advisers, but that they brought their minds soberly and carefully to bear upon that advice, considered it maturely and independently, in the light of all the facts accessible to them, and then, and then only, came to a conclusion involving the setting aside of the ordinary law.

Some few general considerations bearing upon this point

we would venture to offer. The supreme object at the present moment must be to bring the war to a speedy and successful termination; if, then, the Imperial Government come to the conclusion, after receiving and weighing the advice of the military authorities, that any particular steps are absolutely necessary to secure that end, it would be false to its trust did it neglect to take them, whatever the cost or inconvenience to individuals. One may well in such a case extend the well-worn adage and say, 'salus imperii suprema 'lex.' It may well be that one of the chief causes conducing, as well indirectly as directly, to the prolongation of the war is the fact that various bodies of invaders are able to maintain a position on British territory, obtaining recruits and supplies of horses, ammunition, food, and clothing from disaffected British subjects. And if it be the fact that such disaffected British subjects take advantage of their ordinary civil liberty to assist the enemy in these various ways, and that the normal processes of municipal law do not furnish the means of effectually and promptly stopping such an abuse of that liberty, then we should be the first to say that the suspension of ordinary civil rights and the imposition of martial law, so far as reasonably necessary to deprive the enemy of such assistance, was entirely justifiable, and indeed incumbent. The Imperial Government is not to sit with folded hands while piano-cases stuffed with rifles, and ammunition masquerading as groceries are landed at colonial ports and sent up country to arm and equip the commandoes of invaders or rebels. Nor is it to be suffered that information of every movement of our troops should be instantly conveyed to the enemy by sympathising Dutch farmers or members of their families, or remounts, clothing, or food furnished to the enemy from the same sources. If such aiding and comforting of the King's enemies cannot be prevented by the course of the ordinary law, let us by all means have martial law; but before we have martial law at a time when the Courts are open, a time of peace in contemplation of law, let it be clearly proved that the resources of the ordinary law are inadequate. It is to be hoped, and for ourselves we shall assume, that the Government have kept in view throughout not only the requirements of repelling invasion and stamping out rebellion, but also the importance of not unnecessarily depriving any subject of the Crown of the protection of that ordinary municipal law under which he is accustomed to live and move and have his being.

But if we are content to assume so much in favour of the Government, it is only upon the supposition that, at the earliest possible moment, they will take Parliament and the nation into their confidence, and tell us what were the facts, the situation, and the advice upon which they proclaimed martial law. The country is entitled to have all this before it, to have the materials for forming its own judgement upon the propriety of the course taken by Ministers. We are disposed to doubt whether any public danger could arise from such a statement as we suggest being made, even at the present moment. But in any case, the time must soon arrive when it can be safely made, and as soon as that time comes, it is imperative that the country should be put in complete possession of the facts. If the Government has acted as we give them credit for having acted, they need not fear to lose by treating the country with perfect candour and openness.

We have thought it our duty to point out the seriousness of the step which has been taken; and we would take leave further to urge this consideration upon our readers. The Imperial Ministry are not at liberty to say, 'The soldiers 'advised it, and theirs is the responsibility.' There is a responsibility which falls upon the military authorities at the Cape, and upon the military advisers of the Ministry at home; and it is this—that they should lay before the Government all the relevant facts and honestly, and to the best of their ability, state their opinion as to the necessity of martial law.

With that their responsibility ends, and for the actual proclamation of martial law and the consequences which it brings in its train the responsibility rests upon the Ministry. They have no right to shelter themselves behind the advice of the military authorities; it is their duty to consider that advice independently, and, if it fail to commend itself to them, then it is their duty to reject it. But whether they reject or adopt it, theirs is the responsibility for the course taken, and, as we have already argued, in our view the responsibility of the Imperial Government is the responsibility of the people of the United Kingdom whose servants they are.

At this point it seems convenient to state what, so far as we have been able to ascertain, is the precise extent and what are the precise purposes for which martial law has, down to the time of writing, been applied in the Cape Colony. The information at the disposal of non-official persons in this

country is so meagre that we make this statement with great diffidence as to its absolute accuracy; but we believe that what is taking place is not martial law in its extreme form, involving the entire suspension of ordinary law and the entire supersession of the ordinary tribunals. The ordinary Courts are, we believe, open throughout the Colony, so that strictly speaking we have here, as we have already remarked, a case of martial law being enforced *tempore pacis*—a condition of things of which there were several examples in the American Civil War; the ordinary law of the land prevails in civil causes, and subjects can continue to avail themselves of it. But for the following purposes—viz. the arrest, detention, and trial of persons suspected of communicating with or assisting the enemy, the exclusion of undesirables, the military control of the Customs with the view of preventing the importation of arms and ammunition for the enemy or rebellious subjects, and the censorship of letters and telegrams in order to prevent information reaching the enemy—the ordinary law has been superseded and the military authorities are supreme. In this state of circumstances British subjects are liable to arrest and detention in a military prison on suspicion of correspondence with or assisting the enemy, they may be tried by a military Court and sentenced to death, fine, or imprisonment, their houses may be entered —if necessary by force—and searched, their cattle and farm-produce seized if it is supposed that they are furnishing supplies to enemies and rebels, their correspondence examined, and goods consigned to them ransacked in the Customs House by military authority. To show the position in which a civilian British subject in Cape Colony stands, it will be sufficient to quote a regulation which has been in force since April 22 of this year, and which is as follows :—

Martial Law Regulation, Par. 14, *Sect.* 11.

'Notice is hereby given that, from and after April 22, 1901, all subjects of His Majesty, and all persons residing in Cape Colony, who shall in districts thereof in which martial law prevails (1) be actively in arms against His Majesty, or (2) directly incite others to take up arms, or (3) actively aid or assist the enemy, or (4) commit any overt art by which the safety of His Majesty's forces or subjects is endangered, shall immediately on arrest be tried by a military Court convened by authority of the Commander-in-Chief, and shall on conviction be liable to the severest penalties, including death, penal servitude, imprisonment, and fine. Any person reasonably suspected of such offences is liable to be arrested without warrant or sent out of the district to be hereafter dealt with by a military Court.'

Under this regulation it appears, from the case of *In re the petition of D. F. Marais* (decided in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and reported in the 'Times' of November 5 and December 19), that a British subject may be arrested without a warrant by military force on suspicion of an offence against the military regulations, transported over 300 miles to another district, and there detained in gaol for weeks without being brought to trial, and without the particular offence of which he is suspected being specified, and that the civil Courts hold themselves powerless to interfere to procure his release or his trial by the ordinary forms of law.

The result of the petition of Mr. Marais was announced on November 4, and while these pages were passing through the press the Lord Chancellor, on December 18, delivered the reasons of the Judicial Committee for rejecting the application. We cannot say that the reasons stated by Lord Halsbury remove the difficulty which we have throughout felt in understanding this decision. It appears to us to disregard the whole series of authorities which we have already quoted, extending over more than two centuries and a half, and to sweep away constitutional principles and safeguards of the most vital importance. What the Lord Chancellor means by 'the ordinary rule that where actual 'war is raging the civil courts have no jurisdiction to deal 'with military action,' in connexion with such a case as the one under discussion, we confess ourselves at a loss to appreciate. He relies on the case of Elphinstone *v.* Bedreechund (1 Knapp. 316), decided by the Judicial Committee in 1830, as authority for brushing aside the opinions of Rolle, Coke, and Hale, and the statements of the law by Sir Alexander Cockburn and Mr. Justice Blackburn, and for the proposition, advanced by him, that the fact that for some purposes some tribunals had been permitted to pursue their ordinary course is not conclusive that war is not raging. We venture to submit that the circumstances and subject-matter of Elphinstone *v.* Bedreechund prevent its being in any sense an authority applicable to the case of Mr. Marais. It was a case which arose out of the invasion and conquest of the dominions of the Peishwa by the British forces in 1817. The head note of the case states that 'the members 'of the Provisional Government of a recently conquered 'country seized the property of a native of the conquered 'country who had been refused the benefit of the articles of 'capitulation of a fortress of which he was governor, but

'who had been permitted to reside under military surveil-
'lance in his own house in the city in which the seizure was
'made, and which was at a distance from the scene of
'actual hostilities.' Certain of the previously existing courts of the conquered country were continued by the Provisional Government, and were sitting, at the time of the seizure in 1818, at Poonah, where it took place. The executor of the owner of the property commenced in 1825 and successfully prosecuted an action of trover in the Supreme Court of Bombay, from whose judgement an appeal was brought to the Judicial Committee.

Lord Tenterden delivered the opinion of the Judicial Committee in a very few words. He said: 'We think the 'proper character of the transaction was that of the hostile 'seizure made if not *flagrante* yet *nondum cessante bello*, 'regard being had both to the time, the place, and the person, 'and consequently that the Municipal Court had no juris-'diction to adjudge upon the subject, but that if anything 'was done amiss recourse could only be had to the Govern-'ment for redress.' How a decision relating to a hostile seizure under military authority, exercised in a recently conquered, or rather a half conquered, country, before the cessation of the war of conquest, can be supposed to enlighten us as to martial law within our own territories, we fail to understand. By the law of nations *occupatio bellica* in a just war transfers the whole sovereign power of the enemy's country to the conqueror, and if he finds it convenient to authorise the previously existing courts of the country to sit for certain purposes, it may well be that that fact does not in other respects deprive the military authorities of their power, or free the country from military government; but, with all deference to the Lord Chancellor, it appears to us that military authority exercised under such circumstances differs entirely from martial law as a purely domestic fact proclaimed in rebellion or insurrection, or even invasion, in some part of our own Empire, and that what may be true of the one is by no means necessarily true of the other.

We confess that we regard the decision of the Judicial Committee with feelings of the deepest regret. That body appears to have treated the matter as though it were a concession by the military power that Courts are still allowed to sit and try certain classes of cases, and as though their jurisdiction were limited to what is thus conceded. We

submit that to hold such a view involves a misunderstanding of the facts of the situation and the legal and constitutional position.

With all respect to the Judicial Committee we believe that the authorities which we have referred to justify us in affirming that while the ordinary Courts are open it is time of peace, and martial law is illegal, and that while the Courts are open every citizen is by law entitled to be saved harmless against the exercise of martial law. If he is arrested by the military power, it is without legal authority, and he is entitled to be released forthwith. We cannot understand how, in time of peace, the civil Court can recognise any authority of martial law. Those Courts are bound to give effect to all civil rights, and one of the first of these is security from illegal arrest. That a civil Court should, as the Cape Courts have apparently done, decline jurisdiction and refuse their aid to a subject of the Crown whose civil rights are invaded, because the Executive has issued a Proclamation of Martial Law, appears to us to be a 'gran rifiuto' unworthy of those high traditions which have for generations been upheld by the judiciaries of all English-speaking nations.

It may perhaps be urged that the military authorities would have disobeyed the order of the Court for the release of Mr. Marais. Be it so. From the point of view of policy the military might have been right in so doing; with that we are not now concerned. Far better would it have been that the officers of the civil power should have been prevented by *vis major* from executing the decree of the civil Courts, than that those Courts should ingloriously strike their flag, without an effort to exercise their undoubted function of protecting the liberties and rights of the citizen, or that a decision like the present should have found its way into the case-law of English jurisprudence. It is a decision, we take leave to say, *pessimi exempli*, and, in the interests of civil liberty, we earnestly trust that the day is far distant when its ill-omened precedent will be followed in any Court of law within the British Empire. And above all we deprecate the proposition that 'the common sense of 'the matter' dictates an antecedent and voluntary surrender. This is to state the very dangerous theory that there is no value in protest, however vital the constitutional doctrine on behalf of which protest is made.

It is for these general and far-reaching considerations that we regret the decision in the Marais case: we hold no

brief on behalf of Mr. Marais. We are fully aware that it may be argued, not only with substance but with much force, that it must be assumed that the military authorities had perfectly good grounds for arresting and detaining Mr. Marais, and that they cannot effectively execute martial law for the purpose of dealing with a hostile invasion coupled with widespread domestic disaffection if they are to be controlled at every end and turn by the Courts. Further, that unless the acts of the military in this case have been done *bona fide*, and of necessity to meet the demands of the emergency, Mr. Marais will be entitled, upon the discontinuance of martial law, to institute such proceedings as he may be advised to take against the military authorities, and no Act of Indemnity will protect them against him. Still—on the assumption that the various opinions of the high legal authorities whom we have quoted are correct upon the various points covered by them—it is well to bring home to the British public the serious and abnormal character of a situation where civilians are for certain purposes deprived, if only for a time, of the safeguards afforded them by the ordinary course of law, and to protest against what we consider an abdication, on the part of the civil Courts, of one of their most important functions.

Before passing from this branch of our subject, we must mention the treatment of Miss Hobhouse upon the occasion of her recent attempt to return to South Africa. Her case is, we believe, to be the subject of proceedings in the English Courts, and we therefore shall not discuss it here. Only we would point out the exceeding gravity of the issues involved in it, and that the great principles of individual liberty have been challenged by the action of the military power in relation to this lady.

But not only must we hope that the condition of things which we have endeavoured to depict as existing at the Cape has not been created without the fullest recognition of its gravity: we must also, as far as possible, satisfy ourselves that the amplest precautions have been or will be taken to guard against the enforcement of such a system as martial law either to an extent not justified by the necessities of the situation, or with any attendant circumstances of harshness or hardship that can be avoided, and to secure that, as far as possible, there shall be no miscarriages of justice, or at any rate as few as are compatible with the necessarily summary procedure of martial law. Rules, regulations, and limits must be laid down with the utmost

care, within which martial law is to be carried out. To show the absolute necessity of effective regulation and supervision of the execution of the martial *régime* we need only recall to the memories of our readers that lamentable error of judgement which led to enforcing the attendance of relatives and neighbours at the executions of certain Cape rebels. For this necessity of carefully controlling the exercise of martial law by subordinates there is the high authority of the Duke of Wellington.*

The criterion for the proper execution of martial law has been stated by eminent authority in the following form: 'Martial law is the rule of necessity, and where it is exer- 'cised by men empowered to do so, and they act honestly 'and vigorously and with as much humanity as the case 'will permit in the discharge of their duty, they have done 'that which every good citizen is bound to do.' And the same authority observes that the officers of the Crown are justified in any exertion of physical force, extending to destruction of life and property, to any extent and in any manner that may be required for the purpose of the suppression of insurrection, and the restoration of order and lawful authority. They are not justified in the use of cruel and excessive measures, but are liable civilly and criminally for such excess. Now, to ensure that the execution of martial law is carried out 'honestly and vigorously and 'with as much humanity as the case will permit,' it cannot be too strongly insisted that the utmost care should be exercised in the choice of members of the Courts-martial. They are not bound to be composed entirely of military officers: in the Demerara case, in 1823, the Chief Justice of the Colony was a member of the Court-martial; and it would always be of advantage, and should generally be feasible, to associate with the military members, either as assessors or as actual members of the Court, some one or more civilians, who, if not actually trained lawyers, had had some magisterial experience. In the appointment of military members of the Court, the authorities should set their faces against the idea that any chance officer will do, be he the most hidebound of colonels or the most jaunty of subalterns. The authorities should take care that of no Court-martial sitting in Cape Colony shall the sneer of Dr. Johnson be with any show of truth repeated, 'Perhaps 'there is not a member of it who in the whole course of his

* Quoted by Blackburn, J., Special Report, p. 94.

'life had ever spent an hour by himself in balancing probabilities.'

The composition of these tribunals is also important from another point of view. The natural tendency of Courts engaged in the execution of martial law is to attend too exclusively to the immediate necessities of the moment; but it is also of the highest importance that the possible effects of their proceedings, after the restoration of peace and order, should be kept in mind. With this object the authorities should wherever possible select as members of the Courts men who can be relied upon to take in some measure a statesmanlike view, and who will temper the rigour of summary proceedings by considerations of sound policy.

Further, we would suggest that, as the ordinary Courts are still open, prisoners arrested under martial law should, wherever that course is not rendered impossible by military considerations, be handed over for trial under due process of law, or that, if such a course be not possible, they should, except in cases where their summary trial and punishment is necessary as a deterrent, be detained in custody until the emergency calling for the existence of martial law has passed and they can be safely handed over to the civil powers for trial and punishment in the event of their guilt being established.

In 1715 and 1745 no rebel was tried or punished by martial law: on both those occasions the ordinary Courts did justice upon all prisoners: and in the case of prisoners taken in arms one can well imagine that it must be a distasteful duty for a gallant officer to try and condemn to death or penal servitude a man with whom he had a few days previously contended as an honourable opponent, albeit a rebel. In connexion with the suggestion which we have just made, we would remind our readers of the statement of Lord Cardwell, which we have already quoted, that the law of necessity, or martial law, whichever it be styled, is operative only for repression, and not for punishment. This, we believe, is essentially true, and we hold that sentences of death, fine, or imprisonment inflicted under martial law are only justifiable in so far as they are really necessary for the purpose of striking terror, and thereby hastening the moment at which the rebellion will be crushed and a return to the normal reign of law become possible.

We have pointed out that, in the execution of martial law, the use of cruel and excessive measures is forbidden: this leads to a point of the highest importance. We do

not suppose that cases of intentional or wanton cruelty or excess are likely to occur, but it may be that there will be miscarriages of martial justice, and that, in the stress and hurry inseparable from a crisis like the present, abuses and excesses may occasionally and inadvertently be admitted, without any particular blame being attachable. In such a case, if such there should be, what resource will the sufferer have? The Cape Legislature is not sitting, and he would be a bold man who would predict the precise date at which it will resume its sittings. The Courts of the Colony would seem, from the result of the Marais case, to be powerless. In the present posture of affairs it would appear that in the Imperial Parliament, and there alone, resides any effectual power of redressing abuse or excess. But how is the cry of the sufferer to reach the ear of Parliament? As things are, it appears impossible for any complaints to be preferred. If any person or group of persons in the Cape Colony were to propose to address a petition to the Imperial Parliament with reference to any abuse or excess alleged to have occurred in the execution of martial law, the chance of such a petition being passed by the military censorship would be of the remotest.

We would urge upon the Government that to secure the execution of the law martial being, as far as possible, restrained within due limits, and to ensure redress in cases where those limits are overstepped, it is absolutely indispensable to insist that a proper record of all the material facts relating to every proceeding taken before a Court-martial in South Africa should be kept, and that these records should from time to time be transmitted by the military authorities to the Imperial Government, and, except in cases where the exigencies of the public service forbid, should be laid before Parliament. If we apply to the situation so drastic and unconstitutional a remedy as martial law, we must not dismiss without full inquiry any allegation showing a *primâ facie* case of excess or abuse; and to enable a satisfactory inquiry to be held we ought to have before us the facts of the case as recorded at the time by the Court which dealt with it. We dare not refuse to listen to any man who alleges with the faintest show of probability that he has been subjected to cruel, unjust, or excessive measures by a tribunal and an authority unknown to the law.

The last great consideration, which we would urge most earnestly, is the importance of discontinuing the extra-legal

and abnormal system of martial law at the very earliest moment at which to do so is compatible with the public safety. So long as the forces of the enemy are roaming at large in British territory, and even after their expulsion, so long as we are face to face with a substantial risk of fresh incursions, or even of assistance finding its way from our territories to the enemy in the shape of recruits, munitions of war, or otherwise, it may well be possible to justify the continuance of martial law, if it be the fact that under the ordinary procedure of the Courts the situation cannot be dealt with with sufficient vigour or promptitude. It may even be permissible not to recall the proclamation for a while after the acute stage of danger is past, but to hold the powers of martial law in reserve, while suspending their actual operation, for the purpose of having a prompt and firm grip on the situation should a fresh crisis supervene.

But, admitting all this, we must remember that the function and effect of martial law is to suppress, and not to allay. Especially should this consideration be borne in mind by the Imperial Government in weighing the advice of their military experts. We do the latter no injustice in saying that they are soldiers first of all, and likely, and possibly right, to give to purely military considerations an importance outweighing all others. The business which they have in hand is so to hold disaffection in check that it shall not interfere with their main task of conducting the war to a successful issue in a military sense. From this it may well result that the necessity of returning at the earliest possible moment to a normal legal state of things will operate with less force on their minds than it would upon that of a statesman who looks to the future. We have said that martial law may suppress but cannot allay, and, in truth, there is a dangerous delusion involved in the common phrase of 'stamping out' disaffection and rebellion. You may stamp them down and you may stamp them under, but stamp them out you cannot: so long as you apply your martial law you can prevent them from raising their head or from hindering you from carrying to a successful termination the task you have in hand, and such a result may well justify your measures of severity; but below the fires smoulder unquenched, if stamped under, and the Government that is content to walk delicately upon the crust that has been ground into a seeming quiescence by the iron foot of martial law will find before long that its path lies in truth and in deed 'per ignes suppositos cineri 'doloso.'

Disaffection and rebellion are, after all, but the generalised expression of individual discontent and dissatisfaction—of individual dissent from and resentment against the policy of the executive Government. In the present case, it is not difficult to understand how ties of family relationship, of intermarriage, and of racial affinity and sympathy have contributed to create an angry soreness in the minds of many of our Dutch fellow subjects at the Cape. While we fully admit the necessity of preventing them from translating these sentiments into hostile acts, we should urge that any statesmanship worthy of the name would realise that its first task, subject to insuring the public safety, must be to cast about for ways and means of reducing—and in time entirely allaying—this inflammation of feeling. But before any real progress can be looked for in this healing task, it is surely a condition precedent that we should restore to the subject his full right of recourse to that municipal law which 'every liege man inherits.' The suspension of civil rights, which is the meaning of martial law, is an outrage on the individual—an outrage, possibly, to which the safety, and indeed the very existence, of the society of which he is a member may imperatively demand that he should be subjected; but we cannot reasonably expect that bitter feelings which strike their roots deep in sentiments of family, of blood, of speech, and of race, and to which we shall not, if we are wise, deny some measure of sympathetic comprehension, will subside, so long as we continue to aggravate their inflammation by the additional irritant of a denial to the individual of the ordinary civil securities which from his youth upwards he has been accustomed to enjoy.

One word in conclusion to emphasise our position, though we hope that we have throughout these pages already made it abundantly clear. We are not of those who assume that English ministries, English military commanders, and Englishmen in general are always in the wrong in every subject of debate that may arise with communities or individuals of another race or another nationality. We are content to assume, and we believe, that the Government have not acted without being fully possessed of the facts of the situation in the Cape Colony, or without having considered those facts in all their bearings, as well political as military, with mature and weighty deliberation. We sincerely hope that when the time arrives at which it is possible to state to the public in their fulness the facts which moved them to the

proclamation of martial law the action of the Government will be found to be fully justified; what we do desire is to bring home to the public of the United Kingdom the seriousness of the step that has been taken, and the fact that on them ultimately rests the responsibility for the imposition of what Mr. John Morley has well called 'this fiery 'remedy,' for its reasonable and humane execution, and for its discontinuance at the earliest possible moment. We may fitly conclude this article by reminding our readers of the warning of the historian Hallam: 'It is of high im-'portance to watch with extreme jealousy the disposition, 'to which most governments are prone, to introduce too 'soon, to extend too far, to retain too long, so perilous a 'remedy.'

ART. V.—1. *Bolingbroke and his Times.* By WALTER SICHEL. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1901.

2. *The Life of Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke.* By THOMAS MACKNIGHT. London: 1863.

MR. SICHEL'S 'Bolingbroke' will take a high place among the numerous volumes which treat of the age of Queen Anne. The ground has been thoroughly explored; public and private biographies and correspondences, pamphlets and magazines have been studied, and dark places illuminated by side-lights from many quarters. No history of the time has been written from a more intimate acquaintance with the literature and politics of the period which it describes. Indeed, the acquaintance is almost too intimate; the knowledge which Mr. Sichel assumes on the part of his readers is oppressive. He writes as if he and they were in the habit of dining every day with Robin and Harry, and reading the 'Examiner' and the 'Guardian' in the morning. He hurries us breathless through camps, courts, and newspaper offices, cramming us with the contents of his notebooks, and leaving us no leisure for reflection or digestion. He pelts us with epigrams, allusions, and puzzles till we are bewildered, and long to find a quiet chapter somewhere, to go aside as it were and sit down to enjoy ourselves. When we turn from Mr. Sichel, and take up Macaulay's Essay on the War of the Spanish Succession, we appreciate that clearness is as valuable a gift or acquirement to an historian as fulness, and that Mr. Sichel's work, excellent as it is, would have been better if he had, like Macaulay, exercised a severe choice in the use of his materials, 'transcribing and correcting,' and taking infinite pains in the ordering of the work. The result is, in the one case, perfect clearness and arrangement; in the other, redundancy and a want of proportion which make the book difficult reading in spite of the great mass of information which it contains, and its brilliant—sometimes too brilliant—style.

The main conclusions of the work are that Bolingbroke was, on the whole, an honest statesman, and certainly a patriot; that neither the Tory party nor Bolingbroke at its head designed to bring in the Pretender in 1714, and that Bolingbroke betook himself at length to St. Germains only in despair, to be succeeded by repentance; that the Peace of Utrecht was as good a peace as we had any right to

expect; and that the Whigs, and especially Sir Robert Walpole, were no better than they should have been.

It is a difficult matter to upset the received verdicts of history. As a wise man once said, the process of whitewashing involves so much blackwashing that it had better be left alone. Carlyle did succeed in reversing some judgements. He put the character of Cromwell in a new light, and subsequent historians have evolved, out of the cloud of verbiage and enthusiasm in which he shrouded his subject, an intelligible picture of a grand human figure, capable of crimes as well as heroic actions, but worthy to stand among the greatest of men. He endeavoured to do the same by Frederick II. with a certain amount of success. But Froude's Henry VIII., Thiers' Napoleon, Mommsen's Cæsar, and still more his Cicero, are the creations of historians, not of history. When all is said, the world will continue to believe that Charles I. was a high tragic figure and a martyr, though for a questionable cause, Napoleon a gigantic intellect without a heart, Walpole a patriot, though an unscrupulous patriot, Pitt an oppressor, but also a glorious defender of our country, Fox a man of noble sympathies, but a friend of our enemies. Great men have great faults, and to ignore them is to falsify history. We do not accuse Mr. Sichel of doing this, but he will not make us believe that the portrait gallery of the reign of Queen Anne needs repainting, and that Bolingbroke in particular has never received justice. So, too, with respect to party history. We cannot agree with him that the Tories were the best interpreters of the Revolution Settlement or good friends to the Protestant succession, nor that they were two hundred years ago, or ever will be, the natural defenders of liberty or supporters of the expansion of free institutions. Toryism inevitably clings to existing institutions and privileges, and does not welcome changes; and, though Whigs and Tories have often changed parts and been untrue to their principles, the fore legs of Macaulay's apologue are still in advance of the hind legs.

Mr. Sichel states a useful truth, which has the semblance of a paradox in this scientific age, that 'to interpret events 'by character, and not character by events, is the true 'historical method.' Historians of to-day are in danger of thinking that the environment is everything. Because a character cannot act except within the limits and according to the ideas of its time, we are inclined to think that these limits and ideas are all that need be considered, and that personality counts for nothing. It is not so in fact. That

aggregate of sentiments, interests, rights, and wrongs which produced the French Revolution carried Napoleon along with it and survived him. But the effects of the virtues and vices of Napoleon also survived him, and are living and working now: without Napoleon, Europe would have been different from what it is. It required a grasp of details, a power of co-ordinating and subordinating facts which are rarely found in combination, to gather up the results of modern research in the 'Origin of Species.' Some one else might have done it—more probably, contending schools would long have fumbled at the knot. But Darwin said, 'Here is the explanation;' and science was launched on a new track.

To take an obvious instance from this period. If the Chevalier had been willing to give securities for the maintenance of the Protestant religion, he would almost certainly have been king of England. Are we to attribute to the march of the ages that 'fear of the devil's horns and the flames of hell,' which, according to Bolingbroke, constituted his religion, and which made him ruin his own prospects and those of the Tory party?

In history, and in English history, and in the history of English party, we find two opposing schools of thinking and acting, not unfrequently confused, but really separate; and within these lines move figures which both illustrate principles in action, and by their personal influence create events and give their own colour to them.

The ancient monarchy of England perished in the Great Rebellion. During the period which intervened between the setting up of the King's standard in 1642 and the establishment of a Protectorate in 1653, the country was governed by Parliament or committees of Parliament. The new-grown power of the Commons and the sense of its power thwarted Cromwell till his death. The Restoration claimed to restore unimpaired the monarchy of Charles I.; but though Charles II. appeared to have established his own authority upon the ground of a standing army and a profitable alliance with France, no return to a Tudor monarchy was possible. The first serious contest with the popular will cost James II. his crown; and William III. was never allowed to forget that he reigned on sufferance. Step by step the ministers of the Crown became the servants of the majority in the House of Commons, and henceforward the strongest personalities, Bolingbroke, Marlborough, Walpole, held office at the pleasure of the House of Commons, and

looked to popular elections to confirm or reverse the decisions of that House.

It was the fortune of the Whigs of this period to be led by no single statesman of dominant character, but to be strong in union. No Whig leader had so much original genius as Bolingbroke, nor so much practical skill as Godolphin or Harley; but the group of politicians known as the Whig Junto, with their supporters in both Houses, were formidable as an Opposition, and ready and able, when turned out of office in 1711, to make a strong Government at any moment if they should be called upon. They had with them the force of a rising wave. The Revolution Settlement, however the Tories might claim it as theirs, and read into it the old doctrine of King, Church, and landed interest, pointed forward to a condition of things unfavourable to all three. The Constitution worshipped by the Whigs of fifty years later was a new creation. The Crown was overshadowed by the House of Commons; the Church had to give up much of its monopoly; the landed interest was giving way to the moneyed interest. It is true that the Whig domination was the work of one man, Walpole; it may be true that the bulk of the nation was Tory in sentiment; but if there had been no Walpole, and James III. had succeeded Anne, we cannot believe that the history of England would have been essentially different. The causes at work were too vast to be controlled by kings and politicians. The growth of our trade and the parallel growth of our Empire, with the rivalries which accompanied it, would not have been seriously affected by a second Restoration. Our nation, which at this time took the lead in speculation and literature, would never have recurred to obsolete ideas in politics, economics, and religion, and in the forward movement they must have looked to Whigs, not to Tories, to lead them. Mr. Sichel belongs to the Disraeli school of historians, a school which imagines that the Tories, who may make some claim to have had a higher ideal of national honour and duty than Whigs, also invented —or, if they did not invent, understood better than the inventors—Parliamentary reform, liberty of conscience, and freedom of trade, institutions and ideas which they have accepted and adopted as their own, and thriven under them. The Whigs have had it their own way too long; and it is well that a Tory historian should arise now and then to redress the balance. But the fore legs will always be in advance of the hind legs, however nimbly they may follow.

It is difficult to return in imagination to the state of politics during the reign of Queen Anne. Nowhere do we find more unknown quantities to be accounted for; and the weakness of party ties and fixed principles gives to the age that personal character which is so attractive, though it may sometimes be misleading. The personality of the Queen, of the Electress, the Elector, and the Chevalier formed part of the succession problem; the in-and-out of party had apparently less to do with party considerations than with the loves and hates of the Queen and her friends, of the Marlboroughs and their connexions. The course and continuance of the war seemed to depend as much on the money interests of a few individuals as on the dynastic and national considerations which were alleged and juggled with. We think less of the balance of power, the danger of subsidies, the relation of England to the Continent, than of the fortunes of the House of Marlborough, the Queen's view of government through a mixed ministry, and the balance of the account with Elector and Pretender in the ledgers of the various politicians. In such ledgers there is no doubt always a private account. But in ordinary times the private account is for the most part confined to the obtaining or refusing of a place to a friend or supporter, to the rounding off of a cabinet, or the playing or holding this or that card in the political game. It does not take in the very bases of political existence, as in the days of Anne, when neither the Elector nor the Pretender—to judge them by their actions—seemed to care very heartily about the succession and party men must tow a boat astern to take them to the other ship in case their own should go down. There was little right or wrong in the matter. Decided action might strike heads as well as crowns into the hazard; a double game would probably be the safest.

We said that the personal view is likely to mislead. It is difficult to see, above the heads, what is the direction in which the stream of the crowd is setting, and we find that Mr. Sichel does not help us. Let it be granted, as we said just now, that the question of George or James, Whig or Tory, might have gone the other way. James would have been King of England, and George Elector or King of Hanover; but the interests and prejudices of the English nation would not have been changed by this. England and her allies had carried on a successful war against France. If the Whigs had made the Peace, they could not have set Charles of Austria upon the throne of Spain, nor made very

different terms with France from those made by Harley and Bolingbroke. If they had gone on with the war, they would have been in danger of making France too weak and Austria too powerful, as Bolingbroke foresaw. The rivalry between France and England in America and India would have arisen under a Stuart king, as it did under George II. England would have gravitated to Germany when in search of allies. Her politics would have been less mixed up than they actually were with the interests of German States; we might have coquetted with France as we coquetted with Prussia and Austria; but in the main our country would have played much the same part as it did under Walpole and under Chatham. The texture would have been the same, though the pattern might have been different. The Stuarts could not have kept the Whigs out of power, any more than the Hanoverians could keep the Tories out of power when their turn came. Walpole succeeded because his quiet policy suited the times, not because of royal favour. Pitt came in because England felt her strength and wished to exert it. The Hanoverian party knew that there was no great danger of England being dragged at the heels of Hanover; the Jacobites did not mean to repeat the subserviency of Charles II. and the madness of James II. England was strong enough under either king to take her own line; the Revolution had not been in vain; and perhaps this was the reason why, though rival politicians might gamble for each other's heads, the nation at large was not deeply stirred, as it had been fifty years earlier, by the fear of losing all the securities of law and property and being thrown into 'blood and confusion.'

Mr. Sichel's Bolingbroke is Disraeli's Bolingbroke. An underrated man of genius, one of the 'suppressed statesmen' of English history, had a sympathetic attraction to Disraeli; and Mr. Sichel's book may be said to be an expansion of the Coningsby texts, 'the fine genius of the injured Bolingbroke, the only peer of his period who was educated,' and 'he restored the moral existence of the party;' phrases, like many others coined in the same mint, which have something of the 'delusive splendour of imagination' attributed to Bolingbroke by Disraeli himself.

The story of Queen Anne's ministries has been oftener told than understood. It is no easy task for the memory to hold even the succession of ins and outs, to say nothing of the personal and political motives and the changes in Europe which influenced them. Generally speaking, it may be said

that the war rested upon the alliance of Godolphin and Marlborough—the one a moderate Tory, who had served with Whigs under William III., an able and trustworthy financier; the other a Whig, if he was anything, but with no political convictions; a man whose public ideas had a European not a British scope, but who seemed to his contemporaries in England only desirous to make the war succeed and be profitable to himself; closely allied to Godolphin, because he could be sure that Godolphin could and would supply money for the war, and because of personal and family considerations. This alliance was strengthened by the romantic attachment of the Queen to the Duchess of Marlborough. The death of William III. and accession of Anne brought the Tories into power, and a Tory Ministry found itself committed to a Whig war, to continue, that is, the policy of William III., hostility to French aggrandisement and alliance with the Empire and the House of Austria—a policy more obviously beneficial to Holland than to England, but one which held the field here for a century. The Queen and Godolphin both favoured a mixture of Whig with Tory in the Ministry, according to the old tradition that the Sovereign should be served by the best men, independent of party, and not serve either party. The strong Tories, like Buckingham and Nottingham, gave way to moderates like Harley and St. John (for he, too, was then looked upon as a moderate Tory), and to Whigs like Cowper. The Whig Junto—Wharton, Somers, Sunderland, Halifax, and Russell —by degrees forced themselves in. The turning-point was the admission of Sunderland, the enemy or detractor of Prince George. The Queen gave way; but the necessity of bowing under the Whig yoke hardened her heart against the Whigs when the turn of the Tories should come, and probably was the first step towards her alienation from the Duchess of Marlborough. The Ministry now became (1707) entirely Whig; for only the Whigs could be trusted to fight the war through. The Opposition did not wish to carry the war to extremities, and would have made peace on the terms offered in 1706. As St. John wrote,* 'all the ends of the Grand Alliance might 'have been obtained by a peace in 1706;' France and Spain would have been separated, the Dutch secured, the Emperor 'reasonably satisfied.' But Marlborough and the Whigs would not make peace; they passed a resolution in both Houses in October, 1707, against the succession of

* Study of History.

'any Bourbon prince' to the throne of Spain. Henceforward the Tories united to oppose the continuance of the war; and their views were strengthened by the stubborn resistance made by the Spaniards to the Archduke Charles, by his election to the Empire in 1711, and the Queen's growing coldness to the Marlboroughs; and the opportunity for a change of ministry was given by the Sacheverell affair and the complete victory of the Tories in the ensuing elections. Harley and St. John, who had resigned only in 1708, now came in again. The belief gained ground that the Whigs desired to continue the war for the sake of party, and for Marlborough's own interest, pecuniary and political, not for the good of the country. It was felt that England was carrying the whole burden of the war—a far heavier burden since the dismissal of the prudent Godolphin*—and that peace ought to have been made in 1706, or at least at Gertruydenburg in 1710. It was rumoured that Marlborough wished to play the part of Monk, or even of Cromwell. If he had any such ambition, the example of Wallenstein may have been in his mind: he had, it seemed, 'grown too great' to be a mere subject. The Marlboroughs fell, and the Tories came in triumphant.

It is to be noticed that none of these changes took place independently of the Parliamentary elections. The Parliamentary system, that of a homogeneous Ministry in agreement with, and dependent on, the majority in the House of Commons as determined by the latest elections, was already founded. It was strengthened by the action of Anne's Whig Ministry. It was reaffirmed to the disadvantage of the Whigs by the election of 1710; and the Whigs found their account again in the change of ministry which accompanied the accession of George I.

The popular view of the reign of Anne is that her ecclesiastical sympathies and her high views of prerogative, though overborne for a time by the defection to the Whigs of Marlborough and the Duchess, who was not too great to be a politician, combined to make her resolve on throwing off the domination of the Whigs, and that the motives of her action were selfish, personal, and womanish. No doubt this is true; but there is much to balance it. Anne, as Queen of England, believed honestly in prerogative and in the right of the Sovereign to choose his servants. She would have

* Godolphin had carried on the war from 1702 to 1710 with seven millions added to the National Debt, and three years of Tory government (1710–13) added fourteen millions.

sympathised with George III.'s idea of 'King's friends.' She disliked the Whigs for their overbearing conduct and for their action in Church matters. She was not a clever woman, but she was not a fool. She had much tact, great dignity, much patience and control of temper, no small share of magnanimity, and considerable courage and strength of purpose. Such a queen was not likely to be a cipher; and she is never spoken of as a cipher by her contemporaries. In one point, if in no other, she resembled Elizabeth. She would not name her successor, nor allow him to be named; and consequently the country was kept in suspense till the last moment, while nearly all statesmen were tacking and trimming to every shifting breeze; and any allusion to this all-important subject was treated by her as a personal offence. This may partly account, as in the case of the succession of James I., for the double-faced attitude of most leading politicians, and their wish to stand well with both interests.

Personal motives are not to be ignored: but apart from these, the causes of the rise and fall of parties during the reign of Anne were the capacity and unanimity of the Whig leaders; the eagerness of Marlborough to continue the war after its principal object, the humiliation of France, was attained; the increasing burden of national debt under the Whig Government, while the Marlboroughs were becoming enormously rich. Add to these the fact that a war is always more popular at its commencement than when it continues without sufficient reason; and a jealousy of the Whigs as representing only a part of the nation, whereas the bulk of the population, scattered about the counties, held to the landed interest and the Church, and did not wish for innovations.

The Sacheverell affair was a mere episode. It disturbed the political weather, but did not alter the set of the wind. It was just one of those storms which capsize a Ministry and wreck a policy. It put the Tories in power, and gave Harley and St. John the opportunity of making the Peace of Utrecht. For the present they held the game in their own hands. The general discredited, the objects of the war obtained, the country wishing for peace and economy, the Church and the stay-at-home gentry turning the tables upon the 'moneyed' interest which Bolingbroke disliked so much and understood so ill; all these were points in their favour.

Bolingbroke's title to the name of patriot or statesman largely depends upon his principal work, the conduct of the

peace negotiations in 1712-13. The Peace of Utrecht is, as Mr. Gardiner has pointed out, the beginning of a new era in European politics: one of interests, not of causes. We must not generalise too widely; but there is obviously a difference between making peace and war for the Catholic or Protestant cause, and basing action upon dynastic, territorial, or commercial interests. The latter have always been among the chief determining causes of peace settlements; for nations go to war in the heat of pride and resentment, and make peace to secure advantage or avert disaster. In this instance England, having gone to war for the general interest of Europe, made no pretence to higher considerations in making peace than those of her own interest. We do not know that the peace was any the worse for being, as it were, stripped of its clothing. A peace plenipotentiary is a trustee; and trustees have no right to sentiment, or, at any rate, so Bolingbroke thought.

The Tories were right in wishing for peace. The war had gone on long enough, and was not answering the just expectation of those who had made it; it was ruinously expensive, and if it had been carried on for another campaign no proportional results would have been obtained. As a party the Tories pursued a traditional policy—to object to our being principals in the war instead of accessories, to decry the vast expense of subsidies, to favour action by sea rather than by land, to dislike Continental complications, and to suspect the honesty of persons and classes who profited by the war. That was fair opposition. When the Tory Ministers came into power they should have ceased from caballing, retained the first soldier in Europe as their engine of war, and offered terms of peace with the sword in their hand and at the head of the Allies. As it was, they dismissed Marlborough, they played with the war, *cauponantes bellum non belligerantes* (as was said not very fairly of the Whigs), gave up all pretence of union, and finally plotted with the enemy against the Allies.

As regards the peace itself, it did not secure the succession of the Archduke, for which the Powers had gone to war in 1701, but it did carry out the policy of the Grand Alliance. The Whigs could only see the desertion of our Allies, and the playing into the hands of Louis XIV. They did not choose to see that two unforeseen events had entirely changed the outlook—the resistance of the Spaniards to their titular King Charles III., and his election to the Empire. The recent successes of Villars were a third point in favour

of France, which could not be wholly ignored. A treaty of partition was a more reasonable settlement than one which would restore something like the Empire of Charles V. That Bolingbroke made things too easy for the French may be granted, and his good faith here is questioned. In 1706 Louis XIV. would have given up the Spanish succession, and contented himself with Naples and Sicily for his grandson Philip V. In 1709 he offered to take Philip back into France without any compensation whatever, and return almost to the *status quo* at the Peace of Westphalia. What had happened since 1709 had improved the position of France. On the other hand, the danger of an ultimate union of France with Spain under the same crown had been brought nearer by the mortality in the French royal family, a danger which took a different shape in the Family Compact twenty years later.

Philip V. remained King of Spain and the Indies. But this was the essential condition; and since the English held Gibraltar, and Minorca with Port Mahon, and had an interest in Sicily, and so were confirmed in their Mediterranean position, while the Dunkirk question was not neglected, it was better for our interests to be content with this than to go on with the war in order to please the Emperor, who rested on English subsidies and did not keep his own engagements, and the Dutch, who cared for nothing but the Barrier and *la revanche* for 1670, and whose fault was always 'giving too 'little and asking too much.'

Be this as it may, we cannot condone the secret understanding under which the Allies were deserted, and the 'restraining orders' issued to Ormonde; though the shield of Parliamentary approval (got, it is true, by a stretch of prerogative in the creation of peers) should have protected Bolingbroke and Oxford from impeachment. We find no sufficient answer to the question, Why all this secrecy and single and selfish action? According to Mr. Sichel it was rendered necessary, or at least advisable, by the selfishness of the Allies, especially Austria; by the 'general scramble,' as Bolingbroke calls it (what modern English these patriarchs allowed themselves to use!) for the results of a successful war, and by the factious and dishonest opposition of the Whigs. It was not unreasonable that the lead should be taken by that Power which had found the money and the general, and no small proportion of the men. But it was not creditable to show more confidence to the enemy than to the Allies. It was advisable that, since we had deliberately

shelved Marlborough in favour of Ormonde, there should be no more fighting. But it was unworthy to issue secret orders to our general in the field to thwart his colleague (and that colleague Eugene), and enter into private intelligences with the enemy's general. It was reasonable that we should not support the Catalonians in a useless struggle. But it was disgraceful to abandon them to Philip V., with a cold recommendation to the Emperor, for whom they had fought, to do what he could for them. Since, however, the peace was to be pushed on in a high-handed manner, it was well that our plenipotentiary should be a man with clear head, resolution, courage, imposing presence, and perfect command of language. No one could satisfy these conditions better than Bolingbroke. But Mr. Sichel does not convince us that it would not have been more honourable and more dignified, as well as conducive to better terms of peace, if the English Cabinet had taken a firm line at the head of the Allies, not behind their backs, and only made a separate peace if the Allies should prove too hard to please. If so, we could then have transferred to them the imputation of self-seeking, and have made our own terms with a good grace.

It was easy to see that the Allies had no higher policy than to get, each of them, what he could for himself. Our Ministers thought themselves justified in settling preliminaries with France, without concert with the Allies; and in doing so they paid as little attention as the others to the general interests of Europe. The Dutch frontier was secured against French invasion by the transference of the Spanish Netherlands to Austria, a dynastic arrangement which seemed at the moment to leave them an insufficient barrier, though in the event it proved to be a stroke of high policy. The ambition of France in Italy was checked by the cession of territory to the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy; but the western frontier of Germany was left insecure, and the rapacity of Louis XIV.'s conquests and 're-unions' remained here unpunished, tempting his successors to further rapacity; and when we compare the frontier of France in 1648, or even in 1697, with that of 1713, we are astonished at the moderation of the Allies, or rather at the nonchalance of England. The loss of Alsace (with the right of passing troops to it across Lorraine) would have been a just rebuke to the pride of the Bourbons, if Franche-Comté and the three bishoprics were now too firmly united to France to be dissevered; and if Harley and Bolingbroke had not left the

Emperor to fight his own battles without allies, magazines, money, or troops,* it is not improbable that such a cession might have been claimed on the part of the Empire and submitted to by France.

We must not read into the motives of the seventeenth century ideas of modern times and lessons of subsequent history. We see now, what no one could see then, that the territorial and dynastic changes in Europe, however important to the Continental nations, to which they might imply national independence or subjection—even in some cases existence or extinction—were less important to England than the interests of trade and colonisation. The balance of power in Europe meant for England security against invasion, and freedom to extend our trade and the developement of empire which was to follow its extension. But in 1713 our statesmen thought more of the existing state of trade than of its imperial developement. We had then no dreams of universal empire. The only colonial empires were those of Spain, Portugal, and Holland. The English dependencies were confined to 'a fringe on the Atlantic coast of America, 'a few western islands, and a few commercial stations in 'India.'† But the Spanish and Portuguese dependencies were peopled by a mixed race, and showed little power of internal expansion, governed as they were entirely in the interest of the mother country. The Dutch were a declining power, weakened by war and by the commercial competition of England; and their colonies were little more than trading 'factories.' The French settlements, in extent nearly equal to the English, were more hampered than ours by domestic regulations, and were subject to a slower ratio of progression in population. New England and Virginia were founded in the spirit of liberty and enterprise, and their population doubled itself four times in a century. But English statesmen could not foresee the great extension of 'oceanic policy,' involving future wars, which these facts foreshadowed.

They set more value upon the monopoly of the slave trade transferred from France to England by the 'Asiento' than upon the exclusion of France from North America, not being able to prophesy that Canada and Louisiana would try, before fifty years were past, to make their claws meet at the back of the English possessions. We might have endured the

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* Sichel, 'Bolingbroke,' p. 419.

† Seeley, 'Expansion of England,' p. 37.

French occupation of the Mississippi Valley, and the extension of French influence towards the north, as twenty years ago we endured the establishment of 'spheres of influence' in all parts of Africa, but with less reason, for in 1713 we might have driven France from North America without fear of war. But if our statesmen had not been in such a hurry to make friends with France, if they had looked beyond the interests of the moment, they would, instead of peddling about Newfoundland fisheries and the *bona immobilia* of Nova Scotia, have claimed the sovereignty of Canada and drawn a line of demarcation south of the Great Lakes, if not of the Ohio and Missouri Valleys. This policy would have been identical with that which now claims that the Soudan shall be exempt from intrusion on the West. In the latter case it may portend a struggle in the future. In the former case it would have lessened the danger of such a struggle, or would in any case have settled England as the power in possession. France could not have resisted the claim, and no European Power would have troubled itself about the transaction. When territories like Sicily and the Spanish Netherlands were being arbitrarily assigned to the Duke of Savoy, the Emperor, or the French pretender to the throne of Spain, as the varied fortunes of the war or the domestic afflictions of Louis XIV. affected the chessboard of Europe, a demand for the transference of Canada would not have been a case for breaking off the negotiations. But nobody seems to have given it a thought.

If we turn aside from European to English politics, we find that Harley and Bolingbroke had made up their minds to ruin Marlborough and the Whigs, and that the pressing on of the negotiations at Utrecht was part of this plan. We will not enlarge upon the methods by which the Peace of Utrecht was carried through Parliament. Bolingbroke's measures were too violent to be secure. Nothing was left undone to make opposition more rancorous than ever. By the Occasional Conformity Act, soon to be followed by the Schism Act, the Dissenters were deprived of political power, and almost of political existence. Measures were designed for taxing the fundholders, and crippling the Bank and the East India Company as unpatriotic bloodsuckers. The 'moneyed interest' was to be ruined. All Whigs in office were turned out, and Tories put in their place. The Whig majority in the Upper House was balanced by creation of new peers. The press was gagged. The army was being 'new-modelled,' regiments and commissions being put into

trustworthy hands. The Commander-in-Chief, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, the responsible agent in Scotland, were all in the Jacobite interest. The Whig party was to be wiped off the slate. It is hardly credible that Bolingbroke should have acted with so little judgement, if he had not been calculating on the Jacobite succession, which would put the Whigs out of power for a long period, if not for ever. Some of the measures, in particular the creation of peers, were intended to get the Peace through Parliament. But all might seem to have been designed, and were thought by men of all parties to be designed, in view of the restoration of James; the same policy was carried on after the Peace was signed; and it is quite possible that if the Queen had lived a few weeks longer the Act of Settlement would have been repealed, and the Whigs dared to begin a civil war, which we doubt much whether they would have done, if we may judge from their own despondent language at the time.

We have not space to go into the controversy between Mr. Sichel and the ghost of Hallam. We think Hallam would probably be able to defend his position if he were in a position to answer. Mr. Sichel's contention is that Bolingbroke never had any design * of bringing in the Pretender, that the Jacobite vote was wanted to get the Peace through Parliament, and that the Jacobites were a pretext for the Peace, not the Peace to bring in the Pretender. It may have been so at first. But the campaign against the Whigs went on till the Queen's death, and presumably had another motive. Hallam believes that Harley wished to keep on terms with all parties, playing off one against another by 'insidious cunning' and the art of lying without being detected. He was the author of the Succession Act in 1701, to which Act his head might be forfeited if he were on the losing side when the Queen died. For the axe slept, but might be awakened. Bolingbroke, Hallam thinks, was 'more sincere probably and zealous' for the Pretender than Harley, and had been engaged in this connexion as early as 1712.

The Tory party, it is said, was distinct from the Jacobite party. That means no more than that the Jacobites were not likely to be able to set up a king who would not bind

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* His own expressions are 'no formed design,' 'any very settled resolution,' 'no design on foot.' ('Letter to Wyndham,' 'On the State of Parties.')

himself to protect the Church of England, the Church of the Tories. The Tories, most of them, required securities for religion. The Pretender played his cards worse than the Elector, and the Tories let him go by. When the Elector was established on the throne, and the Tories excluded from politics, the temper of the party showed itself by sulking. It was safe to drink disloyal toasts and preach High Church sermons when the party in power had no fear of any seditious action, as was shown to be the case by the failure of the '15 and the '45 to stir the English Jacobites into action. Edward Waverley would have grumbled at home if he had not happened to be the guest of a Highland chieftain; and most of the Waverleys stayed at home and kept their heads out of hazard.

Where there is so much adroit lying on every side, the safest plan is to consider the probabilities of the situation apart from direct evidence.

We may put aside all question of morality and sentiment. Bolingbroke and Oxford wished to secure for the country and their party the best article in the shape of a king that a limited market could afford. It should not be forgotten that for some sixty-five years—a period a little longer than the reign of Queen Victoria—the nation had been 'poured 'from one vessel into another;' that the execution of Charles I., the Commonwealth and Protectorate, the Restoration and the Revolution, were events fresh in men's memory, and they had left behind them a sense of instability; that Charles I. was the last sovereign of England who had affected the imagination and commanded the loyalty of his subjects as our earlier kings had done; and that in consequence of this, and the spirit of animosity introduced into English politics by the Civil War, men thought less of king than country, of country than party. There was in the country generally a sentiment in favour of the old family, a dislike to a German intruder, a strong feeling against a Roman Catholic king. No one but a non-juror or a dissenter felt much loyalty to a foreigner, whether his name were James or George.

All these were counters in the game, which for Bolingbroke was to secure the Tory party in the position which it now held or seemed to hold for a moment.

What are the probabilities? If the Queen gave no sign, the succession would fall of its own accord to the Elector by the Act of Settlement. Was the Tory party to be strengthened in order to enable it to control the Hanoverian

king, as Ranke thinks,* or for the purpose of imposing conditions on the Stuart? The former course was almost certain to fail, in view of the fact that George would look upon the Whigs as his friends. They had passed the Act of Settlement, had carried on the war, and supported the particular interests of Hanover; in a word, 'the succession was theirs.' The latter course was the better for the Tory party, but for one difficulty, perhaps an insurmountable difficulty. The English nation would not accept a Popish king, or at any rate not without the strongest guarantees for the maintenance of the Constitution in Church and State; and the Pretender declared, as late as April, 1714, that he would never change his religion, though he would 'grant all the 'reasonable security that could be demanded of him.' But if the prospect of the succession came near, James might modify his resolution or give binding securities; time was in any case in the interest of the Tory party; they wished to be ready for either contingency, and thus, as often happens, were ready for neither. 'In six weeks,' Bolingbroke told the French envoy, Iberville, on the day following the Queen's death,† 'there need have been no fear of what has just hap-'pened.' That is, presumably, the appointment of Shrewsbury, the accession of George I. and all that it involved. He had already filled all the posts in the Government with Tories and Jacobites: Mar, Atterbury, Ormonde, Wyndham, and so on—he would have secured army and fleet, Scotland and Ireland, to the hands of a compact party. 'C'était arborer 'assez haut le drapeau Jacobite,' says de Rémusat; certainly, if all it meant was to impress the Elector of Hanover with a sense of the Tory power. The last months and weeks of the Queen's life show Bolingbroke in vehement activity, endeavouring by every means in his power to counterwork the shifty inaction of Oxford, and to put affairs into the hands of the extreme party; and it is difficult to believe that his own wishes were not with the Pretender. How else are we to explain his despair when Shrewsbury was made Lord Treasurer? 'The grief of my soul,' he said to Atterbury, 'is this: I see plainly that the Tory party is gone.' Why 'gone,' if it was intended to make terms with George I. on a Tory bottom? Bolingbroke was in sentiment neither a Jacobite nor a Hanoverian. He was willing to serve either king. He was committed to neither. The balance of chances stood so nearly level that a slight impulse would decide it;

* Hist. of England, v. 348 (English translation). † August 2, 1714.

and he was full of confidence in his own power to give the impulse when the moment came. The spring and summer of 1714 were a time of the greatest uncertainty. The Queen was dying. In February the Pretender declared his unalterable fidelity to his Church, and at the same moment a French fleet was said to be ready for bringing him over; Marlborough was convinced that the ministers were plotting in his favour; the pamphlet war was never fiercer; Bolingbroke was filling the army with Jacobites, and protesting to the Queen that he had not, like Oxford, relations with Hanover. The quarrel between the two Ministers was growing more rancorous, though both were still in the Queen's service. Each accused the other of Jacobite intrigues. Oxford, it would seem, having made the Jacobites his 'bubble' to induce them to vote for the Peace, was trying to trim; Bolingbroke, 'driving to an inch,' as Swift said, intended the complete suppression of the Whigs, though at the moment of Harley's dismissal (July 27) he seems to have wavered, when a strange event took place—namely, a dinner at Bolingbroke's house in Golden Square, at which Stanhope, Pulteney, and Walpole were present. It is one of the most surprising facts of a surprising time. No detailed account of what took place has been preserved. Did Bolingbroke really waver, or was it his intention to 'cajole' (as Lord Stanhope says) or to intimidate the Whigs, being, as he was, actually Prime Minister though not yet Lord Treasurer? Bolingbroke must have learnt from this experiment that no coalition between himself and the Whigs was possible; and here, if ever, his sanguine courage flagged. The hour of triumph for the Whigs was at hand. They demanded, it seems, that the Pretender should be removed from Lorraine. They probably thought the attempt at conciliation an evidence of weakness. The next day (Wednesday, July 28) Bolingbroke sent an envoy to Hanover. Two days later the Queen was stricken with apoplexy (Friday, July 30). On the following morning the Duke of Shrewsbury was made Lord Treasurer (July 31), and on Sunday (August 1) the Queen died, and the Elector was proclaimed.

Mr. Sichel, trusting (we think) too much to Bolingbroke's own statements, and to the evidence of silence, believes that Bolingbroke had no Jacobite designs, but that he was educating his party to stand united and compact against all hostile combinations, that his policy was to purge the party 'of waverers or traitors, and to constitute it the express 'image of the Queen, the Church, and the People.' The

case against Bolingbroke is 'not proven' but circumstantial. Why did he favour the French in the Treaty, unless in the hope that they would support the Pretender's interest, as indeed they were willing to do, for all their recognition of the Protestant succession? Why did he discuss Jacobite plans with Iberville, Gaultier, and Torcy? What of his declaration that 'he would never serve the Elector,' and his remark to Iberville that the proclamation of the Pretender 'would 'make no difference'? Why did he oppose the visit of the Electoral Prince to England and the removal of the Pretender from Lorraine? His letters, whether written at the time or later, are manifestoes. His candour is suspicious; his airs of innocence do not convince us. If innocent, why did he allow himself to be frightened away from England? and, above all, why did he fly to the bosom of the Pretender, unless he had made sure of a welcome?

If we agree with Mr. Sichel in thinking that no deliberate plan for restoring the Pretender had been worked out by Bolingbroke, we agree only so far as to believe that Bolingbroke was prepared to accept the decision of the moment. There was at that time no great and organised force of public opinion throughout the country. Londoners read the 'Examiner' and the other newspapers and pamphlets which came out from day to day. The country districts were isolated, and had little communication with London. There was no provincial press. Country people stayed at home and let the Parliament men settle for them till the elections came round again. And therefore it was possible for so momentous an event as a change of dynasty to take place without deeply stirring the nation. The accident of the moment might make either Bolingbroke or Somers a traitor. Bolingbroke knew that the Pretender might turn out to be a man of straw, and therefore he did not commit himself irretrievably to his cause. It is on the whole probable that he had no 'formed design' to bring in the Pretender. But all his action tended that way; and it is doing him no injustice to believe that he did what he could to effect the succession of James III. Time was called before his plan was complete, and therefore he was able to behave as an innocent person, and when attacked, to ask for proofs of complicity, knowing that none could be found. Where, he asks, are the documents? His papers were in the hands of Government. A good point, but the answer is that he had not committed himself on paper. People are apt to be cautious in playing for their heads, and doubly so if they distrust their partner,

and Bolingbroke's often-quoted return of a compromising letter unopened may have been no more than a clever piece of acting. He tried to play a double game. He miscalculated the strength of Royalist sentiment; he undervalued the power of religious feeling, having none of it himself; he misunderstood the Pretender's character; and, finally, he imagined that a disconcerted plotter would be received into favour by the foreigner whom he had tried—or was believed to have tried—to keep out of the country. It would have been better for his reputation, and perhaps not much worse for his fortunes—though it was just possible that he might, as his father prophesied,* lose his head—if he had made a bold stroke for James. His best excuse is that he did as others did. But what was possible for them was not open to men so eminent as himself. 'Hanover must be our anchor,' said Sunderland. The Tories had no anchor.

Throughout the whole affair Bolingbroke shows want of clear judgement and want of temper. He sacrificed his party to his hatred for Harley, for Harley, with all his faults, was a useful colleague; and, having ruined him, he found he could not stand alone. If at the supreme moment 'his passions outran his judgement and decided his action,' he must lose the reputation of a statesman. He cuts a sorry figure at the crisis of his fortunes, able neither to accept circumstances nor to control them. He should either have entered into 'definite and deliberate conspiracy,' or, having let the opportunity go by, have confessed his failure and not engaged in an enterprise like those which (to use his own words) 'have rendered the hero of La Mancha immortal.' Mr. Sichel speaks of 'ingratitude.' But what gratitude was due from the Tory party for the man who had blown hot and cold, had neither welcomed the Elector nor restored the Pretender, had held the cards in his hands and threw the game away, and delivered them over to the ill-will of the German, and the Whigs, his natural supporters?

When all was over, and George I. proclaimed, there remained one ground of hope. The Tories had been so much strengthened that Bolingbroke appears to have indulged the dream that the new King would think twice before he set himself against the dominant party, and would come in, if not as a friend, at least not as a declared enemy armed with

* 'I ever said you would be hanged, Harry; but now' (having been made a peer) 'I find you will be beheaded.' (Spence's 'Anecdotes.')

impeachments and attainders against the Tories. But he lost heart at the moment when the Duke of Shrewsbury came forward; and we can only wonder that Bolingbroke's inordinate self-esteem should have led him to think that he was indispensable, and that George I. would deal with him as the head of one of the parties with which he had to reckon, a party which included the Church and most of the landed interest. True, if the London mob counted in politics, no one was more popular than he. There seemed to be some chance of toleration, at least. Mr. Sichel points out that the exclusion of Marlborough, Sunderland, and Wharton from the regency 'seemed to indicate that George had not 'been wholly swayed by the Whigs.' 'The Tories,' said Bolingbroke, 'seem to resolve not to be crushed, and that 'is enough to prevent them from being so.' Brave words; and his courage did not fail till the very last. But he must have known that there was little hope behind them, even in the prospect of the elections. A coalition, in view of the unpopularity of the German, was all that was even possible; and in such a coalition the Tory element would have been subordinate to the Whig.

Bolingbroke was soon robbed of any illusions he may have entertained. He was deprived of office immediately after the Queen's death. After holding a levee of Tory lords and Churchmen he retired to Bucklersbury. The Walpoles, Townshend, and the other Whigs came in; Ormonde was dismissed and left the country; Oxford kissed hands; Bolingbroke's office was sealed up; he himself kept away from Court, but appeared at the coronation, and when the King asked his name as he did homage (for he had never seen him) 'turned round and bowed three times to the very 'ground.'* He gained nothing by this obsequiousness. Royal proclamations against the Tories were issued. The elections came on, and, though the Tories were strong in the counties, the result was a Whig majority. 'The Tories 'were branded as Jacobites till the days of Chatham,' and, considering the events of the next quarter of a century, not altogether unjustly, for the 'Whimsicals,' as the Hanoverian Tories were called, were not sufficient in number or influence to leaven the lump. Oxford, Ormonde, Strafford, and Bolingbroke were impeached, and Bolingbroke fled to France. 'My blood,' he writes, 'was to have been the 'cement of a new alliance.' 'How does fortune banter us!'

* P. 512. See Walpole's 'Reminiscences.'

Mr. Sichel can see nothing but tyranny in these measures. We do not defend them, so far as they were prompted by the spirit of revenge. If they can be justified, it is by the sense of public danger and the desire to avoid civil war. That danger was imminent, as the events of the next year showed. It is not improbable that the quiescence of the Tory party in England during the '15 was to some degree owing to the fact that the King and the Whigs had shown their teeth. Governments whose existence is at stake must sometimes act by Strafford's plan, 'to reward friends and 'punish enemies.'

On the other hand, if the new King had behaved with moderation, and not allowed himself to be the King of a party, but determined to be the father of a nation, it may be that he would have reconciled the bulk of the Tory party to his government, and that the Jacobites would have been no more formidable in 1745 than they were in 1760.

Here Mr. Sichel leaves his hero. Exposed to universal odium, impeached and attainted, he threw himself upon the Pretender without calculating the chances, only to be disappointed again; to ask for an amnesty, and creep back to accept a toleration which was little better than ostracism. Bolingbroke's Jacobite escapade, his visits to Bar-le-Duc, his acceptance of the seals of office and an earldom from the Pretender, his fruitless attempts to make James act like a sensible man, and to organise the Jacobite rising in England and Scotland, his despair at the death of Louis XIV., the incompetent conduct of the Duke of Ormonde, and the inaction of the English Jacobites, his disillusionment and repentance are all told in the Letter to Wyndham, a clever but dishonest pamphlet, which shows plainly enough the weakness of the Jacobite cause, and leaves us to conclude that Bolingbroke threw himself into it from no patriotic motive, but from a desire of revenge combined with the wish to give what help he could to his party, entangled in an impossible enterprise. The remainder of Bolingbroke's life is a story of indomitable courage and energy under repeated disappointment. 'Nothing,' said Pope, 'can re-'press his genius; whatever befals him, he will still be 'the greatest man in the world, either in his own time 'or with posterity.'* His clear and masculine grasp of facts, his knowledge of persons and parties, his matchless command of language ensured him a hearing on every

* Letter to Swift, March 25, 1736.

occasion, and he never conversed or wrote without effect. His eloquence, perhaps the summit of British eloquence, was lost to the world. Walpole did wisely in keeping him out of the House of Lords, for he was his most dangerous antagonist—both a rival and an enemy. Hatred to Walpole is the most consistent motive of Bolingbroke's political actions after his return from exile, and it inspires every page of his political writings. He was always a strong hater, as well as a warm friend; and his enmities were perhaps more lasting than his friendships. To him Walpole was the incarnation of bad politics: commercialism, disunion, depression of the nobler traditions of England. But his opposition could only take the form of faction, and it angered the Minister without weakening him.

We may trace in his action throughout this period a consistent design of strengthening the Tory party and enabling it in course of time to take its stand at the side of the Sovereign. Bolingbroke's ideal of the British Constitution was the King, the Church, and the landed interest against the Nonconformists and the middle-class and 'moneyed' interest. He would have preferred a Stuart king, but was willing to serve the House of Hanover. The Revolution Settlement, as he understood it, was the union of the Crown and the people under a strong and stable Ministry; not Parliamentary government dependent on the humours of elections and the party votes of the House of Commons. Here he mistook the nature of that Settlement, and fought against accomplished facts. Yet the examples of the two Pitts and Disraeli show that it is possible for a statesman to maintain a strong personal position, and at the same time to keep in mind not only the game of Parliament but also the unrepresented wishes of the bulk of the people.

His enemies were wise in keeping him out of England till they had established party government and Whig domination. He was the only statesman who could have restored the fortunes of the Tory party. When Walpole was firmly seated in the saddle he could afford to admit Bolingbroke to grace, though not to political life. He offered on his return to England in 1723 to co-operate with the Government, but his offer was rejected. He was to be kept in the shade; and debarred from Parliamentary activity, he gave himself up to faction.

In 1725 Bolingbroke joined Pulteney and the discontented Whigs in an attack on Walpole's system of depressing the Church (and religion in general) and the landed interest.

In the corrupt conduct of Parliamentary influence—the keynote of Walpole's system—by the Prime Minister and his salaried servants, the Revolution families, holding the balance between the Crown on the one hand and the populace on the other, Bolingbroke and Pulteney found an easy subject for attack. Bolingbroke is never tired of accusing Walpole of endeavouring to 'corrupt the morals of men.' The only answer is that in those days any Minister would have pursued a similar policy. Walpole was able to do it with more effect than anyone else, because he had fewer scruples and more determination than other men, and knew his own mind on every occasion. A sanguine, hot-blooded man like Bolingbroke might organise his party in opposition, but could not have kept it together in power as Walpole did. The secret of Walpole's success was that he knew his business in all its details better than anyone else, and managed his business alone, enduring no rival, and having sagacity enough not to vex the people by raising questions which might have stirred their passions. Though he fell at last by an outburst of popular feeling, he did not fall till he had established the Hanoverian dynasty and secured the omnipotence of Parliament and the predominance of the House of Commons—the developement of the principles of 1640.

Bolingbroke tried the effect of his own magical personal influence. He saw and spoke to George I., but found him insensible to magic. 'Bagatelles, bagatelles,' was the King's account of the interview. He then turned to the Prince of Wales and the Leicester House faction. But the Prince of Wales became king and submitted to Walpole's direction. Bolingbroke now consolidated the Opposition, consisting of malcontent Whigs and Hanoverian and Jacobite Tories. With these auxiliaries in Parliament, and himself leading an army of writers in the 'Craftsman,' he carried on relentless warfare against Walpole, whose magnanimity in regard to him is the measure of his own political weakness. Though Bolingbroke could make Tories and Whigs work together in opposition against the Minister, he could not combine them in a work of construction. Had they been able to overthrow Walpole for a moment they would have quarrelled among themselves, and Walpole would have come in again, stronger than ever. An Opposition which cannot coalesce into a Government is never formidable, though it may do good service to the country in keeping the party in power to their bearings.

For ten years Bolingbroke laboriously ploughed the sand. The greatest political genius of his time was excluded, partly by ill fortune, but more by his own faults of character and temper, from all active participation in politics. His knowledge of European affairs, the eloquence and Parliamentary skill which had once made him supreme in the House of Commons, the ray of genius which he shed over every action—'something superior,' said Pope, 'to anything 'I have seen in human nature'—were lost to the country, and the memory of Bolingbroke goes down to posterity ticketed with Macaulay's unfair and inadequate description, 'a 'brilliant knave.'

Bolingbroke's failure to unite the discontented Whigs with the Tories in anything but faction was among the causes which led him to leave England again in 1735. He had weakened Walpole's power, but not overthrown it.

'While the Minister was not hard pushed, nor the prospect of succeeding to him near, they (the Tories and malcontent Whigs) appeared to have but one end, the reformation of the Government. The destruction of the Minister was pursued only as a preliminary, but of essential and indispensable necessity to that end. But, when his destruction seemed to approach, the object of his succession interposed to the sight of many, and the reformation of the Government was no longer their point of view.' (Bolingbroke, 1756.)

As Mr. Hassall writes, the malcontent Whigs 'dropped 'the principle of patriotism, and broke off their connection 'with Bolingbroke.'* He was destined thus to be again the 'bubble' of discordant parties. The man who had broken Oxford's coalition policy, who had, as all believed, done his best to defeat the Hanoverian succession, who had done homage to George I., fled the country and taken office under the Pretender, actively aided the rebellion of 1715, and found his place only as the leader of a heterogeneous Opposition, whose genius and eloquence could not make up for his want of stability, was not likely to be trusted by any party. When Walpole fell in 1742, the Whigs who succeeded him would have nothing to say to the Tories, and Bolingbroke was again disappointed. Though the new Government soon fell, the reign of the Pelhams followed, and the Tories were still in Opposition. 'How does fortune 'banter us!' Bolingbroke might again exclaim.

Bolingbroke is a baffling study. He had all the qualities which make a great man except virtue; good sense and

* Life of Bolingbroke.

business capacity allied to splendid genius and daring. The greatest orator (and as Pope and many others thought the best writer) of his time, a scholar and student with such a capacious and well-ordered brain that he could consult his authors in his own head as others do in a library, the delight of his friends, noble above other men in appearance, manner, and address, he was at the same time profligate in morals beyond the example of his age, a scoffer at all rules of religion and morality, an untrustworthy friend, and an unscrupulous enemy. All believed in his greatness, few in his goodness. He could lead men to battle, but not hold them in peace; and his life was spent in angry contention, in pulling down, not in building up. Yet he will always be one of the most brilliant figures and one of the most interesting problems in the history of England.

ART. VI.—1. *Present Irish Questions.* By WILLIAM O'CONNOR MORRIS. London: 1901.

2. *Ireland and the Empire: a Review.* By T. W. RUSSELL, M.P. London: 1901.

3. *Ireland: Industrial and Agricultural.* Edited by WILLIAM P. COYNE. Published under the direction of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland. Dublin: 1901.

4. *First Report of the Royal Commission on University Education in Ireland: issued with an Appendix containing Minutes of Evidence taken at the first nine sittings in Dublin.* [Cd 825 and 826] 1901.

THE publications enumerated at the head of this article, differing widely in their separate scope and character, present, when considered collectively, a tolerably complete view of the social, political, and economic condition of contemporary Ireland, and bring well into the foreground the most important among those questions of current interest which are engaging the attention of thoughtful Irishmen, and for which we think it expedient at the present juncture to invite the consideration of our readers. But before we embark in the discussions of the somewhat complex topics which will come under review, it is right that we should say a word, partly critical and partly explanatory, concerning some of the above-mentioned works, and more particularly in regard to the veteran writer from whose latest volume we have adopted the title of this article.

Judge O'Connor Morris brings to the discussion of contemporary Irish questions the valuable qualification of an experience perhaps unique in the present generation, a trained habit of observation, and a vigorously acute intelligence. For the past thirty years or more he has been well known as a diligent student of Irish affairs, and more especially as an authority on the land question. As a resident Irish squire he necessarily possesses a first-hand knowledge of Irish provincial life, and as a County Court judge of nearly thirty years' standing he has gained a close acquaintance with the conditions of life among all classes in Central and Western Ireland under circumstances which have served to give to his opinions the value which attaches to independent observation. And he has not only been in the habit from time to time of formulating for the public the con-

clusions at which he has arrived, but his views are informed by an unusually wide acquaintance with the course of Irish history, a subject which has often occupied his fertile pen. Thus, Judge Morris is fully entitled to say, as he does in his preface, that few living men have had such opportunities as have fallen to his lot during a long series of years to understand Ireland in its different parts, and the feelings and sentiments of the Irish community; to form sound and moderate views on the many and perplexing phenomena called 'Irish questions;' and to deal reasonably with Irish political and social problems, free from the influences of party prejudice and passion.

Whether this equipment, valuable and considerable as it is, has enabled the author of the work before us to do his subject the 'complete and impartial justice' which he claims to have given it is a question on which opinions may reasonably differ. It may perhaps be observed that some of Judge Morris's criticisms are not so remarkable for breadth as for acuteness, and that, although his experience has so well qualified him to form an opinion, he is rather more positive that his own views are certainly and necessarily right than is quite justifiable in a writer who so often and so confidently pronounces other persons, whose opinions are entitled to consideration, to be completely and entirely wrong.

Of Mr. T. W. Russell's contribution to the discussion of current problems it is not possible to speak with the same respect. It must suffice to say that it contains nothing which contributes to repair that confidence either in the soundness of his judgement or in the permanence of what he believes to be his convictions, which the latter-day course of the member for South Tyrone has gone so far to destroy among those with whom he formerly acted in public life. His volume, as he informs us, 'written amid absorbing public duties, is not intended for the student, but is 'written for that large class of busy men and women who 'have neither the time nor the facilities for close historical 'research.' It is indeed most evident that this is so, and that the book is meant to be as rapidly read as it has been hastily written. We have no desire to recapitulate the opinions expressed in these pages a twelvemonth ago, in what, we trust, was no ungenerous spirit, in regard to the evolution or revolution of Mr. Russell's views; but, in so far as this volume is intended to be an explanation of the change in his opinions, it is singularly unconvincing. The historical

survey with which the book begins is the baldest and most meagre that can be imagined, and we have only been enabled to collect from it that on the one hand a perusal of the correspondence of Lord Cornwallis, with its statements as to the circumstances under which the Irish Parliament was destroyed, has satisfied him that the Union should never have been passed, and that, on the other, the refusal of Fox in 1806, and of Lord Grey in 1833, to have anything to do with repeal, is a sufficient reason for declining to consent to Home Rule. Neither proposition seems to us to possess much validity either in relation to the abstract arguments for or against Home Rule or as an explanation of Mr. Russell's change of view. The Cornwallis correspondence was published as long ago as 1859, before Mr. Russell's political life began. If a politician's belief in the wisdom or unwisdom of the Legislative Union is to depend on his view of the circumstances under which it was arranged, it was certainly Mr. Russell's business to have commenced much earlier the investigations which have led to this belated discovery; and it certainly argues a reverence for authority which nothing in our knowledge of Mr. Russell's career has led us to expect, to find that the views of Fox and Lord Grey are regarded by him as the sufficient, and indeed his only reason for refusing to listen to the demand for an independent Parliament. A unionism which 'rests on no higher grounds 'than the unwisdom of undoing such a measure' does not strike us as a convincing, satisfactory, or durable creed. The interest of Mr. Russell's book certainly does not arise out of its historical information, nor does his summary of recent legislation add much to its value. We have included it in our references simply as the statement of the aims, objects, and beliefs of a politician who still occupies a prominent position in Ireland, and whose ideas have attracted a sufficient measure of sympathy and support to entitle him to be numbered among the forces which contribute to form public opinion in Ireland on present Irish questions.

The only other work of which it is necessary to say a brief word is the handbook dealing with Ireland's chief economic resources so skilfully edited by Mr. Coyne for the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction. In spite of its modest designation, this work is very much more than a handbook or a mere statistical summary. Although necessarily limited in scope, it is not too much to say that it constitutes by far the best epitome of the industrial resources of Ireland which has appeared since Sir Robert

Kane's valuable work on that subject was published more than half a century back, and that as a survey of the existing situation and immediate prospects of the country from an economic point of view it will possess almost as much value for the student half a century hence as is possessed by that useful and insufficiently known work, Wakefield's 'Account of Ireland, Political and Statistical,' in relation to the condition of the country at the commencement of the nineteenth century. It is certainly much too early to judge of the actual or probable value of the new Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction in developing the material resources of Ireland. But it is right that acknowledgement should be made of the intelligence with which the statistical part of its functions has been hitherto discharged, and of the utility of a work such as that before us, which puts before the public in an interesting and attractive light an admirable analysis of the physical and economic conditions of the island, and gives a clear description of what has been done, or is being projected, with the object of utilising those conditions to the best advantage.

Of the questions discussed in Mr. O'Connor Morris's work, those which occupy the chief share of his attention are the question of Home Rule, the question of the Irish land, and the question of the financial relations between Great Britain and Ireland. He treats also at some length of the question of Irish Local Government (which, however, though necessary to be understood in relation to the Home Rule controversy, is scarcely a question calling for separate consideration), and the question of Education. His discussion of the last-mentioned topic, which may be said to be in a sense the most present of all Irish questions, strikes us as, perhaps, the least valuable part of his work, though the brief summary which he gives of the history of Irish education will be found useful by those who desire to gain a general acquaintance with the subject. But whatever is inadequate in this part of the book has been more than supplied since its publication in the 'Minutes of Evidence' taken at the first sittings of the Royal Commission which is at present inquiring into the much-vexed subject of University Education, and may be expected shortly to submit its report to His Majesty.

It is, however, upon the question of the Irish land that Judge Morris lays the greatest stress, as it is that also upon which his special equipment renders him most competent

to speak with authority; and, while we shall have occasion to revert in the course of this article to the other topics which engage his pen, we shall begin with the subject which, while it most divides Irishmen, occupies the largest share of their attention at this moment. It is scarcely necessary to say that of the problems handled by Mr. Russell with all his habitual and characteristic confidence it is the land question which engrosses the largest share of his consideration, and on which, it may be added without offence, his opinions are most entitled to consideration.

Judge Morris commences his discussion of the land question with a sketch of the history of the land system of Ireland to the year 1870. It were, indeed, to be wished that some of those who speak oftenest and write most on the subject of the relations of landlord and tenant in Ireland were acquainted with the origin and source of a difficulty which has its roots far back in history; and by those who wish to gain some insight into the fundamentals of the case the chapter which rapidly traces the dealings in Irish land from the era of the first confiscations to the passing of Mr. Gladstone's first Land Act will be found an accurate and convenient epitome of the leading facts. We have no intention of going into those matters here, and as little is it our purpose to follow the statement given in a subsequent chapter of the agrarian history of Ireland in the past thirty years. These are topics with which an abundant literature has rendered us all familiar, and of which the Irish press and Irish representatives of every sort are sufficiently careful to remind us.

Nor again is it necessary to deal in detail with the indictment which Judge Morris has framed against the administration of the Land Acts by the Irish Land Commission. However well founded his criticisms may appear, they certainly add nothing of substance to the findings of the Fry Commission. He is eloquent on what he considers the misconception of the character of their functions on the part of the assistant commissioners to whom the administration of the Acts has been entrusted, and upon the neglect of their superiors, the chief commissioners, to properly instruct them as to their duties and effectively supervise their discharge of them. And he comments with a severity which few will be disposed to qualify on the unfortunate social effects of the system devised in 1881, on the injury it has done to agriculture in removing all inducement to the landlord to improve, on the aggravation of class feelings

which results from the constant re-opening of vexed questions between the two interests concerned in the land, and 'on 'the weight of that burthen which,' in the language of Sir Edward Fry and his colleagues, 'is laid upon the country 'by the existence of the great staff of officials employed 'under the Land Acts and of the great body of solicitors 'and valuators who gather around them; and not less by 'the evil wrought by that unrest which is generated by 'the periodical settlement of rents.' These, however, are criticisms and conclusions with which no one is likely to find fault, and in which those who differ most widely on other points will probably concur. It is no longer necessary to discuss whether or how far the panacea of a rent-fixing tribunal appointed by the State is likely to give peace to Ireland, or to effect a solution of the problem of land tenure which either of the interests concerned will admit to be equitable. Without at all accepting the justice of the accusations levelled from all sides at the tribunals who are charged with the unenviable duty of endeavouring to fix fair rents—charges in which there is a good deal of insincerity on both sides, and which appear to be maintained by each largely from a fear that an admission by either party that the Acts are being fairly worked would be regarded by the other as a proof that they are not administered impartially—it must be recognised that the continuous existence of such an atmosphere of incessant contention, suspicion, and ill-feeling as is involved in the periodic revision of rents at intervals comparatively short is not a state of things which can be permitted to endure indefinitely without an effort towards finding some less unsatisfactory alternative. How the case might have stood if those responsible for the government of Ireland for the last twenty years had been resolute to give the Act of 1881 a fair chance it is bootless to inquire. For ourselves, though we have never been able to accept the principles of that far-reaching innovation, or to admit the sufficiency of the apology suggested by those who devised it for their startling defiance of the natural and inevitable working of economic laws, we believe that if the measure had been given a fair trial; if its administrators, guided by a succession of distinguished lawyers, had been let alone; if it had been made apparent that the new land courts would be left to do their work as other courts are left to do theirs, untroubled by a daily torrent of prejudiced and undiscriminating obloquy descending upon them from every side; the Act,

with all its imperfections, would in the end have produced some measure of contentment.

But, as everyone knows, it has been far otherwise. The Courts have never been given a fair chance, and the unrest has never been suffered to subside. The decisions of the land tribunals have been canvassed in Parliament and in the press in a spirit of the bitterest partisanship. The appointments to every post connected with the administration of the Acts have been denounced from one side or another as prompted by some sinister influence. And the interference of Parliament has been constantly and only too successfully invoked. It is certainly not our desire to question at this time of day the justice of the provisions by which, under successive enactments, successive Unionist Administrations, while denouncing the principles of Mr. Gladstone's famous measure, have so greatly enlarged its scope. It was inevitable that the purely artificial limitations of the Act of 1881 should prove irksome in their operation and difficult to defend upon any firm ground of principle; and we do not wonder that they have, with only one considerable exception, been one after another either narrowed to close on the vanishing point or else summarily swept away. The distinction still survives between 'present' and 'future' tenants, a distinction which may be shortly explained as the difference between tenancies existing at the passing of the Land Act and those subsequently created, and which rests on the doctrine that, while the British Parliament was prepared to ignore the sanctity of contract to redress what it conceived to be a deep-rooted grievance arising out of the past, it was not prepared to interfere with contract unnecessarily. Tenancies created after December 31, 1882, were therefore left to the operation of the natural law and, of course, of competition, with the result that land held under a future tenancy is, as a rule, let at a rent very appreciably higher than the rents fixed in the Land Courts. But in all other respects the limitations inserted in the original Act have been either entirely abolished or else modified in favour of the tenant.

We do not, as we have already said, cavil at these extensions *per se*. What we are urging is that, from the moment it became apparent that every decision which interpreted the provisions of the Act in a conservative sense—and judicial interpretation when in doubt is, of course, apt to lean to conservatism—was likely, not to say certain, to be overruled by legislation: from that moment the authority of the Land

Commission, its power to command the respect and confidence of the parties which resort to it, and all hope of its proving a final remedy, were at an end. For some years past demands have been pressed upon the Government to provide a substitute; and though responsible Ministers have not yet formally admitted the necessity, and though the Chief Secretary in the last Session of Parliament delivered a powerful and convincing defence of the Land Commission from the charges levelled at it, they have indicated their willingness to promote a measure for the extension of land purchase; in other words, they have sanctioned with their approval the developement on a large scale of a policy which sooner or later will destroy the fair-rent functions of the Land Commission by extinguishing the relation of landlord and tenant throughout the length and breadth of agricultural Ireland. It is understood that the programme of the coming Session includes an important Bill to facilitate land purchase, and that, though it is possible that time will not suffice for a full discussion of its provisions, and that actual legislation may be deferred until next year, there will at all events be an authoritative declaration of the views of the Unionist Government as to the course which legislation is to take, and a free criticism of those views in the House of Commons. It is therefore evident that we are on the eve of a fresh effort on the part of the rulers of Ireland to deal with the inveterate agrarian trouble, and it becomes important to consider what are the possible alternatives to the system established twenty years ago for dealing with this hitherto ineradicable disease.

Of these alternatives, not more than four require consideration, for not more than four have any pretence to be regarded as feasible by even the wildest enthusiast for the most radical reform. The first of them is that advanced by the Fry Commission for an automatic adjustment of rents, or at least for their ascertainment by a cheaper method than that which prevails in the Land Courts, the machinery of which is outlined in the Report of the Royal Commission. This system was not, of course, suggested as an alternative to the fixing of fair rents by the Land Commission; for the Fry Commission was limited by the terms of its reference to an inquiry into the procedure, practice, and methods of valuation followed by the Land Commission. It is only an attempt to supply a cheaper and more expeditious machinery than that of the Land Courts as at present constituted for giving effect to the principles of the Land Acts. It rests

upon the proposition laid down by Sir Edward Fry and his colleagues as one of the cardinal results of their inquiries—that in the great majority of cases the question is not one of law, but solely of valuation, and that the proportion of legal cases is likely to continuously diminish. 'This 'consideration,' the Report asserts, 'seems to show that 'the legal element at present occupies too large a space in 'the machinery, and that as years go on it will do so more 'and more: it indicates the desirability of enacting a 'method of settling the fair rent without the necessity of a 'hearing in court.'

In accordance with these views the Fry Commission suggested that in lieu of the existing procedure, which starts with a hearing of evidence taken in open court, two valuers should be sent to inspect the holding, with power to listen to statements not on oath from the parties; and with power, when so requested by both sides, 'to take part and assist 'in the friendly settlement of the fair rent between landlord 'and tenant.' In cases of difference between the two valuers a reference was to be made to a third valuer, appointed, like the others, by the Land Commission, and it was suggested that the decision so arrived at should be final, in the absence of a demand for a court hearing within a time limited. In the event of such a demand being made, the scheme provided for resort to the court as now constituted in the ordinary manner.

Provision had already been made in the rules of the Land Commission for a procedure somewhat analogous to that thus suggested; and, since the Report of the Fry Commission, fresh rules have been passed with the object of encouraging a resort to this simpler method of ascertaining a fair rent. But they have not been successful in any appreciable degree. There are, indeed, two weak points in the suggestion of Sir Edward Fry and his colleagues. In the first place it presupposes a desire on the part of both parties for a 'friendly settlement' of the fair rent. Such, however, is the atmosphere of controversy and mutual suspicion which exists, that such a spirit is rarely present, and where it is present it is, of course, a still simpler plan for the parties to agree together as to the rent and to file an agreement accordingly, without resorting to any external valuation. In the second, it assumes a satisfaction with the methods of the valuers of the Land Commission which does not, in fact, exist. If there was one thing more than another which appeared conclusive in

the inquiry of the Fry Commission, it was the preference of all parties for a hearing in court under legal guidance; and the endeavour to ascertain the facts on the land has not been rewarded with much success. Much was hoped for a time from this procedure, and it has been given every chance by the Land Commission; but it has found favour with neither landlords nor tenants. The solicitors and professional valuers employed in the Land Courts have for obvious reasons given the plan the cold shoulder, and it may be taken as demonstrated that it is not in this direction that a remedy can be found.

Judge Morris's own alternative is of a different kind, but it resembles the expedient of Sir Edward Fry in its adherence to the Land Act of 1881 as the necessary basis on which the law of landlord and tenant must continue to rest. He is strongly opposed, on grounds of high public policy, to purchase in any form, and he is one of the few persons who have given much attention to the subject, if not the only one, who still professes a preference for the existing system of dual ownership as compared with that of a peasant proprietary carried out on the voluntary system. But it is difficult to speak hopefully of his suggested amendments. He proposes that in order to clear the ground a commission, as important as the Devon Commission of 1843, should be appointed to investigate the Irish Land Question in all its branches. It should be presided over by a great English nobleman—say, the Duke of Bedford—and should number among its members English and Irish judges, trained agricultural experts, and representatives of Irish landlords and tenants, and should investigate not alone the procedure of the Irish Land Courts, but the principles upon which that procedure is based. Such a commission would, in Judge Morris's opinion, arrive at certain conclusions which, briefly stated, are as follows. Starting with the assumption that it is impossible to transform the existing system of Irish land tenure, and recognising that at best it is only a choice of evils that is open, he is yet of opinion that substantial improvement is possible. He proposes, on the one hand, to restrict the application of the Land Acts in regard to tenants' improvements, provisions which he considers to have worked great injustice to landowners. He calls for more precise legislative definitions of such vexed questions of the Land Acts as 'demesne,' 'town park,' 'residential holdings,' and 'grazing farms,' and, above all, for a definition of 'fair rent,' and believes that

such definitions would greatly diminish litigation. As a further step in the same direction, he would extend the statutory term from fifteen to thirty years. On the other hand, he would abolish the distinction between 'present' and 'future' tenants, and admit all indiscriminately to the benefit of the Acts, and he would also abolish the law of ejectment for non-payment of rent—a remedy he considers needlessly harsh—substituting for this procedure a power to the landlords to sell the tenants' lands, by a process analogous to that of bankruptcy, should default be made in the payment of the rent. 'The advantage,' he says of this last, 'to both landlord and tenant would be great: the 'first would have a remedy more expeditious and just than 'he now has; the second, should the land be sold and lost 'to him, would as a rule have a surplus over and above his 'debts; unlike what is sometimes the case in evictions, he 'would realise for himself the whole legitimate interest in 'the land.' Judge Morris adds that 'this simple reform 'would do much to make "fair rent" a less onerous charge 'than it now is.'

We should be happy could we feel satisfied that the much disputed Land Question can be settled by methods so crude as these. We are far indeed from deprecating the appointment of some such commission as Judge Morris foreshadows. One party to the controversy has for years been calling for such an investigation, and if the claims of other indispensable business should prevent the Government from legislating this year they might easily do worse than appoint such a commission. But we are not so sanguine as to believe that the commission, if appointed, would come to the conclusion which Judge Morris so confidently formulates. Does anyone suppose that at this time of day the cardinal difficulty of defining the meaning of 'fair rent,' abandoned in despair by Mr. Gladstone in 1881, is likely to be solved with any approach to unanimity by such a body, or that the suggestion of a majority of it in that regard would successfully run the gauntlet of discussion in Committee of the House of Commons? And assuming the possibility of an agreement on this and other conundrums of the Land Act, is it conceivable that the decisions of the 'body of competent 'and well-paid valuers of land' who should be substituted, it is suggested, for the present tribunals, would command more confidence than the existing courts of first instance, or that appeals to 'two eminent judges assisted by trained

'agricultural experts' would inspire much more satisfaction than the present arrangement achieves?

It will appear from what has been said that in our judgement the devices we have been considering present no real substitute for the existing system, and that the only alternative which it is possible to adopt is the alternative of purchase and the gradual extension of the system of peasant proprietorship. The principle involved in that system has long been sanctioned by the State, and has all along received our cordial support. We have no intention of repeating here the discussion of the argument as between voluntary and compulsory purchase which occupied our pages in a former article. It must suffice to observe that we adhere to our opinions both as to the financial impossibility of the scheme propounded by Mr. Russell before the late General Election and defended in his recent book; and, even assuming its possibility, as to the unwisdom, on the highest grounds of statesmanship and of the interests of the Three Kingdoms, of such a rapid revolution in the agrarian system of Ireland. We shall only add that, as far as the data for forming an opinion are available, there is no sign that the demand for compulsory purchase has grown in force since the General Election. Mr. Russell's diligence in the propagation of his principles has not been confined to the publication of his book. He has been active on Ulster platforms as well, and has gone the round of the Ulster constituencies preaching his gospel with all his accustomed fervour. But, though he has not made things very pleasant for those Unionist representatives who have declined to accept his programme, there are signs that his influence has diminished rather than increased among an electorate which finds it difficult to follow what to plain folk appears the inexplicable inconsistency between his former actions and present declarations, not only on the Land Question but in relation to general politics. In spite of some unfavourable symptoms to be noted later on, we retain a confident belief that a ready acceptance will be given by all classes in all parts of the country to a well-considered measure for facilitating voluntary purchase, by increasing the inducements to owners to sell, by improving and lubricating the existing cumbrous machinery, and by the provision under adequate conditions as to security of a sum substantial enough to give a real impetus to the gradual extension of ownership.

Of other 'present questions' which press for determination

in Ireland, that which, next to the question of Irish land, excites for the moment at least the largest share of public interest is the question of Education, and especially of University Education, in that country. It cannot be said that any very material change in the state of public opinion has to be chronicled as having occurred since this subject was discussed in this 'Review' exactly four years ago.* But the trend of ideas has continued in the same direction. Although it would be untrue to say that in the interval there has been any important surrender of opinions on the part of those then opposed to the erection of a State-endowed denominational University, there can be no doubt that the disposition to accept such an institution as inevitable and as likely to be witnessed in a not remote future has been steadily strengthening among all sections of the Irish community. On the one hand, the Roman Catholic Church still presses vigorously towards its mark; on the other, there is no sign of any abatement in the tenacity with which the votaries of the undenominational ideal still adhere to their views as to the undesirability in the best interests of Ireland of establishing a system of University education which must inevitably tend to lessen the opportunities, already too few, for intimate social intercourse between persons of different creeds and for creating a healthy leaven of non-sectarian sentiment in the country. But even those who, like Dr. Salmon, the venerable head of Trinity College, deplore most earnestly, as a false method of seeking the welfare of Ireland, 'a 'scheme for ranging its inhabitants from an early period of 'their education in separate camps, regarding each other 'with mutual distrust, striving to keep alive ancient 'hatreds, and studying their national history mainly in 'order that it may not be forgotten what wrongs the ances-'tors of each had in former days inflicted on the other;' who, in the Provost's energetic phrase, are opposed to 'the erection 'of three temples to the demon of religious strife,' have to accept the proposition that fresh legislation is inevitable. There is a greater readiness to allow that statesmen cannot easily get over the fact that though Trinity College stands open freely to all, Roman Catholics have become, with however little reason, less and less willing to send their sons to it; and to admit that, however much such a proposal may be

* In the article on the 'Irish University Question' in No. 383 of this Review.

at odds with the most liberal conception of a liberal education, the establishment of a Roman Catholic university, or, at any rate, of a university such as the Roman Catholics are satisfied to accept, is the best thing to be done in the circumstances.

This disposition to accept some such solution of this question as was propounded ten years ago by Mr. Arthur Balfour will assuredly be immensely strengthened by the recent appointment of a Royal Commission on University Education in Ireland, which has been deputed to inquire, in the terms of the reference, 'into the present condition of the 'higher, general, and technical education available in Ire-'land outside Trinity College, Dublin, and to report as to 'what reforms, if any, are desirable in order to render that 'education adequate to the needs of the Irish people.' The impression which has been created by the appointment of the Commission undoubtedly is that the Government is desirous of finding a basis for legislation, and that, before committing itself to the principles of a measure certain to be debated with the keenest controversy when submitted to Parliament, it desires to invite the fullest expression of Irish opinion of every shade in regard to the lines on which legislation should proceed. That impression will be deepened by the somewhat unusual course taken by the Commission itself in publishing, within a few weeks of its first sittings and before it has either exhausted its inquiry or at all considered the terms of its recommendations, a full report of the evidence received at its first nine sittings. Their object in ordering this early publication of the evidence is frankly stated in the brief interim report which prefaces the evidence: 'As the matter is one in which a wide interest is 'taken in this country, and as we believe it will materially 'assist us to keep the public informed of the progress of 'our inquiry, we think that the immediate publication of 'the evidence appended is desirable.' To ourselves, at all events, nothing could be more satisfactory than the appointment of the Commission and the terms of the reference. In the article already referred to practically the only condition or limitation on which we felt it necessary to insist was that whatever advantages it may be proposed to confer on Roman Catholics shall be provided without interference with the work of Trinity College. It is evident from the terms of the reference that this proviso is regarded by the Government as a *sine quâ non*. Although it has been criticised as a restriction on the scope of the inquiry, it has not been

seriously resented in any quarter; nor does there seem to be any desire in any direction to interfere with the present successful working of an institution of which all Ireland is proud, provided that satisfaction can be given by other means to the claims that are being put forward.

It would be premature, in view of the deliberations of the Royal Commission, whose report is unlikely to be long delayed, to discuss in any detail the evidence already offered, though unquestionably it provides by far the fullest statement of the sentiments of all sections of the Irish community, through the mouths of the best-qualified exponents, in regard to this burning question. But two observations may usefully be made. In the first place we would remark that the evidence demonstrates in the most conclusive way the truth of what we have before urged as to the indispensable necessity that in introducing any legislation the Government should be assured that its proposals will be satisfactory to the Roman Catholic community, an expression which in matters educational in Ireland may be looked on as synonymous with the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Whether it is reasonable or right that a fresh University should be established and endowed for the purpose of satisfying the demands of the dominant denomination in Ireland is a question quite open to much argument. What is not open to argument at all is the folly of further legislation without a practical certainty that its benefits will be acceptable to those for whom they are primarily intended. Every attempt that has hitherto been made to reform the system of University education in Ireland has been inspired by the desire to accommodate that system to the views of Roman Catholics. And every such attempt has signally failed, because one and all have sought to reconcile hopelessly antagonistic ideals. Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone were alike unfortunate in their effort to provide a *via media* between the claims of Roman Catholics and those broader views on education which prevail in Great Britain. It is to be hoped that no further abortive efforts at an impossible compromise will be attempted. If it is thought desirable to satisfy Roman Catholic demands, the measure must be satisfactory to Roman Catholics in all essential respects. To say this is not to say that the Roman Catholics should dictate the nature and the settlement of the whole question. What is needed is that they should, by the declarations of those who represent them in this matter, explicitly state what it is that they want and what they would be satisfied

to accept. If their demands, so formulated, are found to be compatible with the other claims which must in fairness be considered and met, then a basis will have been provided for legislation, which will afford a guarantee that those at whose instance the question has been reopened will be satisfied with the solution. If, on the other hand, the claims of the hierarchy are so extravagant and unreasonable as to make it impossible to satisfy them without injustice to others, legislation must in that event be indefinitely postponed, and the endowment of a Roman Catholic college or university must be further off than ever. In this practical consideration lies the surest guarantee for a statesmanlike moderation on the part of the hierarchy when stating the wishes of the Roman Catholic community. Whatever else may result from the investigations of the Royal Commission, it seems certain that the Government and the public will know definitely what is demanded. The case for a Roman Catholic university was presented at the inquiry with much fulness and great ability by Dr. O'Dwyer, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Limerick. At the close of the examination of that prelate he was invited by the President to furnish a draft of the constitution of the proposed university on the part of the hierarchy. This he has undertaken to do; and, as the President observed, such a draft will materially bring to a point the various questions that arise on the consideration of this subject.

The second of the matters to which it seems desirable to advert is one on which the authorities of Trinity College lay considerable stress. That institution, as already observed, lies outside the scope of the inquiry, and we have in that fact a guarantee that whatever else may occur a free and open university will still be maintained in Ireland to hold high the lamp of liberal learning. But, though not included in its scope, it is evident that Dublin University cannot fail to be seriously affected by the institution of a new university or college close to its doors. The authorities, through such qualified representatives as its Provost, in the article already referred to, and Dr. Bernard, who gave evidence before the Royal Commission, have expressed in the most unqualified terms their desire that any university reform which the Government undertake should be thoroughly satisfactory to Roman Catholics. 'If the thing is to be done at all,' says Dr. Bernard—himself a professor of divinity in the Theological School of Trinity College—'it ought to be done handsomely 'and liberally.' But, going further in this respect than

the Roman Catholics themselves, he proposed that the denominational principle should be admitted to the fullest extent, and that the new college should be restricted to Roman Catholics only. For this he cites the precedent of the Maynooth Act of 1795, which in terms forbade the reception into the college—originally intended for lay students as well as students of divinity—'of any person pro-'fessing the Protestant religion or whose father professed 'the Protestant religion.'

The ground of this condition, to which the authorities of Trinity College attach much importance, is that without it the State would be open, in the words of Dr. Bernard, to the charge of 'endowing a college (or university) in accord-'ance with Roman Catholic ideas, to the possible detriment 'of the faith of Protestant students.' In any institution conducted on Roman Catholic principles, in which, *ex hypothesi*, Protestants would exercise no share of control over the studies of the place, there would manifestly be a danger that Protestant students who went there would lose their faith. This is evidently a matter which will have to be reckoned with whenever the Government come to grapple with the details of their scheme. Dr. Salmon asks that there should be no shams, and that an institution actually Roman Catholic should not, under a pretence of being undenominational, be enabled out of public funds to attract Protestants to it. The argument is best summed up in the Provost's own words: 'It is for Parliament to consider 'whether it can rightly give money for the establishment 'of a denominational university, and if it comes to the 'conclusion that it is right and that it is also politically 'expedient, let the thing be done openly and above board; 'but let it not be imagined to be possible to create a 'denominational-undenominational university, nor let one 'really denominational be represented as undenominational.'

Space precludes us from considering in any detail on the present occasion the other questions discussed with more or less fulness by Judge Morris and touched on by Mr. Russell in his rapid survey. But we may advert briefly to the Financial Relations question, if only because it is the one question of the many which they discuss on which the two writers are in substantial agreement. For ourselves, we have never seen occasion to modify the views we expressed on this subject five years ago * that Ireland has no claim to

* See the article on this subject in this Review for January 1897, No. 379.

be considered as a 'separate financial entity.' But we still hold as strongly as we did then that she has 'a claim on 'broad grounds of policy as a poor district of the United 'Kingdom;' and it is in this sense, as we are glad to note, that the findings of Mr. Childers's Commission are being utilised by most practical persons in Ireland. It would be too much to suppose that a grievance so unexpectedly provided, backed with so much authority, and enforced by so formidable a weight of argument as that which the report of the majority of the Commission on Financial Relations appeared to disclose, is likely to be abandoned by Irishmen. It will be long before the debt which Mr. Childers and his colleagues discovered will have been extinguished by the process of set-off, even if Parliament should vote a very substantial sum out of the Imperial Exchequer to facilitate land purchase and the creation of a peasant proprietary in Ireland. But the vehement agitation which at one time threatened to gather on this subject has almost entirely subsided. Whether because the magnitude of the claim found by the Childers Commission was so great as to persuade people that it is one which can never be satisfied, or because of the impossibility of finding a common basis for action among Irishmen of opposite political convictions even on a question of pounds, shillings, and pence, no serious attempt has been made to enforce the claim. Judge Morris, who accepts all the statements of the majority report as conclusively established, calls for the immediate adoption of the suggestion of the Commission that compensation should be made to Ireland by making 'an annual allocation of revenue in her favour to be 'employed in promoting the material prosperity and social 'welfare of the country;' and he quotes Pitt's declaration that Ireland might safely rely on Great Britain for the discharge of any fair claim on her. In the form in which the demand is put forward we feel sure that the redress of the supposed grievance is never likely to be granted. But as little do we fear that Great Britain will waver in the policy of 'helpful generosity' which, whatever may be asserted to the contrary, is unquestionably the policy that almost every British statesman desires to pursue, and which the vast majority of the British people have always been ready to cordially approve.

The promotion of land purchase and the possible endowment of a new Irish University apart, the handbook on 'Ireland: Industrial and Agricultural,' included in the

references at the head of this article suggests some of the objects towards which this helpful generosity may be prudently and beneficially applied. We have more than once called attention in these pages to the importance of the work carried out in recent years in the developement of local industries, especially the fishing industry, so important to the struggling population of a large portion of Ireland's extended seaboard, and in the improvement of the methods of agriculture and the breeds of live stock. The volume before us is an admirable summary of what has been done and is doing, or is designed to be done, in these directions either by the Congested Districts Board, now above ten years in existence, or by the more recently constituted Board of Agriculture and Technical Instruction. We have not been able to approve of every developement of the projects of the Congested Districts Board, and in particular are disposed to question the policy latterly pursued by it in the purchase and resale of estates for the enlargement of holdings in the West, albeit Mr. John Dillon is of opinion that this is the only one of its achievements which is worth considering. But we have the highest appreciation of the solid services rendered to the people of the poorer districts, and of the immense improvement, manifest at a glance to those who have any acquaintance with the country, which has taken place through the Board's labours. If the new department, on the value of whose work it is quite premature to form any opinion, should succeed in at all the same proportion in its much larger task, its operations will be gratefully watched by every well-wisher of Ireland, and we are sure that neither Parliament nor the country will grudge whatever monies are required to give effect to well-considered schemes.

Another department in which the beneficent possibilities of State subvention are still far from exhausted is that of Railway Developement. Of the many and considerable efforts to develope the material prosperity of Ireland which have marked the last ten or fifteen years, perhaps none have produced more substantial results than that policy of fostering the railway system of the country so sagaciously adopted by Mr. Arthur Balfour, and so steadily persevered in for many years. The extension of the great trunk systems of the country to many remote districts was directly due to the far-seeing liberality of the present First Lord of the Treasury, and it is satisfactory to know that the lines made under arrangements entered into between the Govern-

ment and the railway companies have not only been immensely advantageous to the districts served, but have been financially profitable to those concerned in their working. The history of the railway system of Ireland during the last decade of the nineteenth century has been, according to the testimony of those best qualified to form an opinion, one of continuous and increasing prosperity, and, though it has not been exempt from the depression felt in Great Britain during the past year, there is no reason to apprehend any serious pause in its prosperity. Something, however, still remains to be done in this sphere. Not all the lines which a full knowledge of the conditions of the country approves as desirable have yet been made. As long ago as 1888 the Royal Commission presided over by the late Sir James Allport considered, in a report of extreme ability and value, the necessities of the railway system of Ireland. Many of its recommendations have long ago been adopted and carried out by the Government, but some of its proposed improvements still remain unaccomplished, and it were to be wished that in the application of helpful generosity provision for their construction should be included. A further recommendation by the Allport Commission—viz., the amalgamation of all Irish railways and their consolidation in a single company—is perhaps a reform too far-reaching to be entered on now, having regard to the magnitude of the issues involved. But no better means could be taken to develop Irish resources than to effect a reduction in Irish railway rates, which, compared with Great Britain, remain prohibitively high.

We have left to the last the consideration of the largest of Irish questions, that question of the state of feeling in Ireland and of the spirit which animates parties in that country towards Great Britain, which may be said to constitute the essence of the Irish Question itself. To the analysis of Irish opinion as revealed by the results of the last General Election and the utterances of Irish politicians which we essayed a year ago * in these pages, but little has to be added. And it cannot be said that that little is either satisfactory in itself or of good omen for the near future. The action of the Irish Nationalist representatives in the last Session of Parliament brought plainly and painfully home to the least reflecting the fact that in relation to the

* See the article on ' The Situation in Ireland ' in No. 395 of this Review.

greatest of current questions and to the most serious interests of the Empire the authorised spokesmen of the Irish people are not alone hostile to the sentiments of average Englishmen, but are prepared to avow that hostility in the most naked terms, and to make it felt in the plainest way. And it is but too plain that this hostility is largely reflected in Ireland. The policy avowedly adopted in 1900 of re-creating the Irish difficulty in the English Parliament by means of organised obstruction has not been less popular in the country than we had anticipated it was likely to prove. It has been greeted rapturously in many parts of the country, Ulster of course excepted, and disapproved in none; and it has been made the lever for a fresh endeavour to enlist support in America for a new crusade, organised on the most violently anti-English lines, against the existing constitutional relations between the two countries. Mr. John Redmond, who for some years enjoyed in the House of Commons a reputation for a moderation of tone and a reasonableness of aspiration which were not inconsistent with his always pronounced Nationalism, has found it either necessary or desirable to throw moderation to the winds, and to become, in his capacity as 'leader of the Irish race at home and abroad,' as pronounced and violent in language as any of his predecessors. That the same policy which was pursued in the last Session is likely to be followed in the new one is only too apparent. The success with which it has met already is demonstrated by the fact that the first business of the year at Westminster will be the consideration of fresh amendments in the rules regulating procedure in the House of Commons; as to which it need only be said here that, even if ultimately successful in attaining the desired object, the debates to which they must give rise will certainly consume no inconsiderable amount of the time of Parliament, and thus in fact, if only temporarily, attain the objects of the obstructives.

If the temper displayed in Parliament has been angry and irreconcilable, that exhibited in the country has not been much more satisfactory. We should be sorry to assert or to believe that the forward policy of the leaders of the recently united party has as yet attained anything like the hold upon the people which was exercised in the days of Mr. Parnell, or that the agrarian agitation—which Mr. Redmond has explicitly declared will be used for political purposes precisely as the Land League was used by his predecessor—has enjoyed the sympathies of the people

as widely as its prototype. But it would certainly be as untrue to deny that the agitation has assumed much more serious proportions than a short time ago was anticipated by some shrewd observers, and that the programme of the United Irish League meets every day with a larger measure of active support. Invented by Mr. William O'Brien, and at first confined to a few districts in Mayo, Sligo, and Leitrim, it has since been extended not only through the entire province of Connaught, but to several other counties, and it bids fair to attain to much of the authority exercised in old days by the Land League. The hostility at first shown to it by a certain section of the Nationalist party appears to have been laid aside, and it is not only exercising a large measure of illicit influence in pursuit of its original object—the enlargement of small holdings in the West by the enforced subdivision of grazing holdings among the people—but it has penetrated to districts in which this question has no importance, and has become the recognised organisation of the purely political agitation.

It is true that, owing to the disappearance of Mr. William O'Brien, through ill-health, from the direction of its affairs, the proceedings of the United Irish League were not marked during the greater part of last year by quite so much of verbal violence as is generally associated with that vehement patriot. But it can scarcely be said that those who have taken his place have been much more moderate in their language, while they have allowed the true inwardness of the movement to become plainly apparent to their followers. Not long before his departure for America in the autumn, Mr. Redmond declared that if only as vigorous and dangerous a movement existed all over Ireland as exists in Connaught, short work would be made of the Land Question; adding that his one principle in public life was to make every department of government in the country, from the Chief Secretary in Dublin Castle to the land-grabber and bailiff in the county town, 'difficult and dangerous.' This is, perhaps, a degree less terrible than the unfulfilled threat of Mr. Michael Davitt, after the defeat of the Home Rule Bill, to make the government of Ireland 'impossible.' But if any doubt was left as to the true significance of this language, it was removed by the further declaration of Mr. Redmond a few days later that the agrarian movement was 'first, last, and 'all the time' a national movement, and that those who were endeavouring to arouse the farmers of Ireland were doing so not merely to obtain the removal of their particular

grievances, but in order to strengthen the movement for the national independence of Ireland, which was their real aim. 'The United Irish League stands to-day precisely on the 'same foundation as stood the Land League when Parnell ' declared he would never take off his coat if there was not ' behind the agrarian question the national question.'

The sentiments of Mr. Redmond and his colleagues have, however, to do them justice, been so little disguised that the citation of their recent utterances adds little, if anything, to the illustration of Irish opinion; and it might be possible to maintain that their most violent speeches only partake of the normal exaggeration of Irish rhetoric were it not that a very recent incident establishes pretty plainly the identity between the statements of the leaders and the sentiments of the followers. As an index of public opinion, no more interesting episode has occurred in Ireland for many years than the election lately held in Galway of a member to succeed Lord Killanin in the representation of that ancient city. Not that there is anything in the result which has caused much astonishment to those who knew anything of the local conditions, or which need surprise readers of this Review. In discussing, last year, the elections of 1900 we ventured to describe the return of the present Lord Killanin as member for Galway as a purely personal triumph, and as entirely owing to the peculiar influence enjoyed among his fellow-citizens by the remarkable personality of the late Lord Morris. The miracle—for a miracle it was—was quite certain not to be repeated, and the family of the deceased peer showed an intelligent appreciation of the facts of the case in declining to put forward any one of their number for the vacant seat.

What gives its true significance to the Galway election is not the fact that an Irish borough predominantly Nationalist, which but once in living memory, and that only in circumstances which can never recur, has returned a Unionist representative, should have reverted to its natural political faith. Its real importance is derived from the character of the rival candidates. Recent experience of the class of candidates most likely to find favour with the Irish electorate has not furnished much ground for satisfaction. Still, in spite of such examples as Limerick, it was scarcely to be anticipated that a borough like Galway would have gone out of its way to assert, as the sole justification of the choice of a candidate who had otherwise no claims upon its support, the fact that he had fought, or was believed to have fought,

with a foreign foe against the forces of the British Crown. But the significance of this fact, important as it is, is greatly heightened by the personality of the rival candidate for the suffrages of the Galway electors. If there was anyone in Ireland who, judging by ordinary standards, had a claim upon the goodwill of an Irish electorate which might be expected to override normal considerations, and to have produced a subordination of party politics to material interests, it was certainly Mr. Horace Plunkett. We cannot pretend to approve every developement of Mr. Plunkett's zeal for the propagation of the 'economic gospel' for which he sought the support of the electors of Galway. But if the circumstances attending his rejection at the General Election by the constituency which had introduced him to Parliamentary life had indicated too great a readiness to ignore old friends in the endeavour to attract new ones, that certainly was not a defect which should have injured his prospects of conciliating Nationalist support in another constituency. The work which he has so assiduously, and, on the whole, so usefully, carried on for the past ten years is a work to the value of which we have more than once borne testimony in these pages, and which had won a large amount of general recognition in Ireland, irrespective of the usually paramount considerations of creed and party. Yet, in spite of these exceptional advantages, in spite of the candidate's appeal to the electors to postpone politics to business for the purpose of providing the head of the new Department of Agriculture with the Parliamentary seat he considers to be indispensable to the advancement of his work; in spite, too, of a studious avoidance of controversial topics, which provoked much natural criticism from Unionists, Mr. Plunkett was not merely defeated, but defeated by a majority so decisive as to more than justify the worst anticipations of observers who understood and realised the facts of the situation. We regret unfeignedly the want of judgement which permitted Mr. Plunkett not only to subject himself to a humiliating rebuff, but, what he would himself deplore more acutely, to imperil gravely the success of his department in conciliating support for his much-needed work. But, though the lesson has been dearly bought, it would be folly to ignore the meaning of the result, or to refuse to recognise in the action of the Galway electors, coupled with the language of the political leaders, the existence of a temper in Ireland much more bitter and much more intolerant than the comparative calm of the waters of Irish politics in recent years had led people to suppose.

We have never taken, and we do not wish to take now, too gloomy a view of the Irish future. There is always a vast amount of make-believe in the angriest complaints of the Irish people against English rule; and perhaps they are never so surprised as when they find that matter-of-fact people in England take them at their word. But there are no people who are more ready to be led by the logic of events, and when they find that the extravagances of speech and action at which they smile internally are interpreted literally either by their rulers or by those who in the last resort must always rule their destiny, the people of England, they are apt to go much further than their own wishes would ever have prompted them. There is, as we have more than once pointed out in recent years, much that Ireland may fairly be congratulated upon in the history of the last few years, since the height of the last agitation. There has been a tangible improvement in her general prosperity, and a perceptible impulse given to enterprise in many directions. But it would be a foolish optimism which should refuse to admit that this improvement is in danger of being checked by the serious revival of the Home Rule agitation. A too easy indulgence of that appetite for violence of speech and action which in Ireland grows so rapidly by what it feeds on may gravely jeopardise all that statesmanship has sought to accomplish in recent years, and oblige the Government and people of Great Britain to contemplate the Irish Question yet again in its most acute, most unpleasant, and most menacing form.

ART. VII.—1. *Mémoires de Madame d'Épinay.* Édition nouvelle et complète, avec une addition des notes et des éclaircissements inédits par M. PAUL BOITEAU. Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier. 1891.

2. *Œuvres de Madame d'Épinay.* Avec une introduction par M. CHALLEMEL-LACOUR. 2 tomes. Tome I.: Lettres à mon fils. Tome II.: Mes moments heureux. Paris: Chez A. Santon. 1869.

3. *L'Amitié de deux jolies Femmes. Un rêve de Mlle. Clairon.* Publiés par MAURICE TOURNEUX. Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles. 1885.

4. *Les Conversations d'Émilie.* Nouvelle édition. 2 tomes. Lausanne. 1784.

5. *La Jeunesse de Madame d'Épinay.* D'après des lettres et des documents inédits. Par LUCIEN PEREY et GASTON MAUGRAS. Septième édition. Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie française. Paris: Calmann Lévy. 1898.

6. *Dernières Années de Madame d'Épinay: son salon et ses amies.* D'après des lettres et des documents inédits. Par LUCIEN PEREY et GASTON MAUGRAS. Septième édition. Paris: Calmann Lévy. 1894.

7. *La Comtesse d'Houdetot: une amie de J.-J. Rousseau.* Par HIPPOLYTE BUFFENOIR. Paris: Calmann Lévy. 1901.

8. *Lettres de l'Abbé Galiani et Madame d'Épinay.* Par EUGÈNE ASSE. Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier. 1881.

9. *Correspondance Littéraire, Philosophique et Critique de Grimm, Diderot, etc.* Paris: Garnier Frères. 1877–1882.

10. *Correspondance de Diderot et de Mademoiselle Volland.* Paris: Garnier Frères. 1876.

11. *The Women of the Salons.* By S. G. TALLENTYRE. London: Longmans & Co. 1901.

THE influence of women in the society of France before the Revolution is one of the most interesting features of the eighteenth century. It was an influence which was paramount, paradoxically enough, when they made no pretensions to direct political power or to literary reputation. It was shown not in competing with men or by the exercise of masculine gifts, but by a singular display of the most charming feminine qualities. Its power was continuous, and in a sense general, not confined to a particular but felt in a large section of society, for it was not one woman who

attracted around her men and women of note, or one group of persons who frequented the house of one remarkable woman; there was more than one salon and more than one coterie, but among them all probably Madame d'Épinay and her circle were the most influential.

In a recent number of this 'Review'* a study was presented of Madame du Deffand, a woman so typical of the highest social and intellectual plane of her time that an appreciation of her and of her friends is necessary for a complete realisation of the age. The life of Madame d'Épinay is equally a history of a not less interesting phase of that brilliant society of intellectual vivacity and of splendid luxury. Though political influence was never primarily the aim of the salons, that of some women is a matter of history, but Madame du Deffand, as has been said, had no pretensions either as politician or philosopher, yet her insight into affairs more than once influenced those of whom she was the friend and the confidante; though uneasily conscious of a sense of impending danger to people of her rank in the popular thought, she, like the ablest of those about her, was unappreciative of the deeper movements of the age; aristocratic, exclusive, she turned away from the innovations that characterised the last half of the century; with a mind of masculine power her letters and a few fugitive verses alone are left as a record of her understanding, her judgement, and her wit. Madame d'Épinay was a woman of altogether different character, who, far from strong-minded, needing guidance and easily led—living indeed through her emotions—was gifted, however, with many intellectual endowments, the chief of which were a keen observation and a power of reproduction. It was the influence of her friends which interested her in philosophy and politics, and it was her children who led her to the study of education, on which she wrote, and which brought to her academic honours. Madame d'Épinay, possessing the softest feminine graces, obtained her reputation in philosophical, political, and literary circles through the strength of her affections acting upon a mind of singular brightness. Devoted to a particular party, she gathered about her all the differing elements of the philosophical sect; perceiving the trend of the reforms they advocated, she prophesied the Revolution in a remarkable letter to the Abbé Galiani.† While Madame Geoffrin discussed manners and matters of taste, and eloquent dis-

* January 1901. † April 11, 1771.

courses on friendship and love were led by Madame du Deffand, politics, philosophy, and morality were the great subjects which fixed attention on Madame d'Épinay's salon. Their grace, their wit, and their knowledge of mankind must always make these women charming companions, the more so because with all their intellectual brilliancy each is so much a woman whose heart and mind, though influenced by the corruption of their age, were constantly rebelling against it. While understanding their weaknesses, we can yet appreciate their endeavours, and take delight in their company.

The early years of life usually determine its direction and character, and therefore a knowledge of the parentage and childhood, the tendencies and education of a person whose career one would rightly understand is at once necessary and interesting. It is especially important if we would comprehend Madame d'Épinay, who, timid, irresolute, impressionable, of quick perception and amiable disposition, was constantly influenced by outward circumstance.

Louise Florence Pétronille d'Esclavelles, afterward Madame d'Épinay, was born on March 11, 1726. Her father, who belonged to an ancient Norman family, was governor of Valenciennes, and at the age of fifty-eight he had married Florence Angélique Promen de Preux, of a noble family of Flanders, whose escutcheon, however, was sullied in the eyes of his aristocratic kindred by the connection of its bearers with finance. When his daughter was ten years old he died, leaving her to the guardianship of his friend the Comte d'Affrey, her beloved 'tutor' and confidant, and of an uncle on her mother's side, a delightfully simple and original character, whose acquaintance we owe to the 'Mémoires' of Madame d'Épinay.

Baron d'Esclavelles left little behind him but an honourable record, and his widow was obliged to look to her relatives for assistance. Her sister, Madame de Bellegarde, had married one of the richest farmers-general in the kingdom; they lived sumptuously in a superb mansion on the rue St.-Honoré, where the widow and child were offered a home.

On her husband's side there was only an elderly aunt. The Marquise de Roncherolles—a stranded relic of the old aristocracy—had no home to offer, but, although poor, she was lavish with the little fortune which remained. Faithful to the old traditions, sheltered behind her convent's grating, she looked out upon the changing times with distrust and fear, but if she were narrow in her ideas she was warm in her sympathies. No one, however, was more scornful of the finan-

ciers among whom the rich connections of her nephew's wife were enrolled, and so it was natural that she should beg Madame d'Esclavelles to gather together the remnants of her scanty fortune, place her daughter with her in the convent, and solicit the king for a pension; at all events, to decline Madame de Bellegarde's hospitality, which would alter their social position and ruin her child's prospects for a husband in her own rank of life. But Madame d'Esclavelles, a little frightened by the aristocratic aunt's grand manner, pretensions, and prejudices, neglected to sue for the pension, and decided to go to her sister. It did not prove a happy choice. The Marquise de Roncherolles, more intelligent than others about the character of Louise d'Esclavelles, not only loved her, but perceived the deep sensibility and quick wit which, in after life, was to make her house the meeting place for the brightest in Paris: 'Vous vous 'plaignez de sa sensibilité; ah! ma nièce, que c'est au 'contraire un beau présent du ciel! J'ai soixante ans, j'ai 'bien vu le monde et je n'ai jamais vu une âme sensible mal 'tourner; si elle est mal conduite, elle s'égarera, mais elle 'ne se perdra jamais.' Though Madame de Bellegarde was very rich, she was very mean; and her jealousy was quickly excited for her own children by the attention which her clever and winning little niece excited, and she made life such a torment that even the patient Madame d'Esclavelles could not long endure it, and in a few months Louise was installed in the convent. She was thirteen when she left it, and we have a description of her as she was at this time of her life from M. d'Affrey: 'Sans être belle, elle était 'noble, spirituelle et touchante. Elle avait un jeu prodi-'gieux dans la physionomie, son âme se peignait dans ses 'yeux sans qu'elle s'en doutât, et elle annonçait autant de 'candeur que de douceur et d'esprit.'

It was this interesting figure which, in the opening summer time of 1739, appeared at the Château de la Chevrette, the magnificent country seat of M. de Bellegarde, the romantic setting of the first scene in the painful domestic drama of her life. The outline of the moat, the gate, the left wing, and some outbuildings are all that now remain of the superb Château de la Chevrette. Built in the *grand siècle*, it displayed all the splendour and ostentation of the old régime; a sketch, drawn by M. Francueil—whom we shall meet—and engraved by M. de Jully, the second son of M. de Bellegarde, has been found of the old château; it rises stiff and stately with its long façade,

square wings, and mansard roof, from the midst of geometrical, gay garden beds bordered by regular lines of trees; a fountain in an ornamental basin played in the foreground; marble groups adorned the shaded lawns. A magnificent park, which contained the Hermitage lying concealed in its outskirts, stretched away to the wooded heights of Montmorency.

Louise d'Esclavelles early discovered her dependent position in her aunt's household, and her humiliation was not made less when it was noticed that one of her cousins had been making love to her, for the youthful La Live, the eldest son,* perceiving the attractions of his cousin, had lost no time in making his feelings known. The boy and girl were at once separated by the angry relatives. The gentle Louise promised, weeping, she would give up her young lover, but naïvely owned that, following the direction of her confessor, she had offered prayers and gifts at the altar that she should find a rich husband, and had undergone a *neuvaine* as a thank-offering for the love of her cousin, believing that she had in both acts fulfilled her duties as a good Christian. Later it was learned that the Jesuit had worked on the mind of the young La Live as well, with the view of finally obtaining ascendency over the entire family. Madame de Roncherolles, to whom the thought of such an alliance was even more offensive than to Madame de Bellegarde, treated this matrimonial essay with tact, and the young culprit, who was suffering agonies of remorse, with much kindness; but at the same time she announced that she would never give her consent to a marriage between them unless La Live gave up his place in the revenue and embraced the career of arms. The inheritance, however, of his father's profession, and the rich emoluments of his office, were not to be thrown away, and he was sent on the tour of the provinces by which the revenues were collected, whence from time to time reports came back of an irregular life, which augured ill for future domestic tranquillity.

The death of Madame de Bellegarde again altered the current of the lives of mother and daughter, for Madame d'Esclavelles, who had taken Louise away, returned to look after the bereaved family. The shrouded mirrors,

* Denis Joseph La Live de Bellegarde took the name of d'Épinay in 1741 from a title then acquired. He had the title and enjoyed all the rights and privileges of the eldest son, though he had an older brother, who, being feeble-minded, was confined in a convent.

the sombre hangings, all the grim spectacle that a French house in mourning at that epoch presented, made a vivid impression upon the sensitive girl, and she was not sorry to return to her convent.

She was nearly seventeen when she again entered the family and drifted helplessly toward a life in which nature had ill fitted her to play an heroic part. Had she, however, been surrounded by proper influences, those traits which made her incapable of withstanding temptation would have been added charms to a character which possessed as a foundation many graces of spirit. She was gifted, indeed, with a sweet and loving nature, yielding to authority, and amiable to a fault. But circumstances did not tend to the upbuilding of character. La Live did not cease his attentions in his short visits home, but his cousin had already heard enough of his habits to be apprehensive of his future. Her delicate position in the house was unwisely exaggerated by her mother, until timidity and constraint gave rise to a want of frankness and sincerity from which she suffered all her life. An advantageous marriage was proposed by a noble family, but fell through owing to M. de Bellegarde's refusal to complete the *dot*, probably influenced by an unconfessed prejudice for his son's inclination. Young d'Épinay—now come into the property of that name—piqued that this proposition should have been considered, and aware of his cousin's hesitancy to regard him in the light of a husband, invented tales of undermined health, broken spirits, and a wasted life. His schemes were not in vain; the death of his mother had removed his chief opposer, and M. de Bellegarde soon gave his consent. The marriage took place December 23, 1745.

The farmers-general of the eighteenth century were forerunners of the syndicates of to-day. They were at the head of finance; to them was given the charge of all indirect taxation, which they decided, fixed, and executed; there was supposed to be one supreme director, but the post involved the expenditure of such large sums that it was divided between many associates; some of their number made regular tours of the provinces to review and verify the revenues; their selection and disposition was at the disposal of the comptroller-general. One of the scandals of the period was their extravagance, and M. d'Épinay and M. de la Popelinière divided between them the evil reputation of standing at the head of their associates in this respect, and, though both were clever financiers, each squandered so much money and

lived in such open violation of public opinion that M. d'Épinay finally lost his lucrative post. The farmers-general not only held the first place in finance, but they occupied a unique position in society: though not enjoying the power which wealth now obtains—for many of the aristocracy stood disdainfully aloof—they lived in the greatest luxury, worked with the philosophers, and drew about them the best that society afforded in cultivated minds; especially they practised a cult for music, which they appreciated and understood. The Château de la Chevrette, as well as the town house of the Bellegarde family, possessed many art treasures, for a love of pictures, as well as music, was a marked characteristic of M. de Bellegarde, whose cultivated tastes and aptitudes descended to his children. M. d'Épinay possessed his share of this family heritage, for he loved and studied the arts. He was a dissipated spendthrift, a bad son, husband, and father; but these unpleasant features he somewhat disguised by cultivated and agreeable manners, and he always professed to be fond of his wife. Though by no means wanting in capacity, he ruined his family by his prodigality.

The paramount influence that parents and relatives maintain to-day in French families is small compared with that of the time of which we are writing. Far from obtaining the independence which marriage brings to an English man and woman, who, even with small means, leave the home roof, and are put at once on the dignified footing of the founders of a family, their individuality respected, their right to think for themselves and to govern their own movements unquestioned, the newly married in eighteenth-century France, unless of large fortune, had no separate establishment, and were as much under the authority of parents as before marriage. Their companions and the new friends they made must receive parental sanction, their disagreements and discords be openly considered and settled in the family circle; and if serious disputes arose between them at any time of life all their relatives were called in, and their decision was as binding as that of a court of law.

Madame d'Épinay was ever the creature of her emotions — sensibility was the link between herself and Rousseau; self-conscious, she was also harassed by the self-questionings of a sensitive conscience. Before her marriage her health had suffered from her anxiety to do her duty scrupulously and her wish to please everyone exactly. Marriage did nothing to alleviate her situation. She tried

to conceal her husband's late hours from their parents as if he were a schoolboy, and if she herself remained out of the house later than was expected she returned in terror, afraid of their reproaches. A singular life to our ideas, with little of the privacy which is held so sacred in the English family, but in which affection, perhaps, held a more leading part, and where reverence for the authority of parents was a pleasing spectacle if it sometimes proved an uncomfortable experience. It is the system which is found in conventual schools, where character loses opportunity of growth in a rigorous espionage, a form of education necessarily producing alternately painful dependence and exaggerated freedom, asceticism and excess, extravagant confidences and calculated deceit. And if a submissive sweetness and an appealing gentleness be gained, these pleasing attributes too often are accompanied by a fatal weakness, so that, when the individual has need of all her powers cultivated to their utmost and strengthened by habit and self-control, unaccustomed to self-reliance, she finds herself unfitted for the struggle of existence. It was this system under which Louise d'Épinay was educated and from which she suffered throughout her life.

Between the rigid rules of her mother, who held all places of amusement in horror, and the licence of her husband, who would have led her into the most dissipated society of Paris, Madame d'Épinay was in constant difficulties. The glamour of the honeymoon was soon dispersed, and the bride, who was yet really in love with her husband, quickly had reason to complain of his neglect. To escape her reproaches he threw her among unsuitable and even evil companions. The unsophisticated wife was first introduced to Madame d'Arty, whose notorious connexion with the Prince de Conti does not seem to have compromised her in the eyes of society. She was followed by the most dangerous of the 'mondaines' of Paris. Mademoiselle d'Ette, 'belle 'comme un ange,' was an intriguer. Though introduced to Madame d'Épinay by her husband, she sought, under the guise of friendship, to detach her new friend from him in order to place herself on a confidential footing, and become indispensable in this rich household. Madame d'Épinay, ignorant of her true character and delighted with her agreeable demeanour, confided to her the story of her unhappy married life. The lessons of this bad counsellor were not without results and, a real stage temptress, she moves across the scene, awakening doubt, the practice of deceit

and all the fatal consequences of perverted morals. Throughout her life Madame d'Épinay ever felt the need for association with a stronger will, and it was largely through the influence of Mademoiselle d'Ette that her intimacy with M. de Francueil * began. In his extravagance and dissipation he nearly equalled M. d'Épinay; handsome, clever and accomplished, he was known as artist and musician at a time when a high degree of excellence was necessary for such a reputation, and to him must be given the credit of introducing to the house of Madame d'Épinay the celebrated men who formed her mind and made her salon famous.

Two years had now passed since Madame d'Épinay's marriage. She had already lost all youthful freshness. Susceptible and sensitive, her health, never strong, was quickly affected by her mind, and her disappointments and grievances had robbed her as well of her good spirits. In figure she was small and thin, and the delicacy of her appearance was accentuated by an abundance of dark hair, which grew prettily about her temples and, 'bien planté,' contrasted strikingly with the extraordinary whiteness of her skin. Large brown eyes, usually downcast, completed a countenance which, though never beautiful and scarcely pretty, must have been extremely interesting, for her seductive charm is generally acknowledged. Though mentally strong, she had no brilliantly attractive and quick imagination; her mind rather showed its power in its exactitude, precision, and in the justness of her decisions; her ideas were slow in forming, nor was she ready in their expression, restrained not only by a natural slowness of speech, but by an unconquerable reserve and timidity. Francueil was thirty-one: petted, flattered, spoiled but pleasing, he had only to exert himself to make a conquest of the entire family. He persuaded M. de Bellegarde to build a theatre at La Chevrette, for which he even gained the consent of the austere Madame d'Esclavelles. Hither he brought Rousseau, who took part in his own plays, and Francueil organised a company which soon attracted the attention of the society of Paris. Duclos, the worst gossip in the town, came to criticise, and remained in the hope of being enrolled among the players, his head turned by the captivating young hostess; while Gauffecourt, the delightful Genevan watchmaker, one of the popular idols, attached himself to her with a fidelity which never wavered. This was

* M. de Francueil was the grandfather of George Sand.

the nucleus and the beginning of one of the most memorable salons of the eighteenth century—a singular group, extraordinarily typical of the time, containing a most contradictory collection of personal qualities, of which Madame d'Épinay was the greatest paradox of all.

A woman who has lately been characterised as 'la mieux 'douée et la plus doucement excellente de son époque,' the heroine of Rousseau's great romance, was also one of this remarkable circle. The Comtesse d'Houdetot, the youngest of M. de Bellegarde's children, possessed all the attributes and graces which as the little 'Mimi'* she had promised in childhood. She had that indefinable human quality, that subtle sympathetic birthright, to which is given the name of charm. The spell that she wielded over her contemporaries proceeded from disposition, character, and mind, for she was absolutely without personal beauty. Fragonard painted her, and we are disappointed. Her eyes are round, a signal defect in the time of the Bourbons, the beauty of whose almond-shaped eyes was so celebrated; and her sight was so bad that she was uncertain in her movements; but intelligence, good feeling and refinement lent beauty to her expression. She had, besides, the gift of good humour: cheerfulness and gaiety surrounded her wherever she moved: even a marriage without love could not quench her spirits. There was something peculiarly appealing and winning in this union of heart and mind that gained for her passionate love and untiring devotion.

Rousseau has immortalised her. The story of his passion turned the eyes of the world upon her, and since that time of storm and stress, when, in the moonlit night, beneath the delicately drooping, heavily scented boughs of the acacia tree, we dimly descry her and hear the tender declarations fall trembling from the lips of the eloquent philosopher, the passing teamster's rude cry, her laughter, his ejaculation of despair when l'amitié and l'amour—competing ideals throughout the century—contended with one another, she has held her place amid the remarkable portraits of that

* It is probable that the pet name Mie Mie, which was given by George Selwyn to his adopted daughter Maria Fagniani, afterwards Marchioness of Hertford, and which occurs so often in the correspondence of Walpole, and of other letter-writers of the eighteenth century, was taken from that of Madame d'Houdetot. For Selwyn was as much at home in Paris as in London, and was intimate with the leading French men and women of the day. See 'George Selwyn: his Letters and his Life,' London, 1899, p. 20.

singular epoch—the period between 1750 and the Revolution.

Madame d'Houdetot's marriage was arranged with a promptitude striking even in those days. It contained, to begin with, a tragic element of discord, for the Comte d'Houdetot had irrevocably bestowed his affection on another; but, determined to be happy, Madame d'Houdetot, who certainly was never in love with her husband, made the best of the situation, and by her behaviour won his respect and admiration. He left her entire liberty, and they were the best of friends, if nothing more, throughout their long lives. The Salic law still distinguished between the sexes: a woman on her marriage was lifted or fell into her husband's position in society. Madame d'Épinay by her marriage descended from the rank which was hers by birth, and thereby lost her right to social recognition at Court, where by the same law of etiquette her sister-in-law gained admittance, and even became the friend of Maria Leczinska. She was soon allied with many celebrated people, and entered the most exclusive company with the Comtesse de Forcalquier, 'la bellissima,' and with the Maréchale de Beauvau, whose salon rivalled if it did not exceed that of the Maréchale de Luxembourg in distinction, and whose lovable qualities rivalled her own. Madame Necker's country house at Saint-Ouen was near La Chevrette, in Madame d'Houdetot's familiar country. They met at Madame d'Épinay's theatre and conceived a friendship for each other in which little Germaine, the future Madame de Staël, was included. When Madame Necker went to Spa for the waters, Madame d'Houdetot kept her informed of the progress of her child, with whom, as soon as the girl was old enough, she began a correspondence. These letters, some of which still exist, show something of the degree to which Madame d'Houdetot interested herself in those she loved.

The life-long attachment of Madame d'Houdetot to Saint-Lambert is one of the curious stories of the time. Madame du Deffand stigmatises the work of the poet as cold, thin, sterile, worn out; but, to be just, if cold he was polished, and if his nature lacked depth, warmth and fertility, he was elegant, exquisite, and delicate; and Madame d'Houdetot clung steadfastly to a friend who possessed, from this time of his life at least, the merit of constancy. And Saint-Lambert had many mental attractions. To the charm of simplicity he added a keen love of nature, which he faithfully studied. Both were poets—he

celebrated in the 'Saisons,' so much admired by his contemporaries, that movement towards nature which was one of the features of the period; she, utterly without vanity, never collecting her verses, without thought of celebrity for herself, reached a high degree of literary reputation in her cultivated and accomplished world. From Marmontel she received the name of the 'Sévigné de Sannois.'

A reputation in famous salons was not easily obtained by a new comer even with talents and social recognition. The fastidious Madame du Deffand met Madame d'Houdetot at Madame Necker's, and rather scoffingly alludes to the evening: 'J'ai fait connaissance avec madame Necker; j'ai 'soupé hier avec mesdames de Marchais et d'Houdetot. 'Je me disais à tout moment: qu'allais-je faire dans cette 'galère? La crainte de l'ennui fait qu'on se jette dans 'l'eau de peur de la pluie. Vous souvenez-vous de ce que 'Gatti vous disait de cette compagnie? il n'exagérait 'point.' * But as her visits to Madame Necker were continued she changed her mind, and Madame d'Houdetot found the world as a rule well disposed even before she had become celebrated as Rousseau's 'Sophie.' Maria Edgeworth, who met her at the house of the Abbé Morellet, tells us that she possessed the priceless gift of seeing the good side of everything; and Madame d'Épinay ends a portrait of her by these words: 'Jamais elle n'a dit ni cru de mal de 'personne, et quiconque entreprendra sa critique finira, 'comme moi, par son éloge.'

Franklin and Jefferson were frequently among the guests at Sannois. On Franklin's first visit he brought an acacia from Virginia, and its planting was celebrated as an international event. Verses composed by the hostess, who with her husband met him on his entrance to the village, were sung during the ceremony. At the elaborate repast, to which they afterwards sat down, each of the guests recited an improvised verse in his honour signalling the attitude of the noblesse toward Republican principles. One is now disposed to smile at this somewhat stagey scene and its palpable effort after effect, but, like those elaborate memorials which encumber the transepts of Westminster Abbey, it marks the period and adds, as do those misproportioned monuments, to continuity in the calendar of history. Without doubt Madame d'Houdetot had shown exceptional sympathy with the American Revolutionists,

* Correspondance de Madame du Deffand, vol. ii. p. 466.

for in 1775 she received citizenship from the town of New Haven, Connecticut, together with her friends Saint-Lambert, the Maréchal de Beauvau, Condorcet, and other eminent Frenchmen, distinguished, the report reads, not only by their rank, their lights and their talents, but their philanthropy and by their zeal for the liberty and the happiness of the United States in general, and for the prosperity of New Haven in particular. When Saint-John de Crèvecœur, who had emigrated to New York twenty-five years before, paid a visit to his native land with his sons, Madame d'Houdetot introduced them in society, obtained the consulate of New York at Court for him, and after his departure practically adopted his sons.

Retaining always in old age her interest in people and in events, she passed unharmed through the Revolution, and saw the First Empire inaugurated, an exemplar to the new régime of the elegance of the old agreeable society, and of the art of conversation as it existed in its best period, the reign of Louis XV. Deprived by death of her husband and of Saint-Lambert she yet again formed an attachment in her old age. M. Sommarima, a scholarly Italian, had become her neighbour by the purchase of La Chevrette. He was young enough to be her son, and showed, indeed, all a son's solicitude, and daily attentions and gifts of flowers kept alive the old romantic traditions for her who typified throughout her long life the amenities and affections.*

Rousseau's connexion with Madame d'Houdetot, the very crux of his emotional inner life, of his fame, fortunes, and career, began in the spring of 1756. He had reached middle life, but it was the stormiest episode of his troubled existence. Subdued by Madame d'Épinay, he was installed in the ancient hermitage on the borders of the park of the Château de la Chevrette. Within reach of friends, but well withdrawn from the unendurable din of Paris, his love of independence, his hatred of obligation, for a time lay sleeping; satisfied with the glory he had achieved, he doubted if he should mar the serenity of his days by further labour. Neither should practical considerations be permitted to disturb his happiness; when M. d'Épinay asked him to copy some music within a given time, he answered, 'Peut-être que oui, peut-être que non; c'est suivant la disposi-'tion, l'humeur et la santé.' The freedom of the country was

* Madame d'Houdetot outlived most of her contemporaries. She died January 28, 1813.

his to enjoy; his sensuous love of nature was gratified. It was April, vegetation was springing to life and to greenness, and the symbols of spring were repeated in the fresh colours of morning and in the dewy evening; existence was a harmony of dreamy days, of cool and quiet nights. Not since his early life in the Savoyard valley had Jean-Jacques led a tranquil, gentle existence. Unmindful of the future, he revelled in a luxury of solitude, broken only by those whom he loved—his dearest friends always ready to devote themselves to his welfare and to pay him homage.

The Seven Years' War, which lost Canada to France, entered upon because Frederick of Prussia had offended Madame de Pompadour, had at this time (1757) begun. The Comte d'Houdetot and Saint-Lambert were off to the frontier, the Comtesse established at Eaubonne; here she was near La Chevrette, and not so far from Paris but that she could mingle in the diversions of the Court, where she was ever welcome. One morning she bethought herself of Rousseau, now her neighbour. She had met him on the eve of her marriage, at Madame d'Épinay's; he had become more famous with the passage of time, and she determined to pay him a visit. By some freak, perhaps in thought of his eccentricities, dressed in man's garb, she arrived at his door on horseback, laughing, excited by the dangers of the bad roads she had passed over. Taken completely unawares by this animated, high-spirited Diana, Rousseau fell in love at first sight. For the next few quickly flying weeks their intercourse was daily: its pretended motive, conversations on the subject of which, indeed, Rousseau's brain and heart were filled—the converting of society, the uplifting of humanity, its return to simplicity, to truth, and to nature.

The first and most important sequel to these sentimental meetings, the congenial intellectual companionship and the adoration which the charming countess inspired, was the inception of 'La Nouvelle Héloïse,' the great romance which was to crown Rousseau's fame. Madame d'Houdetot, transfigured by his imagination, is Julie, his heroine. His poor servant, the foolish Theresa, jealous of these frequent interviews, carried reports of the sudden intimacy to Madame d'Épinay, who, as well as Theresa, was accused of writing an anonymous letter to Saint-Lambert, setting forth the conduct of Rousseau and of Madame d'Houdetot in an unfavourable light. Its authorship has never been proved, but, with the exception of M. Paul Boiteau—who, as has

been pointed out,* is an odd instance of an editor not in sympathy with his subject—it is a charge from which critics generally acquit Madame d'Épinay. Diderot, who, with his usual unselfish devotion to friends, was anxious to put an end to the coolness which had naturally sprung up between Rousseau and Saint-Lambert, sought, with misguided zeal, to advise Rousseau; an unfortunate method to pursue with the erratic philosopher, so jealous of his liberty of action. Diderot did not sufficiently take into account the peculiar temperament with which he had to deal, the extreme sensitiveness, the unreasonable pride, the timidity born of fear lest he should be unable to keep body and soul together. Hard experience had left Rousseau mistrustful, reserved, suspicious, and with a hatred for authority, while deep-seated in his nature lay an overpowering self-consciousness, an overweening conceit, and an insatiable appetite for applause; the thought was always uppermost in his mind that the world occupied itself with him. His warm affections, added to their admiration for his genius, for so long a time retained the friends whom his variable humours and vagaries must long since have chased from him. Diderot, however, soon found that his straightforward methods were not to the taste of Rousseau, who, smarting at the suspicions of his friends, publicly accused him of publishing broadcast his most private concerns, and of abusing his most sacred feelings. Further complications arose. Diderot sending his latest play to the Hermitage for criticism, Rousseau imagined he saw in the preface an offensive allusion to himself. With great difficulty Madame d'Épinay calmed his resentment, and then with her usual sweet and conciliatory spirit prevailed upon Rousseau to avoid a quarrel. But such a disunion, in such an age, once begun was certain to continue. Madame d'Épinay's departure for Geneva was the cause of the next break in the links which had for so long and so productive a period bound together the famous group in comradeship. Rousseau, in his distress, had not long before thought of returning to his birthplace, and would undoubtedly have done so had not Madame d'Épinay's hospitality saved for French letters the author of 'Julie' and 'Émile;' it seemed natural, therefore, to her friends that he should wish to return his obligations and join her. But Rousseau did not see his duty in the same light: out of health himself, he felt he was the last person in the world

* Scherer, 'Études sur la Littérature Contemporaine.'

fit to look after another invalid—whereupon he was called a monster of ingratitude. The affair reached its climax when 'La Lettre sur les Spectacles' was published—the declaration of war against Diderot and the philosophers, of which Madame d'Épinay, now in Switzerland, harassed in body and mind, learned with pain, realising that all hope of reconciliation was over. She was right, for she never saw Rousseau again. So, too, he passed out of Madame d'Houdetot's life, but they each preserved affectionate recollections of one another, and she and Saint-Lambert each afterwards offered him a home and defended him in the unhappy course of his life which followed. At Sannois, on a pedestal made expressly for them, could afterwards be seen the two volumes of 'La Nouvelle Heloïse,' copied in his own hand for Madame d'Épinay. His four famous letters on Virtue and Happiness were addressed to her, who had evoked an ideal type, a model of maternity, simplicity, and the homely virtues, to be enthusiastically received by the artificial fine ladies of awakening France.

Her relations with Rousseau will make Madame d'Épinay for ever interesting. At a later period the story of their friendship and its stormy conclusion was revived by his 'Confessions' and by her scarcely less realistic, if more agreeable, 'Mémoires,' which will prevent it from being forgotten.

Paris at the end of the eighteenth century was in many ways intellectually cosmopolitan; many distinguished Germans were settled there, whose names only reveal their foreign origin, so completely assimilated did they become with the forward movement of the great intellectual activity of their adopted country. German discipline was urged in the reforms of the army, and German officers were popular; the Comte de Schönberg and his relative the brilliant and prodigal Comte de Friese—were favourites in the salons, and Barons Grimm and d'Holbach added, the one by his talents, the other by his hospitality, to the prestige of men of letters in Paris. Disappointed at the failure of his literary début, after leaving the University of Leipzig, Grimm had come to France as tutor to the sons of the Comte de Schönberg. Rousseau, attracted to him by their mutual interest in music, introduced him to the Encyclopedists. By 1749 he had obtained the post of secretary to the Comte de Friese, and from that time his success was assured, and he was admitted to the best society of Paris. Gauffecourt called him 'Tyran-le-Blanc,' a term which contained a double

meaning, relating as it did both to his character and to his complexion, for he painted his cheeks with white lead. Grimm belonged to a characteristic German type: tall, loose-jointed, with prominent eyes, he was indolent, indifferent, and never at ease, and he had all the brusqueness and hardness of fibre of the Saxon; he was always authoritative without being always correct; he was not devoid of sympathy, though without sensitiveness; he was sincere, and to be relied on, but he inspired confidence without giving it; he had penetration, but at the same time was slow and dull. Of the value of his friendship Diderot said: 'Si je me plaignais de mon sort, la Providence aurait le 'droit de me répondre: Je t'ai donné Grimm pour ami!' It was characteristic of him that while he opposed Madame d'Épinay's offer of the Hermitage to Rousseau he was yet ready to give him substantial aid, and he and Diderot shared in a pension for the support of the household, of which, as it was given to Theresa, Rousseau was ignorant. He was just, and the best critic the century produced; but he lacked the sacred fire, the life-producing seed: of creative genius he had none; contrasts in character as were Grimm and Madame d'Épinay, it was this very difference which produced her reliance upon him; he was strong, sincere, and helpful.

One evening at the house of the Comte de Friese Madame d'Épinay's reputation was attacked. Grimm, whom Rousseau had but lately introduced to her, took up her defence.

'J'ai eu l'honneur de connoître madame d'Épinay; elle passe pour avoir une fortune honnête; elle a de l'esprit; on dit qu'elle fait beaucoup de bien, qu'elle est noble et généreuse. On ne me persuadera jamais qu'en vingt-quatre heures on change de mœurs et de principes, et qu'on sacrifie tous les avantages dont jouit une personne honnête à un intérêt aussi vil.' *

The discussion, however, still went on, and became so violent that the participants descended to the garden, where a duel was fought, and Grimm was wounded. Soon afterwards the chivalrous baron accompanied d'Holbach on a journey of some months' duration, but he did not leave Paris before seeing Madame d'Épinay, who, with Madame d'Esclavelles, received him warmly, and on his return he was made welcome as a friend in the family.

But Madame d'Épinay did not escape further hostile criticism. Duclos, academician, and Voltaire's successor as

* Mémoires de Madame d'Épinay, vol. i. p. 446.

historian of France, made much of in society, whom his bluntness and rudeness amused, having tried in vain to supplant Francueil in Madame d'Épinay's regard, now saw Grimm's rising influence with increasing jealousy. His behaviour at last became insupportable, and she refused him admittance, which made him spread malicious reports of her all over the town. Francueil also, by his reckless follies, had lost her good opinion. 'Jeune, riche, intéressante, remplie de grâces et d'esprit,' as Grimm paints her at this time of her life, she felt dissatisfied with the world, and turned her thoughts to the Church, the refuge of so many women who were weary of the world. She wished to enter the religious life, but her confessor was neither the worldly eighteenth-century abbé nor was he the ascetic ecclesiastic dead to all interest save that of the Church. The one might possibly have offered himself as a consoler, the other have taken her income. The Abbé Martin's religion was of another quality. Instead of taking advantage of her weakness, he directed her to fulfil her duties in her family and in society. 'Je vois, madame, que vous allez faire de Dieu un pis-aller. Si l'on méprise le monde quand on le quitte pour Dieu on peut dire de même qu'on méprise Dieu quand on ne le quitte que pour le monde.' Madame d'Épinay was obliged to acknowledge the force of the reasoning of the good abbé, and again, though somewhat sadly, gathered up the tangled threads of her life.

That life we must not judge by the standards of to-day: if Madame d'Épinay and her friends were living now they would be as amazed as ourselves at the license then tolerated. Society was composed of men and women absolutely without occupation. Children seldom saw their parents, for whom they were in general mere playthings. Practical politics as we know them were not open as an occupation any more than was a business career. There was no Brooks's or White's so flourishing across the Channel; men's clubs were unknown. Unlike the Englishman, who likes to be by himself and amuses himself by out-of-door sports, the Frenchman enjoys society and the companionship of women. So, in Paris, they spent their time together in the stimulating atmosphere of the salons, at public balls, or at the theatre; in the country, at their grand châteaux, with little outside themselves to divert them, they sat in their stately, cold, formal, somewhat empty though magnificently decorated salons, the women at the embroidery frame, the men sketching; sometimes they read aloud or talked, and chess was a favourite

game. A concert was arranged for the evening, or a comedy, which they wrote, was played. The younger men hunted a little, but exercise was generally limited to walks in the straight garden paths or through the leafy lanes of the ancient park. In many ways it was an ideal state of society. Men and women were not separated; their aims and interests were identical, and they joined in the same pursuits. From the practice of the art of pleasing had developed a careful observance of the amenities which brighten existence. A charming courtesy was the rule in behaviour, antipathies and prejudices were softened or conquered, sarcasm was frowned down as a needless weapon for real wit, and discussion never degenerated into dispute. Manners were easy and gracious yet dignified, the timid given confidence, the reserved drawn out, support given without appearance of protection, and as the century wore on Rousseau set the fashion for simplicity and naturalness; nobility of sentiments did not extinguish the gay, light good-humour thrown over the fundamental seriousness of the Latin race. It was a state only to be reached under the conditions then existing, and by a people of just such instincts, tastes, and intellectual developement, and it was acknowledged everywhere throughout Europe as a pattern of elegance, sobriety, and amiability.* In this odd mixture of ideals marriage was for establishment, not for love; for women it was the only way to receive benefit from society; congenial personality was hardly considered, and a man and wife in love were a ridiculous anomaly, not only uncommon, but slightly shocking to good taste, which took the place of a moral code. The study of the period brings forcibly before us the change that society has undergone: it was not a gradual progress, but it was the influence of the high ideals of these very men and women of whom we are writing, which they evoked and spread, which brought about the Revolution, when false standards were swept away and modern society, with new theories, reforms, and practices, came into being.

M. de Bellegarde, foreseeing that his son would eventually ruin his family, had settled an income on Madame d'Épinay and her children; but though M. d'Épinay and his wife were now practically separated, he continually annoyed her by demands for money, which she seldom had the strength

* 'La Femme au Dix-huitième Siècle,' by Edmond et Jules de Goncourt. Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1896. P. 64.

of mind to refuse. Her troubles had already begun to affect her health, but she had the consolation of her children, whom, in spite of custom, she carefully looked after, and whose education was her chief pleasure and interest; her friends too occupied a large place in her life, making up in a measure for some of its disappointments. Grimm, Rousseau, Saint-Lambert, Desmoulin, and Gauffecourt, whom she playfully called her five bears, were her constant visitors. A long epistle in verse, addressed to Grimm at about this time, begins :—

> ' Moi, de cinq ours la souveraine,
> Qui les donne et prescrit des lois,
> Faut-il que je sois à la fois
> Et votre esclave et votre reine,
> O des tyrans le plus tyran ! '

It is to be noticed that the intellectual Frenchwoman of the eighteenth century, and more especially those who have been called the women of the salons, thought much and wrote much and well on the subject of education; they felt keenly the want of a guiding principle, the need of a more substantial foundation in an education that would achieve something more than agreeable manners, something beside Latin verse, even beyond Greek philosophy—a training which would lead to growth of character. Madame d'Épinay placed education above instruction, and declared that the public school could not take the place of the family. Madame du Deffand never ceased to decry the education of the times, to which she ascribed all the misfortunes and evils of her life. Madame d'Épinay, the mother of two children, and more devoted to their care than was customary, had even more cause to consider this question important. With the birth of her children had come differences with her family because of her wish to keep them with her; but she found it impossible to overrule the custom which made it almost obligatory to rear children away from home.

In the meantime her own mind was developing, and her own education, for she was still young, which was to fit her for the leadership of a salon was in progress. No woman of ordinary endowment, ability or attainments could take a high position in French society: she who aspired to a salon needed not only an educated but a trained and critical faculty. She must be able not only to talk herself, but to open the lips as well as the minds of her clever habitués. And no person, no matter how distinguished, was fit to enter the house of a *bel esprit* unless he added to the general

entertainment: even a prince, if he could not shine himself, must do his part by providing a substitute.*

It is not until 1754 that we first gather from the 'Mémoires' that Madame d'Épinay has literary ambition and is at work on the subject which most appealed to her; but it is in her letters to her children that her interest rises to enthusiasm; they are the beginnings of her educational works. The first letters which were composed for her son's edification read oddly enough, so high is their flight. Fortunately, however, for the little boy, Rousseau's advice placed the correspondence more on a level with the child's comprehension.

In her description of the visit which she paid with Duclos to her son and his tutor at the Collège du Plessis the faults of the old universities are unmercifully exposed.† They find the tutor, whom they interviewed on his method of education, taking his ease stretched at full length on a couch, his wig off, in dressing-gown; while the child is seated at a table making aimless marks with a pencil, unable to grasp the difficult Latin before him.

In June, 1757, Madame d'Épinay was again established in her favourite country house, the Château de la Chevrette. Her mother, her children, the Comtesse d'Houdetot, and Saint-Lambert were with her; Grimm, who had completely taken Francueil's place, was a frequent visitor; she was surrounded by those she loved best. Her life had now taken, in a measure, the form which it retained to its end. Her days at the château, where the most of her time was passed, were seldom wanting in the company of some of the brilliant coterie whom she had gathered around her. Intermingled work and play, the joy of toil, the happiness of intellectual labour and achievement, was their task and their pleasure. Rousseau at the Hermitage was her constant companion and teacher. Generous, inexacting, forgiving, even the liberty-loving philosopher could receive her benefits and suffer her gentle control; d'Holbach had turned from disparagement to admiration; Diderot alone of those she would like to count among her friends, in spite of Grimm's efforts, still held aloof. But now, when she had adjusted her life as she thought she best could to its conditions, when a measure of tranquillity seemed to be accorded her, her health, which had been continually

* Mémoires de Madame d'Épinay, vol. i. p. 381.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 311.

failing, broke down completely, and it was decided that she must go to Geneva to be under the care of the celebrated surgeon Tronchin. As if this were not enough, Rousseau, of whom in his fever for the society of Madame d'Houdetot she had lately seen less, harassed past endurance both by his friends and his conscience, turned, as we have already told, against her and against all the late harmonious circle, and the ties formed by years of helpful intercourse were broken in a moment. At the same time that he attacked Madame d'Épinay, Rousseau, aware that he would be offended at this treatment of his protectress, also began to complain bitterly of Grimm. In that curious document the 'Seven Wickednesses of Rousseau,' Diderot has left us a fiery denunciation of Rousseau's ingratitude to Madame d'Épinay.

But the unselfish devotion of Madame d'Épinay to Rousseau was not without some equivalent, for if she lost him as a friend she presently gained another in Voltaire. Accompanied by her husband and son, she arrived in Geneva early in November, 1757, with a European reputation. She was received with every mark of attention by Rousseau's countrymen and by Voltaire, who, though no longer young, was still inspired to write verses to the 'grands yeux noirs' of the charming exile. At the time of her arrival Voltaire, rich, conquering, and now at the height of his fame, had not yet bought Ferney, but inhabited Les Délices, a charming country house near the city, where he lived cared for and idolised by his niece, the absurd and good-natured Madame Denis.

'La nièce de Voltaire est à mourir à rire; c'est une petite grosse femme toute ronde, d'environ cinquante ans, femme comme on ne l'est point, laide et bonne, menteuse sans le vouloir et sans méchanceté; n'ayant pas d'esprit et en paroissant avoir; criant, décidant, politiquant, versifiant, raisonnant, déraisonnant, et tout cela sans trop de prétension, et surtout sans choquer personne; ayant par-dessus tout un petit vernis d'amour masculin qui perce à travers la retenue qu'elle s'est imposée. Elle adore son oncle, en tant qu'oncle et en tant homme; Voltaire la chérit, s'en moque et la révère.'*

Voltaire was indeed overjoyed to have a Parisienne whose *esprit* was everywhere recognised so near him, and he at once made cordial advances; but Madame d'Épinay, whom the hardships of the journey had brought very near death, and who had received the Sacraments, declined his first

* Mémoires de Madame d'Épinay, vol. ii. p. 421.

invitations: 'M'étant confessé, et ayant reçu la communion 'l'avant-veille, je ne trouvais pas convenable de dîner chez 'Voltaire deux jours après.' But Voltaire, who never did anything by halves, became more and more assiduous in his attentions and showered notes and invitations upon 'la 'véritable philosophe des femmes,' as he called her; and if he were attracted by her mind, he also admired the amiability which her sufferings could not destroy, and her soft dark eyes still had power to cast a spell even over a philosopher. When, the winter coming on, Voltaire removed to Lausanne he missed her so much that he was obliged to write frequently: 'On est pénétré de regrets de la quitter et de 'remords de n'être point allé à Genève; on demande pardon. 'On souhaite trois ou quatre années de languir à la vraie 'philosophe, afin qu'elle ait besoin de quatre ans du grand 'Tronchin. Les deux hermites lui sont attachés avec tous 'les sentiments qu'elle inspire. Ah! Si elle pouvait venir à 'Lausanne!'* He continued to press her to visit him, his zeal, perhaps, the keener in his hope also to secure Tronchin, for whom he had a great admiration and who was difficult of persuasion. Although he had no theatre such as Ferney afterwards boasted, Voltaire had a stage fitted up wherever he was, where his plays were acted. His guests and his friends in Geneva were drawn in as actors, and whenever he could he obtained professionals from Paris:

'Le hibou de délices est à présent le hibou de Lausanne. Il a dans sa maison un petit nid bien indigne de vous recevoir; mais quand nous aurons de beaux jours et de spectacle peut-être, madame, ne dédaignerez-vous point de faire un petit voyage le long de notre lac; vous aurez des forces, M. Tronchin vous en donnera; j'espère qu'il vous accompagnera. Tous nos acteurs s'efforceront de vous plaire; nous savons que l'indulgence est au nombre de vos bonnes qualités. Je vous demande votre protection auprès du premier des médecins et du plus aimables des hommes, et je vous demande la sienne auprès de vous.' †

Madame d'Épinay's esteem for her physician increased daily. Voltaire she called her *nourrisson*, but Tronchin was her *sauveur*, and she marked her gratitude by having her portrait painted for him by the celebrated Liotard.‡

Unsuccessful in his invitations, Voltaire tried other expedients to lure the d'Épinays to Lausanne, and accused

* Voltaire to Madame d'Épinay, December 22, 1757.

† Voltaire to Madame d'Épinay. Lausanne, December 27, 1757.

‡ This portrait in pastel is in the museum at Geneva, and a copy painted at the same time is at Versailles.

Madame d'Épinay of deserting him for the orthodox party, who had pronounced against his defence of Lord Bolingbroke; an accusation which at last brought her and Tronchin to reassure him.

But though Madame d'Épinay was gratified by so many proofs of regard from Voltaire, and by the unusual attentions shown her at her little court in Geneva, she was homesick; for Grimm, hard at work revising the first volumes of the Encyclopædia with Diderot, continued to defer his promised visit till a crisis in her health at last brought him in the spring of 1759. She improved, however, so much during the summer that she was able to return to Paris in the autumn with him and M. de Jully, disappointed in his diplomatic mission for Madame de Pompadour,* who had been scheming to obtain the sovereignty of Neuchâtel.

Madame d'Épinay was yet only thirty-three, but she had learnt much, and her long absence gave opportunity for any change she might wish in her surroundings; taught by experience, she was slow in forming her salon, for which her delicate health was an excellent excuse. Her wish that Diderot should become her friend was at last gratified, and the friendship, if slow in forming, was deep and lasting. Not long afterwards we find him writing from La Chevrette, 'Après-demain je suis établi au Grandval pour six semaines; 'madame d'Épinay en a le cœur un peu serré, moi aussi: 'nous étions faits l'un à l'autre; nous nous comprenions sans 'mot dire; nous blâmions; nous approuvions du coin de 'l'œil.'†

The interior of the Château de la Chevrette was no less splendid than the outside. It contained a chapel, where the good Abbé Martin officiated, as well as the theatre where Francueil had assembled his famous company. Diderot has painted a vivid picture of the salon and its occupants, from which we gain an idea of their lives at the time of Madame d'Épinay's return.

'Nous étions alors dans ce triste et magnifique salon, et nous y formions, diversement occupés, un tableau très agréable. Vers la fenêtre qui donne sur les jardins M. Grimm se faisait peindre et madame d'Épinay était appuyée sur le dos de la chaise de la personne qui le peignait. Un dessinateur, aussi plus bas sur un placet, faisait son profil au crayon. Il est charmant, ce profil; il n'y a point de femmes qui ne fût tentée de voir s'il ressemble. M. de Saint-Lambert lisait dans un coin la dernière brochure que je vous ai envoyée. Je

* Madame de Pompadour was related to the D'Épinay family.

† Diderot to Mlle. Volland, September 10, 1760.

jouais aux échecs avec madame d'Houdetot. La vieille et bonne madame d'Esclavelles, mère de madame d'Épinay, avait autour d'elle tous ses enfants, et causait avec eux et avec leur gouverneur. Deux sœurs de la personne qui peignait mon ami brodaient, l'une à la main, l'autre au tambour. Et une troisième essayait au clavecin une pièce de Scarlatti.' *

On terms of intimacy with Diderot and the Baron and Baronne d'Holbach, under Voltaire's influence, dominated by Grimm, Madame d'Épinay was now fully identified with the philosophical party, and her salon increased in numbers and importance until it included not only the Encyclopædists but the foreign group, and became the political centre of the philosophical movement. For not only the circle which surrounded Madame d'Épinay was altered and enlarged, but society in general had lately undergone a change, of which she was a type. Her early life, like the early reign of Louis XV., had been given to pleasure, but now, like her own inclinations, the national life had grown serious; grave thoughts filled all minds, and anxious questions regarding the welfare of society at large were the singular topics on the lips of even pretty women, with arguments on the rival merits of Glück or Piccini; everywhere the ideas of the philosophers had spread and were gaining ground. Diderot, the centre of this movement, was now closely associated with Madame d'Épinay.

The beauty of moderation in this epoch of agitation, contradiction, struggle and aspiration was not for Diderot, and his intense nature found vent in his transports of enthusiasm, in his outbursts of rage, in his love, devotion, prejudice, in labour, in the extraordinary vividness of his imagination; neither did the goodness of his heart know any limit. The grace of moderation lies in its absolute justice and integrity; the enthusiast is seldom controlled by reason; he is often carried to excess by his ardent feeling. Diderot, swayed by his keen emotions, was never complete master of himself; he did not rightly calculate the effect of his writing, and, had he lived, would have been as indignant and horror-stricken as Burke at the excesses of the Revolution. And his friendship for Madame d'Épinay took this same character, and he became her strongest partisan. His 'Salons,' the most charming of all his works, had their source at La Chevrette. He had promised Grimm to write something on the pictures which hung in the Salon, and he

* September 15, 1760.

had scarcely returned to Paris from a visit there when he received a short note from him requesting it immediately. Surprised and hurt by this somewhat peremptory demand he wrote day and night, and Grimm, 'stupéfait d'admira-'tion,' soon received a volume in place of the few lines expected. From this beginning the essays developed which exercised a marked influence on the æsthetic taste of his contemporaries, by pointing out the grace and charm of Boucher, Fragonard and Chardin; for the French school had few admirers among the Parisian amateurs, who saw little beauty in any work but that of the Flemish, Dutch or Italian schools. M. de Jully, a lover of the arts, and already a collector, profited by Diderot's eloquent pages, and was the first to give practical encouragement to French painting and sculpture. In 1764 he brought out his 'Catalogue Historique 'du Cabinet de Peintures et de Sculpture Françaises,' after the manner of Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill production; it is ornamented with two fine engravings by himself, and is a more curious and interesting work perhaps than Walpole's catalogue.

Madame d'Épinay's circle now included her old friend the Marquis de Croismare, the 'charming marquis;' Saurin, the poet, who was no sooner introduced than he straightway fell in love; his patron, the rich and clever Helvétius, 'qui a dit le secret de tout le monde,' Madame du Deffand observed; the agreeable but melancholy Suard, director of the 'Gazette Littéraire,' embarrassingly enamoured of the beautiful Baronne d'Holbach as well as of his hostess; the Abbé Raynal, the originator of the 'Nouvelles Littéraires'; Galiani, 'the gentil abbé'; and Gatti, the celebrated Florentine physician, introduced by Galiani. All of these shared her pleasure in her correspondence with Voltaire, and as eagerly awaited his letters, for the friendship begun at Geneva was continued by a regular correspondence. Absence did not diminish his admiration. 'Adieu, ma belle philosophe; vous êtes adorée aux Délices, 'vous êtes adorée à Paris; vous êtes adorée présente et 'absente. Nos hommages à tout ce qui vous appartient, à 'tout ce qui vous entourent.' *

In Paris the play was now at its highest vogue, and performances at private houses vied with the Théâtre Français and the Opéra-Comique. Voltaire deciding to have 'Tancrède' given at Paris, Madame d'Épinay and her friends were in a

* Voltaire to Madame d'Épinay, April 25, 1760.

state of excitement and expectation. All Paris was present, but they who were naturally privileged had places together, and its tremendous ovation was afterwards discussed at the supper which followed at Madame d'Épinay's. The next winter Diderot produced 'Le Père de Famille' at the Théâtre Français. This work ranked with 'Tancrède,' and its appearance was a great event for Paris. The detestation and fear of the Court for Diderot and his teachings was well known, and the advent of the piece attracted the more attention. Tragedies in verse being the received form of plays, and their heroes, as a matter of course, kings and princes, the 'Père de Famille,' written in prose, its characters belonging to the bourgeoisie, which aimed at simplicity, naturalness, broke with all traditions: it was as much a point of departure for the modern drama as was the 'Castle of Otranto' for romance. Diderot's friends, aware of the formidable cabal raised against it, were apprehensive, but the sympathy of the audience was gained from the first. Diderot was too nervous to attend the first performances, but the third night he joined Madame d'Épinay, and a joyous supper followed at her house, as after 'Tancrède,' and congratulations, compliments, criticism on the staging and the acting, and hopes and plans for future triumphs ended the evening.

But all the time Madame d'Épinay's domestic anxieties were steadily increasing. The wild and extravagant life of M. d'Épinay obliged her to leave La Chevrette for their smaller property of La Briche, which also soon had to be given up. Her town house was gone, and necessity drove her from one quarter of Paris to another. Destitution stared her in the face. And beside the ills of poverty she was forced to suffer a greater misfortune: the disappointment of her hopes in her son came to crown her sorrows. In spite of her careful education he developed more and more the humiliating characteristics of his father. The unlimited control which parents had over their children before the Revolution is curiously shown in his case. Utterly unable to restrain him in his downward career or to pay his debts, his father and mother asked for and obtained a *lettre de cachet*, under which they threw him into prison, where he was left two years; again contracting debts, his parents protected themselves by depriving him of his civil rights; finally he was exiled from France. Madame d'Épinay was more fortunate in her daughter. Brought up in the faith of her pious grandmother, she clung to her belief

throughout that period when the most religious were scarcely Deists. At fifteen she was happily married, and her mother rejoiced that the 'douce vicomtesse' should be established and out of reach of her father.

As worldly prosperity declined the reputation of Madame d'Épinay became more widespread and attained its greatest celebrity. Any evening might be seen in her salon the Comte de Fuentes, Spanish Ambassador, and his sons, Prince Pignatelli and the Marquis de Mora, the latter celebrated for his connexion with Mlle. de Lespinasse—all three friends of Galiani; the Marquis Caraccioli, also intimate with Galiani; the Baron de Gleichen, of Denmark, one of Madame du Deffand's habitués, and desperately in love with her friend the charming Duchesse de Choiseul; and the Comte de Crentz, afterwards First Minister to Gustavus III. Lord Stormont, the English Ambassador, did not arrive in Paris until after Galiani's recall, but he had so high an opinion of him that when a discussion which so often arose grew high, he would invariably suggest that Galiani should decide it. Once he and Madame d'Épinay were opposed on the question whether a man be better judged by his contemporaries or posterity, and the abbé agreed with the Englishman that contemporaneous judgement was the more likely to be correct. In 1767 Rousseau, half mad, embroiled with Hume, returned from his unhappy visit to England, and appeared again in Paris to cast another shadow on her life, but the reading from the 'Confessions' was soon interdicted by the police as libel.

The Abbé Galiani, his recall demanded by the Duc de Choiseul, had left Paris in the opening summer of 1769; it was a great deprivation to Madame d'Épinay and her salon, for all of whom he was the 'cher abbé,' while for him:—

'Je suis toujours inconsolable d'avoir quitté Paris . . . il ne s'agit pas de mon plaisir seul, il s'agit de ma vie; je sens et j'éprouve tous les jours davantage qu'il m'est physiquement impossible de vivre hors de Paris. Pleurez-moi pour mort si je ne reviens pas.'*

By long and intimate letters they attempted to bridge over the separating distance, and their correspondence, which lasted till her death, was henceforth a great resource to her: for beside the power of eloquence the abbé possessed that more human force, the gift of sympathy; and though his letters lack something of the gaiety which Paris and congenial companions inspired, they, like his conversation,

* Lettres de l'Abbé Galiani à Madame d'Épinay, vol. i. p. 7.

are intuitive, spontaneous, and full of sallies of wit and flights of fancy. Madame d'Épinay admired his mind, appreciated his kind heart, and enjoyed his good spirits. From the beginning of their friendship she wished the public to have the benefit of his ideas, and urged him to write. As far back as 1765 he had depended on her judgement:—

'Je veux retoucher au style et aux scènes. . . . Ennoblissez-moi le rôle du consul, rendez-moi le valet plaisant, la précieuse ridicule; voilà ce que je vous demande. Quelques scènes mériteraient d'être allongées. Si vous ne voulez vous donner tant de peines, au moins marquez-moi les fautes de langue, les bassesses de style et ce qui vous choque le plus.'*

One is made to realise how much he valued her power of criticism, and he naturally looked to her for assistance in that time of trial when his hurried leave prevented him from bringing out the 'Dialogues sur les Blés.' The celebrated work which was to draw down such violent denunciation was barely completed, and Galiani entrusted it to Madame d'Épinay and Diderot to revise—a labour by which the book was much the gainer—and to see it through the press; no light task in face of the declared enmity of the Duc de Choiseul. Grimm, invited to Germany about the same time, also left with them the continuance of the 'Correspondance 'Littéraire.'

It was not the first time that Madame d'Épinay had helped Grimm in this undertaking. Their collaboration had its beginning in discussions as to material, for these letters to the different Courts of Europe held the place of the literary, artistic, and society journals of to-day; criticism, for which her analytic faculty and her power of observation made her a valuable collaborator, followed, and by 1762 they had begun systematic work together. Literary labour was not new to Madame d'Épinay; her early letters, written for the instruction of her son, were put into form and printed when she was in Geneva with a 'Portrait' of Madame d'Houdetot under the title 'Lettres 'et Portrait.' The atmosphere of the period was so critical that Madame d'Épinay was obliged to criticise herself, and it is with an ingenuous and engaging candour which not only attracts us by its naïve self-revelation to the personality of a woman who has been dead for a century and a half, but explains the charm which was felt by everyone who entered her house. Madame d'Épinay, like other leading French-

* Lettres de l'Abbé Galiani à Madame d'Épinay, vol. i. p. 2.

women of the eighteenth century, though intimate with men of letters, never attempted to rival them in their own field: she was satisfied to be supreme in her own salon. For if we glance critically at what she wrote we find that 'Mes 'Moments Heureux' is but a collection of letters, personal sketches, and a few verses, which, however interesting from the point of view of character, it would be exaggeration to regard as a serious literary study; not that it lacks many of the qualities which are most delightful in a book, but they are such as are found in the spontaneous form of correspondence or diaries. 'L'Amitié de Deux Jolies Femmes' and 'Un Rêve de Mademoiselle Clairon' were never published in her lifetime, and are mere trifles. The 'Conversations 'd'Émilie' on her favourite educational theme, and which brought her unexpected fame, can scarcely be called a literary work, nor would it now excite much interest; it was but advice such as any reasonable and careful mother would impart to her child; but it is for this very reason that it is so remarkable, for it was a sign of a moral revolution, of the rebellion of thoughtful women against habits and customs from which no one had suffered more than Madame d'Épinay herself. Appearing early in January of 1775, it immediately excited a widespread interest and passed through many editions. All her friends hastened to express their appreciation and delight, and Catherine II. of Russia, to whom the second edition was dedicated, adopted Madame d'Épinay's methods for the education of her grandson. She stood in need of these evidences of the friendship upon which she had all her life so much depended. Grimm was now almost constantly abroad, Diderot had joined him; and while they were enjoying St. Petersburg and the attentions of the Empress, Madame d'Épinay, now a confirmed invalid, suffering, sad, grew daily more feeble; and so desperate was her pecuniary state that had it not been for a pension from Catherine to mark her appreciation of the author of 'Les Conversations 'd'Émilie,' she would have been in actual want.

For a little time Voltaire's dramatic return to Paris in 1778 cheered her; to a letter apprising Galiani of the great event, he replied: 'Vos deux lettres du 1er et du 22 mars 'm'ont fait un plaisir infini, et ont diminué mon regret de 'n'être pas à Paris pour y voir le phénomène de Voltaire. 'Vous me le peignez avec des couleurs si vives que je le 'vois, que je l'entends, et je suis de bon cœur.' He had taken a house near her, but her joy was soon turned to mourning. The excitement of continued demonstrations, culminating in the apotheosis at the Théâtre Français, was too great for

Voltaire's strength. He died May 30, and the public idol was refused a grave in the city which had worshipped him.

In 1783 'Les Conversations d'Émilie' was crowned by the Academy and given the prize of utility founded by Monthyon, and then presented for the first time. Saint-Lambert was chosen to announce it to her. Three months later she died.

Madame d'Épinay had never thought of printing her 'Mémoires' by which she is to-day celebrated, and which will never die, but, like most of those who wrote, read parts to her intimate friends. The book did not reach the public till 1818, when it ran through three editions in six months, and when the sensation incident to its personal features had subsided it was still in demand. More perfectly, perhaps, than any other work, it gives us a picture of the polished society of France in the middle and last half of the century. Madame d'Épinay was forty when she conceived the idea of writing down the story of her life; the form of a romance was necessary out of regard for the well-known people about her, but if their names are changed, their sentiments, sayings, and doings belong literally to that society in which she was a centre; and in her life we have a complete and faithful record of a woman of the world of the eighteenth century, and by its pitiless light we are able to understand some of the causes which led to the Revolution. Madame d'Épinay had a philosophical order of mind, and if this interdicted imagination, we are the gainers in these 'Mémoires,' knowing them to be exact portraits and free from any embroidery of fancy. The slight veil demanded by good taste discarded, we are in the midst of a world which vividly lives, even though it is a mental world of sensation, and of ideas, rather than of events. Nevertheless her salon was the pivot about which circled the greatest activity; it was filled with men who ordered events, thinkers whose minds were bent on untangling the knotty problems of their age; it was the salon more than any other which quickened the philosophical movement of her time.

There are curious points in common in the work of Madame d'Épinay and Rousseau. Education is the absorbing subject of thought with each, and their best work is on this favourite topic; his ideal pupil he names Émile, while hers is Émilie. In the 'Mémoires' and 'Confessions' we find the same period, the same people, and the same philosophy, and they vie with each other in their extraordinary frankness. But the 'Mémoires' are a surer guide to a knowledge of her character and of the celebrated persons of whom they

both write. They may indeed be said to be pre-eminently the most truthful picture-writing of the remarkable epoch in which she lived.

Madame d'Épinay was essentially religious, though the close connexion of a character wanting in self-reliance and leaning on advice with the philosophers naturally had its effect in outward aspect. She was a good daughter and mother, and brought up her children in strict observance of their religious duties; she visited the poor and sick with them, encouraging their natural sympathy with distress, and pointing out their connexion with humanity in its different forms. We see the application of her philosophical ideas to the practice of life when she established her son in business, which she wished him to learn from the foundation, and which she regarded from an absolutely unbiassed and modern point of view:—

'Je ne saurais vous plaindre beaucoup d'être obligé de descendre les chandelles, de balayer le comptoir, parce que tout cela n'est pas bien fâcheux; il n'y a qu'un sot préjugé qui puisse attacher à cela de l'humiliation; et ne vous y trompez pas, s'il y a une distance réelle entre la profession du négociant et la place de fermier général, elle est toute à l'avantage du négociant; car remarquez que celui-ci vit et s'enrichit du travail de sa tête et de son génie, et l'autre vit et s'enrichit sur les impositions du particulier . . .; mon projet . . . n'est pas de vous laisser dans le commerce, non que je dédaigne cet état pour vous, mais, au contraire, parce que vous n'avez pas assez de talent pour vous y distinguer.'*

Madame du Deffand and Madame d'Épinay, though very different in age, died in the same year, each to the last holding a brilliant court of her own in the same city at a time when intellect alone had power to place a woman at the head of society. No two persons could have been more opposite in temperament, but each seized the one career open to the ambition of a woman of rank and good fortune in the eighteenth century—a social supremacy over a group of remarkable friends and associates. Through years of ill-health Madame d'Épinay, her children absent, her friends separated, remained courageous and interested in the world about her, preserving her charm to the last, broadening in mind and di position as the years went by, and amply redeeming the mistakes of youth—'Elle s'égarera, mais 'elle ne se perdra jamais'—mistakes inseparable from an education and from a state of society inimical in the highest degree to the right developement of a woman's intellect and character, and of which she was at once a victim and a type.

* Madame d'Épinay to her son, November 6, 1763.

ART. VIII.—*Aus den Tiefen des Weltmeeres.* Von CARL CHUN. Schilderungen von der deutschen Tiefsee-Expedition. Mit 6 Chromolithographieen, 8 Heliogravüren, 32 als Tafeln gedruckten Vollbildern, 2 Karten und 390 Abbildungen im Text. Jena: Gustav Fischer. 1900.

LATEST of the ocean-ranging deep-sea searchers, the German steamer 'Valdivia,' within nine months from Hamburg to Hamburg, carried out an exploring voyage of 32,000 knots. The enterprise was begun with frank recognition of all that had been done by the 'Challenger' and other famous vessels hailing from almost every civilised country that possesses a seaboard. In testimony of this the experience of Sir John Murray was eagerly consulted and warmly acknowledged. The trawls, the dredges, the nets, the lines, the sounding-machines, the mud-tubes, the thermometers, the water-bottles, were procured of the most approved patterns, quite without respect to their having been made in Germany, France, England, America, or elsewhere. The only thing considered was that the apparatus should be the best for the intended purpose—for sounding the ocean, taking its temperature at all depths, testing its transparency from the surface downwards, finding out whether such organisms as bacteria can live in its abysmal depths, and capturing creatures wherever there are creatures to be captured. To the last of these objects the perfection of instruments was of the first importance, as shall presently be explained. In order to practise their 'prentice hands on classic ground, the naturalists of the 'Valdivia,' confessedly by no means seamen to the manner born, directed their course first to the Farös, with a pleasant remembrance of Sir Wyville Thomson's work in that region. Taking Edinburgh on their way they had a foretaste of the impressive experiences which strange islands were frequently to yield them, for, as they drew nigh to the land, we are told that they descried the natives on the strand practising on its grassy slopes their national game of 'goalf.' From the stormy North Sea, with its strange contrasts of temperature and copious variety of marine organisms, the vessel breasted the waves, the angry waves, past the west coast of Ireland and past Gibraltar in direct southward course to the Canary Islands. Thence a more zigzagging track was followed from Cape Bojador to the Cape Verde Islands, and across three great alternating streams, namely, the Guinea

current which flows from west to east, and on either side of it the westward-moving north and south equatorial currents. Halts were made at Victoria in the Cameroons, at the mouth of the Congo, and at Great Fish Bay, on the way to the Cape of Good Hope and the Agulhas Bank. From Cape Town the 'Valdivia' pursued her adventurous track southward to Bouvet Island, thence eastward over very considerable depths to latitude 64° 10′ 3″ S., not far from the glacial Enderby Land. Then, escaping from the perils of floating ice and surrounding icebergs, she laid her course northwards to Kerguelen and onward to St. Paul and New Amsterdam, two morsels of land in lonely companionship between the far-off Australia and Africa to the right and left, and between the great Southern and Indian Oceans to the south and the north. From these points, steadily pursuing its special objects on the way, the expedition traversed warmer and warmer seas to the Cocos or Keeling Islands and the fascinating islets off the west coast of Sumatra, 'baskets of flowers afloat,' as we read that they have been poetically called. Long the explorers lingered among the treasures terrestrial and marine of this fairyland, till sated with wonders, almost overwhelmed with rare specimens and new species, their minds crowded with facts and problems and memories of bewitching scenery, they sped across the Bay of Bengal to Ceylon, and by the Maldives, the Chagos group, and the Seychelles to Somaliland on the east coast of Africa. Finally they hastened homeward through the Red Sea and the Mediterranean to the goal whence they had started.

The genial and agreeable record of the voyage, which Professor Chun has made equally attractive to the scientific and the general reader, will also beyond doubt be gratifying to the patriotic sentiment of Germany. A kind of international competition in exploring deep waters has been active for some thirty or forty years. The latest to engage in the research, though usefully warned by earlier mistakes and profiting by improvements in methods and machinery, might easily have found themselves severely handicapped by the mere fact of their bringing up the rear. They might only have had to tell over again a twice-told tale. Absolute freshness and novelty in the results could scarcely be expected; but there was also the risk that these might only prove a disappointing repetition of other men's achievements, a meagre gleaning after an exhaustively garnered harvest. Nothing of this kind has happened. Enterprise,

endurance, well-instructed enthusiasm in all the members of the expedition, and an admirable oneness of mind between its scientific leader and the skilful captain of the ship, have impressed on the voyage of the 'Valdivia' a stamp of originality. The conclusion may be drawn that as in earlier expeditions than this such characteristics had their reward, so in others still to come they may expect it. Though the globe is small, Nature is large, and in spite of all that has been recently done, we shall assuredly still leave a good sheaf of mysteries for the ambition of posterity to thresh out.

On leaving the Cape, as we have seen, the 'Valdivia' was southward bound. There was no question of reaching the south pole, or going anywhere near it. And yet the explorers were bent on a bold scheme of discovery. To understand this the reader should kindle his imagination by the idea of some romantic endeavour in our own hemisphere. Let him conceive of a well-appointed steamer starting from the Straits of Gibraltar and attempting to pick up an obscure point like Whitby, on the coast of Yorkshire. The journey northward, so far as latitudes are concerned, would fairly correspond with the journey southward between the Cape and that Bouvet Island which the 'Valdivia' was desirous of reaching. To any who may therefore think that this should be as easy to hit as our own little picturesque seaport, it must be explained that the land called after Lozier Bouvet, who discovered it in 1739, had subsequently many times been sought for in vain. Captain Cook could not find it in the eighteenth century, nor Sir James Clark Ross in the nineteenth. Moore was unsuccessful in 1845. Consequently, just as Dickens's Betsy Prig expressed her conviction about her friend's often-quoted, but never forthcoming, Mrs. Harris, that 'there never was no such person,' so geographers were disposed to believe that Bouvet Island was nothing but a snow-wraith or a melting berg, one of those phantom lands not unfamiliar in Antarctic records. Professor Chun, however, recognises that Lindsay and Norris, in the service of the Enderbys, had confirmed the existence of the island or islands in 1808 and 1825, and that on one of them Norris landed a party of men, who by stormy weather were compelled to stay there nearly a week. But it ought also to be mentioned that Sir James Ross, on hearing of this occurrence from Mr. Enderby, relinquished the scepticism which his own failure to find the group had previously engendered. In fact, as reported by the navi-

gating officer, Walter Sachse,* the 'Valdivia' tried all the recorded positions without success, and, as a last resource, steered for a point which represented the mean of the earlier observations. This course brought them, not indeed to any welcoming shore, but to an indubitable mass of land. Whether this realises all the previously named islands or not, its own position is settled with exactness, its relation to the surrounding depths is determined, and other features are displayed which invest it with considerable interest, and also help to account for the veil of vagueness in which it has been so long enshrouded. Though the Antarctic circle is drawn at 66° 30′ south, this island, so remote from inclusion within that circle, is to all intents and purposes Antarctic. It is a small thing to say that it is capped with snow. The snow-line descends to the sea-level. Not only are glaciers conspicuous, but most parts of the coast are barricaded against intruders by steep cliffs of ice. Fogs are frequent. The sea round about the island runs so high that landing is often impossible and perhaps always hazardous, while, as experience has shown, re-embarkation may be exposed to very disagreeable chances. It proved in the sequel that the sea temperature was higher off Enderby Land close to the Antarctic circle than it was in the vicinity of Bouvet Island. The difference is accounted for by a tongue of glacial water, in the one case thrust northward, and by a warm current in the other case flowing southward. In this outpost of the southern ice, however accurately its position has been ascertained, there are few attractions either for pleasure-seekers or commerce. But for the naturalist the surrounding sea is full of riches and novelty, just as the 'Challenger' and other exploring vessels have found it to be at Kerguelen, which was also visited by the 'Valdivia.' The force of contrast, by which all human emotions are so strongly influenced, is well illustrated in respect to the island just mentioned. Most expeditions approach it from the north, and find it almost inexpressibly bleak and forbidding; but, as Professor Chun explains, his party coming to it from the ice-barrier, after several weeks' exposure to violent storms and bitter cold and dangerous bergs, and happening upon a spring-like calm and a temperature of about 40° Fahrenheit,

* Die deutsche Tiefsee-Expedition, 1898–1899. Nach den Reiseberichten an das Reichs-Amt des Innern und an das Reichs-Marine-Amt. Berlin, 1899, p. 116.

thought Kerguelen a little paradise. Other contrasts of more importance and less dependent on the personal equation were carefully studied by the German observers. In the discussion of these some apology may be thought needful for the introduction of such names as Plankton, Neekton, and Benthos, but they do not really require more mental effort for their reception than those of Porthos and his companions in the well-known romance by Alexandre Dumas.

In the simplest living organisms there is sometimes an indeterminate character which makes it difficult to say whether they belong to the animal or vegetable kingdom. Among the minutely microscopic flagellate infusoria, the family Peridiniidæ includes forms with and without chlorophyll. The latter may have the higher claim to be regarded as animals, but they are incapable of rendering the inestimable service which the others perform, since it is only vegetables that by the action of light on chlorophyll or its equivalents can assimilate inorganic substances. It almost suggests a pyramid resting on its apex, when we think of the infinitesimal unicellular plants to which the vast world of organic life is indebted, through a long chain of intermediaries to the most exalted forms, for its nutrition, and probably also for its evolution. One might be tempted to imagine that, where fishes and crabs can live, an insignificant vegetable that can feed on flint might also contrive to eke out an existence. But this is to reckon without the sunlight, which gives to plants their feeding power. For those who desire to divide the ocean into vertical zones it has been found convenient to do this partly by reference to the occupants, calling those the Benthos which are limited to the deep floor and the stratum of water immediately above it. Contrasted with these are the Plankton, organisms living free in water, but incapable of resistance to the driving action of winds or currents, and the Necton or Neekton, swimmers that are able to resist those forces. Creatures constitutionally sessile or of feeble swimming powers that can only be obtained by hauling them up from an abyssal home are properly attributed to the benthos. That mass of water from the surface downward which remains accessible to light contains the vegetable plankton. There is left a spacious interval wherein no plants can grow, no winds disturb the animal plankton, an interval penetrated by a perpetual drizzle of *débris*, traversed by slow-moving currents, and more or less occupied by swimmers that,

like the benthos, can support great cold, great pressure, and impenetrable darkness. The greatest depth that has been sounded in the ocean is 5,269 fathoms. Under the most favourable conditions of clearness it is reckoned that five thousand of these fathoms must be absolutely dark, leaving in any case less than three hundred for the plant plankton layer, in which alone diatoms and other lowly aquatic plants can live. The more these thrive the less transparent will the water become, so that by their own success they limit that penetration of light which is essential to their own activity.

While the vegetable plankton is limited to an extraordinarily thin superficial layer, completely disappearing under about 220 fathoms, below that limit, down to the floor of the sea, animal organisms are found living often in surprising abundance. It is stated by Professor Chun that in one haul of the closing-net from a depth of about 2,500 fathoms they found living radiolaria, living copepoda of four genera, numerous lively larvæ of the same, and a living ostracode. 'From these enormous depths up to the 'surface,' he continues, 'our closing-net at every haul 'without exception has brought to the light of day a 'number of animal organisms.' To those already mentioned are added, in increasing numbers towards the surface, globigerinæ, sagittæ, larval annelids, medusæ, amphipods, schizopods, appendiculariæ. The closing-nets at present in use are not adapted for capturing large animals, but apart from this those used by the Prince of Monaco and the 'Valdivia' may be considered as having closured a long-continued debate. It can no longer be reasonably denied that there is an abundance of freely swimming or freely hovering species in that enormous tract of ocean which is neither basal nor superficial. The open trawls and dredges of the early researches left open also the question that has now been solved. Creatures taken in a secure cage which had not been opened till it reached a certain depth and was again closed before it quitted that depth, have their horizon sufficiently determined. Collateral evidence supports the direct proof. An open net is let down to a small depth, and secures a great variety of species. The same or a similar net is lowered at the same station to a much greater depth, and secures species which are practically never taken in hauls near the surface. The inference is tolerably obvious, and is not materially shaken by the fact that occasionally a deep-sea form may be met with at the surface in a more

or less helpless condition. Animals which habitually live under a pressure of several hundred atmospheres no more like a sudden transference to the upper regions than we should like a descent into theirs. That the inhabitants of the vast unillumined realms in which no green stuff grows can yet find sustenance is thus explained. The vegetation of the upper waters not only feeds such animals as can come into the garden for it, but its mortal remains, long preserved by the salinity of ocean water and in the 'cool 'chamber' of the deep sea, furnish some amount of nutriment in every or almost every stratum. Even were it not so, the animals which devour the plants in the plankton layer are themselves devoured by deeper-ranging animals, and these by others in orderly succession down to the basement. As Professor Chun suggests, the bright surface waters are the rich man's table, from which crumbs fall to the meagrely furnished floor. He speaks of that floor as one on which no human eye can ever look. But it is never quite safe to speak of impossibilities, and already the prospect opens that by help of the electric light we may have photographs of the submarine abysses, and even by some contrivance of electricity see with our own eyes not only the picture but the scene itself.

That the marine commonwealth is a vast organisation for eating and being eaten must not disturb us. It is the same on land; and yet, with exceptions so few as not to be worth counting, all creatures find life worth living. Even in the intellectual world the highest education consists in teaching us to feed—to feed on the thoughts of others that we may supply thoughts for others to feed on. That the bathybial animals, like perhaps the majority of authors, are not pampered by any excess of this world's goods is indicated frequently by peculiarities in their structure, which, as the ingenious Professor observes, may be regarded as the signature of a never-ceasing hunger. A new genus, Megalopharynx, its name meaning 'the mighty gullet,' has been established for a deep-sea eel, which but for its long wisp of a tail might be described as all mouth. Among the prawns one species has antennæ nearly five feet long strangely outstretched from a body of less than twelve inches. Others are spoken of with feelers ten to twenty times as long as the body. The walking legs of crabs transmuted into supplemental grasping claws, the eyes of fishes and of cuttles projected telescope-wise from the head, may well also be arrangements for enabling the possessors to seize every chance of obtaining

food. The monstrous developement of eyes in a sunless world has long ceased to be a mystery, since multitudes of creatures in almost every division of the animal kingdom carry their own lamps. Fishes, crustacea, cuttles, can often light up a splendour which is fascinating to the human eye. In another sense we know it to be fascinating also to many of the creatures on which the luminous ones wish to prey. But it must be confessed that evidences of ravening hunger are not wanting at the surface. Broken bottles and alcoholic specimens are swallowed without question by the audacious shark. That monster somehow contrives to feed even on the echineis, the sucker-fish which confidingly sticks to its sides. On one occasion a swarm of gold mackerel (Coryphæna) advanced upon the ship with strenuous leaps and bounds. It was a gallant sight to see them in the uncommonly transparent water of the Indian Ocean glistening in every shade of gold and green and blue; but these resplendent fishes actually leapt out of the water in their thronging eagerness to take the treacherous metallic bait that was offered them.

The horizontal distribution of the plankton was one of the points which the naturalists of the 'Valdivia' were specially desirous of investigating, and many interesting observations upon it are recorded. As the vessel passed from one current into another it was found that forthwith the character of the plankton changed. From earlier researches that was expected, and it was already known that the Peridiniidæ were capable of developing remarkable outgrowths, long rods and parachute-like expansions, which could keep these little organisms within reach of the sunlight. But then the question arose why these remarkable adaptations prevailed in the Guinea current, while in species proper to the north and south equatorial currents they were dispensed with or greatly reduced? The answer is that the Guinea current, with more warmth and less salinity, has a smaller specific gravity, so that to keep themselves afloat the tiny organisms must here spread sails or outriggers or other apparatus which they do not need in a denser medium. It has been already explained that the plankton does not live for itself alone. We need not, therefore, be surprised to learn that there is a direct relation of abundance or otherwise between it and the life at lower levels. Both in the Arctic and Antarctic regions the plankton is, at least at certain parts of the year, extremely rich, and the depths, too, are abundantly peopled. In the temperature of abyssal waters

there is such frigidity everywhere that the 'Valdivia' provided itself with a freezing-tank for the special behoof of such bathybial animals as might be hauled up alive in the tropics. It is to the equability of abyssal coolness that may perhaps most reasonably be attributed the wide range of some marine species. A Miocene Mediterranean sea connecting the West Indies with the Indian Ocean in the east has been suggested; but in the course of ages it may have been quite as easy for many deep-sea species to double the Cape of Good Hope as to carry on their migrations by way of a prehistoric Suez Canal. Geologists will no doubt consider the claims of these alternative routes. To geologists Professor Chun commends the study of plankton with regard to two features which offer valuable links between the present and the past. On the one hand, it is found that certain genera are adapted to different levels; and on the other that, in sinking, their remains go through tolerably well-defined stages of dismemberment and decay. If, then, the fossilised relics show nothing but a wasted débris, the inference is that the rock stratum containing them was laid down in a deep sea, whereas well-preserved representatives of a genus which only flourishes at a high level in the sea will be a strong argument that the containing stratum was formed in shallow water.

From the point of view of systematic natural history the German expedition appears to have had an overwhelming success. At times the explorers were so flooded with rarities that, like any private collector, they were at their wits' end to find bottles and other receptacles in which to stow their treasures. Prawns of price, things unwonted, to be coveted singly for museums and lecture-rooms, came up in thousands, and had to be eaten for breakfast in default of more suitable storage. Hundreds of new species, we are told, were obtained. Happily for the overburdened memory of the student, these will not all be thrown into the scientific arena at once. It will take years efficiently to work them all out and publish them. Indeed, if a fault may be found with Professor Chun's really delightful volume it is just this, that he has allowed himself some laxity of premature publication. A book of travels is an inconvenient vehicle for making known new species, and the hardship to the student is increased when in such a book they are inadequately described, or figured without a description. This is a technical fault, which is unfortunately far from being without precedent. It does not affect the account given in

general terms of some very remarkable forms brought to light by the 'Valdivia.' Magnificent examples of the beautiful glass-rope sponges were obtained, and among them a Semperella nearly two feet eight inches high. The group of the amphidiscophora is named not from the shape of the sponges it includes, but from the shape of some of the spicules they contain. One of these when isolated proves to be a wonderful object. It might be described as a transparent rod, with a parasol-frame of flint glass at either end. The same sponges have spicules of another form, like serrated needles of a pine tree, also wrought in glass, and set as palisades to keep off intruders. These structures when first discovered were hailed with deserved admiration, and now a new wonder has been added to the old. The spicules of silicious sponges are, as is well known, usually microscopic objects or threads of great tenuity. It was not a little astonishing, therefore, to find a new species in which it is reckoned that the central needle may probably attain a substantial length of ten feet. Two specimens of the sponge were obtained, with the spicule fragmentary in both, but in one it was as thick as a man's little finger, and in the other the fragment was five feet long. In the molluscan genus Carinaria, wherein the animal has a translucent body and a carinate shell looking comically too small for its owner, a monstrous species, measuring over twenty-one inches, was captured off Ceylon. The Germans also had the satisfaction of obtaining a perfect living Spirula, a mollusc notable for the commonness of its little internal shell and the exquisite rarity of the complete animal. The collection further included the strange but well-known Xenophora, the carrier-shell, sometimes by conchologists made a member of their own company and called 'the conchologist' because of its queer habit of gathering other shells on to the projections of its own. 'One might 'almost believe,' says Professor Chun, 'that an artistic 'hand had taken part in the fanciful grouping.' On these alien empty shells are sometimes found other shells of living molluscs, making altogether a conglomeration such as is not unfamiliar in submarine society, though seldom of so eccentric an appearance as in this instance. More novel than the last was a capture made in depths from thirteen to sixteen hundred fathoms between the Maldive archipelago and the Chagos atolls. Here were obtained some very peculiar brachiopods. The species of this group are sometimes called lamp-shells, from a resemblance in some of them to the shape of an Etruscan lamp. They are superficially very

like bivalve molluscs, but in modern classification are entirely removed from the class of Mollusca. Even the name Brachiopoda, arm-footed, is founded on a mistake, the internal organs which Cuvier regarded as arms or feet not having, in fact, any locomotive function. Many of them are in adult life incapable of wandering at will, being fixed to some object of controlling size by a more or less flexible footstalk, which protrudes through a hole in the beak of the ventral valve. Those discovered by the 'Valdivia' show a remarkable adaptation to life on the globigerina ooze by the uncommon developement of this footstalk. In opposition to what is found in related species, it is here 'strongly 'elongated, and beset with numerous fine lateral branches, 'by means of which the globigerinæ are entangled or per-'forated.' The expert authority of Professor Blochmann decides that among brachiopods this extraordinary transformation of the peduncle is at present quite unique. In the class Tunicata Professor Chun is himself the expert for dealing with the appendiculariidæ. These have been defined as small free-swimming ascidians of long oval form, with swimming tail, resembling in the whole of their organisation the larvæ of other ascidians. From their tadpole-like aspect it was not unnatural that they should long have been erroneously considered to be themselves larval forms. The largest hitherto known appendicularia is the Megalocercus abyssorum, earlier discovered by Chun in the depths of the Mediterranean; but this, he explains, is a dwarf compared with the species taken by the 'Valdivia' in the vertical net let down to a depth of more than 1,100 fathoms off the Cape of Good Hope. That the creature proved to be nearly three inches and a half long, with a tail-fin broadening to an inch and a fifth, will not of itself arouse any amazement in the inexperienced. But the singularity of the discovery will be better appreciated by the help of some comparative measurements which the author supplies:—

'Every appendicularia,' he says, 'is composed of two sharply separated regions—namely, the trunk and the swimming tail. The trunk in forms living at the surface attains the size of a pin's head, but in the fritillariæ remains so small that it is scarcely distinguishable by the unaided eye. Our giant form possesses a trunk as large as a nut, an inch long and three-quarters of an inch broad.'

It is like the difference between a mouse and a mammoth.

In accord with the title of the volume, our attention has first been given to the wonders of the deep sea, and a con-

sideration of the intimate bond which unites the economy of its profoundest darkness with that of the often brilliantly illumined surface. At the surface itself there is a wonderful play of counteracting forces—organisms thriving in the light and thereby darkening the waters below them, icebergs with a faculty of dissolving the mists which are apt to gather suddenly and perilously round them, currents driving this way and that, so that the wayfarer may find himself warm near the poles and cool at the equator, surface water sometimes colder than that which is beneath it, with other eccentricities. The people of Cape Town, it is noted, have the unusual privilege of being able to bathe first in the cool waves of the Atlantic and then in the warm water of the Indian Ocean, at only the expense of an hour's drive from Table Bay on the one side to False Bay on the other.

As in other voyages so in this, the observers were at times gratified by scenes at sea, the beauty or grandeur of which they can find no adequate words to express. With a due respect to the honour of literature it is usual in these cases to say that no painter could reproduce on canvas the loveliness or the glory, and in this way to shelter verbal incompetence by twitting a sister art with its incapacity. To those who would ask him which part of the open ocean has left upon him the most abiding impression, Professor Chun is prepared to answer without hesitation the Antarctic sea. It is, however, a composite picture to which he refers, for first there is the grey cloud-covered sky mirrored in the grey waters; the long swell of the waves betokens a sea peacefully breathing in a deep slumber; a stillness of death prevails; the steam whistle shrieks discordantly on the night without waking an echo. Then a light breeze sets in, to grow presently into a raging storm, beating spicules of ice into the eyes of the mariner, and raising waves so long, so high, so crested with foam, as nowhere else are to be found. Now high over the masts, now down in the trough of the billows, great swarms of stormy petrels and mighty albatrosses encompass the vessel. Fields of floating ice break the monotony of the watery plain, and from it rise in majestic repose the surf-beaten precipices of icebergs, waiting but one touch of returning sunlight to reveal their dazzling whiteness and brilliant tints of azure. Trying for an echo in glacial regions, it should be explained, is not done for idle amusement. It is only a way of signalling to a berg for information as to its proximity. It is easy to conceive that the effects above described are not such as to

offer to the unheroic a highly alluring prospect, however animating it may be to cherish them in retrospect. There are other exhibitions which may not compete with these in solemn grandeur, but which are attended by less personal discomfort, and which show Nature in some of her most winning aspects. No observer fails to wax eloquent on the subject of marine phosphorescence. Sometimes admiration is engaged by the inexplicable fancifulness with which the glow-lamps of a particular species are arranged, sometimes by the enormous throng of the self-illumined organisms, sometimes by the exciting causes which call the lanterns into play, such as the lashing of the waves or the rapid transit of great fishes. In detail or in the mass, in calm, or in storm, this living light imposes on the human mind like an effect out of a fairy tale, where jewels can be bestowed with unstinted lavishness. Not, perhaps, inferior is the beauty of living corals, a beauty which, unlike that of phosphorescence, requires to be seen in the light of day. Thus we read, for example, 'No words can express the splendour 'of colouring within the lagoons; glimmering up out of 'the depths the coral reefs produce against a ground tone 'of blue the most diversified reflections in white and green 'and orange-red.' Madrepores and millepores, star corals and mushroom corals, and the well-known Mæandrinæ, both inside the lagoon and on the outer side of the reef, take part in the gaily-coloured display, a display totally different from that of the bleached skeletons of corals arranged in our northern cabinets. But not even coral gardens exhaust the list of bewitching scenes which navigators have the chance of enjoying at sea. Some may find a more delectable picture than any of those already suggested in that which met the eyes of the German naturalists when their ship was in the South Indian Ocean. Storms had ceased; the sun shone; the heat was not excessive; in a region free from currents the sea was as smooth as glass; on the surface were peacefully floating the wonderful hydrozoa known as Physaliæ or Portuguese men-of-war, and their kindred, the graceful blue Velellæ. Under these conciliatory circumstances the 'Valdivia' came upon the pleasing sight of thousands of albatrosses, seated in long rows on the bosom of the sea.

It must not, however, be forgotten that, just as the soldier maintains that the object of all war is peace, so the goal of every voyage is sure to be some point of land. Though his origin may have been in the sea, man has in course of time

become a thoroughly terrestrial animal, and those who read the volume now under review will soon find that it is far from being confined in treatment to the letter of its title. If all the things discussed may be said to be out of the deep sea, for a large number of them it is only in the sense that they never were in it. Among creatures, however, of which it may with tolerable confidence be affirmed that their ancestors, near or remote, lived in salt water, are the land crabs. Most or all of these are interesting on account of their habits, their cleverness, their audacity, or for one or more of these reasons. But of all land crabs, one which is familiarly known as the cocoanut crab, or the robber-crab (though it is not technically a crab, but a Pagurid, a macruran hermit), has surpassed all the rest in attracting human attention. It has somehow acquired an apparatus for breathing air. It has certainly acquired a taste for eating cocoanuts, and the art of making its bed out of the fibrous envelope of that useful nut. The account given of it by Darwin in the 'Voyage of the Beagle' is within every one's memory. In the 'Voyage of the Valdivia' likewise it comes in for notice. The naturalists of that expedition met with it at Diego Garcia, one of the many coral islands over the palm groves of which this crustacean is distributed. By day it hides in deep burrows at the foot of its favourite tree. But the coloured people are clever at digging it up, and they provided their German friends with fine examples, fourteen inches long. It is rather singular that, with its lengthened career of notoriety, it should still have a life-history open to discussion and remarkable additions. Precise and trustworthy determination of some of the disputed points is a thing as it were of yesterday. Yet the beginning of the story is connected by Major Alcock, F.R.S., with Sir Francis Drake in the sixteenth century.* He regards that illustrious admiral as the pioneer of Indian zoology, on the ground that he and his companions were the discoverers of the robber-crab; for, to anyone who knows that animal in the state of nature, he thinks the following quotation from the narrative of Drake's voyage will be sufficient proof of this:—

'Neither may we without ingratitude, by reason of the special use we made of them, omit to speak of the huge multitude of a certain

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* A Summary of the Deep-Sea Zoological Work of the Royal Indian Marine Survey Ship 'Investigator' from 1884 to 1897. By Major A. W. Alcock, M.B., C.M.Z.S, F.G.S. Calcutta, 1899, p. 2.

kind of crayfish, of such a size that one was sufficient to satisfy four hungry men at dinner. . . . They are, as far as we could perceive, utter strangers to the sea, living always on the land, where they work themselves earths as do the conies, or rather they dig great and huge caves under the roots of the most huge and monstrous trees, where they lodge themselves by companies together. Of the same sort and kind we found . . . some that, for want of other refuge, when we came to take them, did climb up into trees to hide themselves, whither we were enforced to climb after them.'

Here then are two of the problems started, which have since been much debated, whether the cocoanut-crab really climbs the cocoanut palm, and whether it visits the sea, an affirmative answer to the latter inquiry evoking a further curiosity to know when and why it does so. In a work published this year Major Alcock contributes his own observations on this species, which do not, indeed, affect either of the above problems, but tend to confirm his view as to the identity of the bold robber-crab with the 'crayfish' spoken of by the equally bold robber, Sir Francis Drake:—

'In April, 1899,' Alcock says, 'these great crabs were numerous in the jungle, which on South Sentinel* is remarkably open and accessible; they were found among the spreading roots of the large trees and under fallen trunks "by companies," the males being much more numerous than the females. During the heat of the day they were lethargic and kept cover, but when late in the afternoon a shower of rain fell, they became active. Individuals kept alive on board the "Investigator" remained hidden during the day, but were very active at night, when also any that died were eaten by their fellows. I observed one of these crabs drinking from a runnel of rain-water, by dipping the fingers of one of its chelipeds into the water and then carrying the wet fingers to its mouth.' †

That the Birgus latro, as it is called in science, really visits the sea for the purpose of depositing its brood therein has been recently determined by Dr. Arthur Willey at Lifu, in the Loyalty Islands. On the rocks there he saw a female of this species that had its abdomen covered with hatching 'zoæas,' as the young at a certain stage are called, and these were being washed off into the water. To a description of some of these juveniles which had been brought to

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* An uninhabited island in the Indian Sea about fifteen miles north-west of Little Andaman Island.

† Zoological Gleanings from the Royal Indian Marine Survey Ship 'Investigator.' By A. W. Alcock, C.M.Z.S., F.G.S., Major I.M.S. Simla, 1901, p. 66.

England, Mr. L. A. Borradaile appends the following interesting note :—

'The frequency of the visits of *Birgus* to the sea is still a matter of doubt. According to Darwin the crab is said to go down to the shore every night, "no doubt for the purpose of moistening its *branchiæ*." Von Suhm was told at Zamboanga that the creature "occasionally" visits the sea. Guppy and Whetham also mention this habit. On the other hand, Andrews knows nothing of it, and Dr. Willey tells me that, out of the breeding season, *Birgus* is taken only inland and at night by torchlight, or can be trapped in the same place by a cage baited with roasted cocoanut. The holes in which it lives are, at Lifu, inland under coral limestone. At Zamboanga they are said to be situated at the roots of trees in swampy ground. It seems pretty certain that the principal food of the animal is the fruit of the Pandanus and Coconut-trees, which it can obtain, if necessary, by climbing for it, and in this case there can be little doubt that its object in visiting the sea out of the breeding season would be to moisten its gills or lungs. If these be not moistened with fresh or salt water then we are met with two alternatives—either the interchange of gases must take place through a membrane which after a time becomes dry, or the membrane must be kept moist by an exudation from the animal. Certain observations on the genus *Coenobita* lead the writer to suppose that the latter is probably the case.' *

Proof of the climbing, which has been at different times asserted, doubted, and positively denied, has been produced in a very practical manner by Dr. Andrews, of the British Museum. He spent several months on Christmas Island, and there used his opportunity of photographing the crustacean in the very act of its steeplejack performance. Similarly, Mr. C. Hedley writes in regard to its occurrence on the atoll of Funafuti, 'As everybody knows, Birgus is as 'much at home on a palm-bole as a squirrel on an oak.' † It is strange, therefore, to read of Europeans as well as blacks on Diego Garcia assuring Professor Chun that they had never seen a climbing Birgus. On the other hand, they had frequently observed in the midst of the forest cocoanut shells filled with sea-water, which could not have got there in any other way than by transport on the part of the Birgus. Thus wonder succeeds to wonder in the history of this species.

The points at which the 'Valdivia' made its halts were no

* Willey's 'Zoological Results,' Part V. Cambridge University Press, 1900, p. 585.

† The Crustacea of Funafuti, by T. Whitelegge. Memoirs of Australian Museum, vol. iii. part 2, p. 128, 1897.

doubt chosen for a variety of reasons, but a dominating principle of selection must have been the desire to see, within the admitted range of the voyage, whatever the world has to show most striking in scenery, most singular in manners and customs, most glorious or surprising in botanical display. For the last of these purposes the sea is poorly furnished, although in just one particular it surpasses the land. For no terrestrial vegetation can produce fronds to compete in length with those of the gigantic kelp, Macrocystis pyrifera. This serviceable plant is eloquently described in the 'Voyage of the Beagle.'* It acts as an invaluable beacon to save the sailor from shipwreck. It is also an extraordinary museum of natural history. Its leaves are often encrusted with corallines, beset with beautiful compound ascidians, delicate polyps, shellfish, and nudibranch mollusca. Every part of it is frequented by innumerable crustacea. 'On shaking the great entangled 'roots a pile of small fish, shells, cuttle-fish, crabs of all 'orders, sea-eggs, starfish, beautiful holothuriæ, planariæ, 'and crawling nereidous animals of a multitude of forms all 'fall out together.' In this marine forest live numerous species of fishes, which become the food of cormorants, seals, and porpoises, and they in their turn, according to Darwin's view, so far supply the larder of the miserable Fuegian as to save him from the extremities of cannibalism and eventual extinction. With this account the comments of Professor Chun substantially agree. But whereas Darwin says 'I do 'not suppose that the stem of any other plant attains so 'great a length as 360 feet, as stated by Captain Cook,' Professor Chun affirms that fronds have been measured which give a length of not less than a thousand feet. If this astounding measurement can add dignity to the vegetation of Kerguelen Island, that locality, lying in a latitude nearly corresponding to that of Jersey and Guernsey, may well deserve some compensation for the poverty and sombreness of its inland flora. None the less, even this has its special points of interest. Thus the famous Kerguelen cabbage, Pringlea antiscorbutica, is said to be the only endemic plant which has no near relatives on the globe. Its range is strictly confined to those bleak spots in the southern ocean—Marion Island and the Crozet group, and the Kerguelen group, with Heard Island hard at hand. The 'cabbage' is described as having a not unpleasant,

* A Naturalist's Voyage Round the World, p. 240. Edition 1886.

bitter taste, and the value which it has for sailors is clearly expressed in its scientific name. All the more sad is it to read of the devastation wrought upon it by the rabbits, which a well-intentioned but unforeseeing friend of humanity introduced into Kerguelen. Other influences have stripped the island of the timber and underwood which it obviously once enjoyed. The evidence relied on for this assumption is on the one hand direct, consisting in the discovery there of silicified wood; on the other hand, inferential and resting on the presence of living weevils, Studer having ingeniously pointed out the intimate connexion between the habits of these beetles and a life in woods and forests.

The course of the 'Valdivia,' as already sketched, carried the explorers to many places at which sunshine and warm moisture have combined to cover the earth with a profusion of forms that enchant the spectator by the varied splendour of their foliage, their flowers of tender grace or dazzling colours, their fruits alluring or diversely strange. On many ocasions the German observers were able to visit some of those majestic and enduring monuments of the vegetable kingdom which one might fancy smiling serenely as they witness the rise and fall of empires, the coming in and passing away of fashions, the birth and death of countless swarms of moths and men. But even these proud trees are at the mercy of fools. At Teneriffe a pilgrimage was organised to visit the venerable dracæna or dragon-tree of Ycod. This tree, we are told, overshadowed the stone seats of the native king and his council in the days of their independence. After a hundred years of war waged with the Spaniards, those days came to an end at the close of the fifteenth century. The tree is still flourishing. But the peasant who owns it offered to sell his farm to Professor Chun for 700*l.*, with the historic tree into the bargain. Earlier he had been minded to cut it down as a rather too shady encumbrance to his garden, and only stayed his hand because an opportune influx of visitors made it more lucrative to let it live. In the age of this tree five hundred years would be a trifle if there is any truth in the estimate that another dracæna, the celebrated dragon-tree of Orotava, with which that of Ycod is favourably compared, may be six thousand years old. Kerner and Oliver, however, give this reckoning with all reserve.* Those distinguished botanists also say that 'the celebrated baobab (*Adansonia digitata*)

* The Natural History of Plants, vol. i. p. 720.

'was reckoned by Adanson, on the ground of the thick-'ness of the annual growth, to be about five thousand 'years old, but whether a miscalculation has not crept 'in must remain uncertain.' They speak of the girth of the baobab, or monkey's-bread tree, as reaching about 32 feet. Chun is content with assigning to it a limit of 28½ feet. Whether he saw the largest growths or not, there is, in his opinion, no tree more characteristic of the African savannah, none that more sharply impresses itself on the memory by its peculiar physiognomy, its irregular yet always typical modes of branching, its love of isolation, and its monstrous spindle-shaped fruits so conspicuous on their long stalks at the season when the tree is bare of leaves. Still, it would seem that a greater hold on his admiration was won by the Lodoicea Sechellarum, which he calls the proudest of all palms. A specimen was shown him in Ceylon as the glory of the botanical garden at Peridenyia. This was a dwarf compared with another example in the governor's garden at Mahé, in the Seychelles. 'But 'as I stood,' he says, 'in astonishment before this miraculous 'palm with its gigantic fruits, the assurance was given me 'that it afforded but a weak picture of the growth and 'magnificence which this princess of its race displays in its 'natural habitat.' That indigenous station is limited to Praslin and the adjacent island Curieuse. To this classic ground the zoological professor, with his eminent botanical colleague Professor Schimper, eagerly followed their friendly guides, the subsequent verdict being that 'he who has not 'seen the Lodoicea in the lonely valleys, where it is at 'home, that man knows not the Seychelles.' Straight as a needle spring the unbranched stems to a height of over 120 feet, to be surmounted by a crown of enormous fanlike leaves. More than twenty feet long and twelve feet broad are these deeply-serrated fans. The accompanying fruit, the famous and once mysterious Coco de mer, is described by Chun as the mightiest and heaviest in the vegetable kingdom. It is, however, very far surpassed in weight by fruits of the melon pumpkin, although that belongs to a more lowly order, which ought, perhaps, scarcely to be mentioned in the same breath with imperial palms.

If during the expedition plant marvels on land many times distracted the minds of the explorers from their deep-sea investigations, so also both by sea and land they were repeatedly fascinated by the bird life with which they came in contact. As usual in southern voyages, the penguins of several species appealed in many striking ways to notice.

Young ones were met with at Great Fish Bay, and the attention of ornithologists is specially invited to this as the first evidence of the advance of these birds into the tropical zone of the West African province. At St. Paul a species or variety peculiar to that lonely land was observed. In spite of the noise, and dirt, and stench, and imminent risk of being severely pecked, which prevail in a penguin rookery, the Professor owns that a naturalist can spend hours in one without growing weary of all the comical serious business that goes on, a mixture of peace and war, of family and tribal life, of loving attentions and bitter suspicions. There was evidently a certain sympathy between him and them, since, when he was driving some king-penguins to the beach and was inspired to enliven the solitude by lifting up his voice in a pious strain, they immediately responded with a solemn caw, caw, caw. On the other hand, as a visitor to their rookeries, while disclaiming acquaintance with the penguin language, he could not help inferring that, with their red eyes sparkling and their heads mischievously bent on one side, they were discussing his intrusion in very uncomplimentary terms. A certain amount of cynicism on their part is justified not only by man's behaviour, but it might even be said by that of nature. A mother penguin cannot leave her egg for a moment but what a sheath-bill, Chionis, dashes its beak into it. The sheath that lies over this bird's upper mandible, 'like a saddle with the pommel tilted up into 'the air,'* has been explained by Studer as a benevolent provision to prevent its nostrils from being stuffed up by the contents of the egg—the very thing which the enraged parent penguin would like to see happen to the piratical Chionis. But it is impossible to please every one. In the water, as is well known, the penguin has a dignity of its own. Thus in the height of a violent Antarctic tempest one of them long followed the ship, springing like a dolphin over the water with strong strokes of its fin-like wings. At other times it was observed that, however fast the steamer was moving, penguins could outstrip it with ease. Even in the humiliating position of captives on board, king-penguins were remarkable for the steadiness with which they kept their balance during the heaviest rolling of the vessel. Not more interesting, but undoubtedly far more beautiful, were many of the birds with wings that function as wings to mount the sky. The aerial wonder was seen, that must still

* Kidder and Coues, 'Natural History of Kerguelen Island,' p. 91, 1876.

make M. Santos Dumont jealous, of albatrosses following the ship for hours and even days together without the slightest sign of weariness. Acknowledgement is made of the service rendered by certain petrels (Procellaria antarctica and Priocella glacialoides), which hunt for food by preference in the surf that beats upon icebergs and so give warning of those dangerous neighbours. But, in regard to this group, Professor Chun says:—

'All properties which make petrels the most sympathetic companions of seafaring people are united in the wonderful snow-white petrel (Pagodroma nivea), the surest witness that ice is at hand. As if Nature had wished to surpass herself, she created a bird which in grace of flight and attractive colouring is beyond all compare. The plumage is white as snow, and competes in its silken sheen with the whiteness of the dazzling ice when lit up by the sun. Only the large expressive eye with its dark brown iris is bordered by some tiny feathers that are black; the web-footed legs are black, and so is the beak, the little, gently twittering beak, whereby the prey is snapped from the surface while the bird is on the wing. No bird has affected me so much as this stainless silken floweret of the Antarctic south; for hours together the eye was charmed to follow its graceful flight over the mountains and valleys of foam-crested waves, over fields of floating ice and peaceful ice-fringed bays.'

Descending once more to solid ground, it is proper for us to notice that 'the noblest study of mankind' was not neglected. Many observations are scattered through the volume that will interest the anthropologist and ethnographer. Some of these may even not be displeased by the tragic record of a great Cercopithecus, a long-tailed baboon, which had broken loose, and in a reckless leap to escape recapture fell overboard while the ship was going full speed. 'The unreserved antipathy which it had shown toward some 'of those concerned with oceanographic and biological in-'vestigations had made it the darling of the crew, and its 'fate excited universal regret.' But the mourners wept too soon. The patent log trailing behind the ship was caught by the dexterous monkey, which clung to it in spite of all twisting and twirling, and was in the end hauled on board again safe and sound. 'Not easily,' concludes the narrator, 'would any other beast, or even a man, imitate so dashing 'a feat.' It calls to mind, indeed, Macaulay's description of Horatius in his harness breasting the Tiber:—

'Never, I ween, did swimmer,
In such an evil case,
Struggle through such a raging flood
Safe to the landing-place.'

In the East it would appear that folks are rather less troubled about the missing link than is the case with European philosophers. In the highlands of Sumatra the Germans found, among an agreeable and cultivated population, that the general interest was chiefly concentrated not on themselves, but on their negro servant. At the hotels the Malay attendants never failed to ask what sort of meal they should provide for the 'orang hitam,' and where he would make his lair at night. Their respect for him had to be augmented by the Professor's reply that the negro was accustomed to eat a Malay every day for his dinner.

Among the islands off the west coast of Sumatra the Nias group was exceptionally attractive, on account of the extremely primitive character of its inhabitants. They might be described as models, if only the scantiness of their clothing were considered; but as notorious head-hunters they did not give promise of a quite simple-minded hospitality. They have repulsed the appeals alike of Mohammedanism and Christianity in favour of the old paths—their own long-established fetishism. The only concession to outer influence on the part of fetish worshippers seemed to lie in the fact that some of the carved images, by which they seek to scare away the spirits of the departed from the bodies of the living, are nowadays adorned with that fine flower of European culture, the cylindrical hat. The coffee-coloured people of Nias are small, but well formed, and in the event gave their visitors a kindly welcome. One man, taller than the rest, made a somewhat alarming demonstration, but when the German Professor took from between his own lips a lighted cigar and thrust it between those of the very moderately-sized giant all was well. An exceedingly pleasant afternoon was spent on the island, though conversation had to be conducted in Niasese on one side and Frankfort German on the other. On a subsequent occasion intercourse with a fine old Maldive islander was much more fluent, since luckily he 'had command of about 'six words of broken English.' From all that this volume reports one might be disposed to infer that savages and lower races, when humanely treated, are not so very savage and not so very low. The Chinese, too, who, in spite of their older civilisation, are often spoken of with unworthy disrespect, here meet with a kindly estimate. As seen at Padang they are warmly praised. An amusing account is given of the Chinese temple at that place. When a stranger enters, the priest refreshes him with a cup of delicate tea.

At the altar are depicted on one side the pains of hell, on the other the joys of paradise. In Christian art and English churches the pictured horrors are not without their counterpart; but there is distinctly local colouring in the scene which presents an amiable little maiden rendering to a Chinaman in paradise the incomparable service of fanning away the mosquitoes.

In following all the results recorded in this volume the reader will find himself not a little assisted by the very large number of excellent illustrations. These portray not only novel or characteristic inhabitants of the sea, but some of the most striking scenes of earth and ocean, marvellous trees, tropical vegetation in various aspects, birds in the act of flight, human beings of many types and in many stages of apparel, and their habitations, which in tropical lands appear almost always to have a natural grace beyond the reach of art. Art, perhaps, is not to be blamed for the ruthless destruction of all picturesqueness in the dwellings at Padang-Pandjang. There, as a precaution against fire, it is officially ordered that houses should be roofed with corrugated iron, instead of being thatched with fibres of the palm. Throughout the narrative of the 'Valdivia's' voyage a love of the beautiful is conspicuous. The expedition had in F. Winter a scientific draughtsman and skilled photographer. With him were seven amateurs, animated, we are told, by a *furor photographicus*, to whom the whole world presented a mere target at which snapshots might be taken. The pictorial results are charmingly combined with the verbal record. In Byron's 'Mazeppa,' when the tale was ended, 'the king had been an hour asleep.' There is nothing soporific in Professor Chun's narrative, although he makes one candid confession. At Dar-es-Salam the notables came out to the 'Valdivia' to witness the dredging operations. Among them was the Wali, all attention, ready with pertinent inquiries. Why, for example, did they sound in places where the sea was so certainly deep as not to offer the slightest danger? Why, at great expense, with extensive apparatus, did they haul up deep-sea animals of not the slightest practical value? The answers seemed rather to confuse the questioner than to enlighten him, and a little later, after the example of Swedish Charles, he was found in an armchair peacefully slumbering. The abstract love of knowledge, the intense desire to master difficult problems, the hope of obtaining a new vantage-ground for solving mysteries yet unforeseen, are not easy to explain by any

set formula even to those who share them, let alone those who do not. It should not, however, be supposed that these longings, explained or unexplained, can be gratified without cost. No doubt, compared with several other objects on which money is spent, the expenditure on all the scientific expeditions that have ever been equipped would be found to be trivial—a sum freakishly small. Probably, too, the outlay in life and health is not out of proportion to what is risked or sacrificed in many other avocations. But, that being conceded, it is still proper to notice that this voyage, like others of a similar kind, was far from being merely a pleasure trip. It included weeks of monotonous routine, weeks of tremendously hard work, the endurance by landsmen of prolonged and terrifying storms, and the endurance by men accustomed to a temperate climate of comparatively sudden changes from tropical heat to glacial cold, and from the latter back again to the former. Principally to this last incident is attributed the death on board ship in the Indian Ocean of the enthusiastic young physician and bacteriologist, Dr. Bachmann, who had joined as a volunteer for the love of science. Many, moreover, of the naturalists were attacked by malarial fever. The causes of it were not at that time so clearly understood as they have quite recently become. It was, therefore, an excusable but very unfortunate excess of zeal for scientific experience which led several of the voyagers to pass the night in native huts at Jabassi, a riverside village of the Cameroons. Lightly encountered, long to be lamented and endured, were the consequences of that one night passed in those far from aromatic dwellings, shared with negroes, mosquitoes, and rats. Much later in the voyage, at the Nicobar Islands, they observed the huts there constructed aloft on piles or trees, and Professor Chun reflects on this characteristic building custom of Malay and Papuan tribes, that it surely

'arose not simply from fear of attack, but also from experience, strengthened by long tradition, that it affords protection against malaria. Mosquitoes in general do not fly very high; if the Italian herdsman in the Campagna sleeps on lofty trestles, under which he kindles a smoking fire, it is that he is seeking to protect himself against the fever, in the same way as the aborigines who pen themselves in smoky pile-dwellings that can be almost hermetically closed.'

In return for hardships, inevitable or otherwise, the exploring company were not wholly without alleviations and rewards. Foremost they themselves would probably place the satisfaction of doing and of having done what they set

out to do. In reflection on the thrilling experiences now safely past, on scenes never to be forgotten, and on scientific successes, the sensitive temperament, the natural taste, the special knowledge of each individual will greatly vary the effect produced. But probably everyone on board the vessel, from captain to cabin boy, was pretty equally capable of appreciating the geniality with which the expedition was uniformly welcomed. English and Dutch, French and Germans, Africans and Asiatics, savages and civilised, men, women, and children, apparently without exception, showed themselves friendly, and, according to their several opportunities, did the honours of the world in its behalf. The 'Valdivia' was at the Cape before the war broke out, but matters were already becoming critical, since, at a banquet given to the German deep-sea explorers, Mr. Merriman expressed a wish that there could also be an expedition to sound the depths of the political ocean. On the same festive occasion Captain Krech, the accomplished and amiable commander of the vessel, had his health drunk with musical honours, in which we may trust Sir David Gill and his friends to have sung 'For he's a jolly *good* fellow,' rather than the less complimentary variant here reported, 'He is a jolly *old* fellow.' Some of the pleasures and amusements were unequally distributed. Only the ship's steward rode a sea-elephant. Only the ship's steward led a war-dance of South-Sea islanders. Only those who were crossing the line for the first time were, at the Equator, initiated into the worship of Father Neptune, a practical joke that is now decrepit. Only those of Northern origin enjoyed a snowballing match in the icy south. Only one individual did not enjoy it, and that was the astonished negro servant, who fled disgusted to his cabin. Many shared in the sport of shooting sharks, the vicious sharks that too evidently lusted after naturalists innocently tow-netting in an open boat. Setting sharks and penguins on one side, good humour and good feeling seem to have been notes of the voyage from first to last.

Though there has been only space for discussion of the German exploits, it must not be thought that during these late years either our own nation or others have been idle in the very same branch of research. At various points the 'Valdivia' came in contact with regions of marine investigation that had been or were being most sedulously explored by other surveys. The time is fast arriving, or has perhaps arrived, when it will be more useful to science that expedi-

tions, instead of roving over the whole globe, should confine themselves to definite areas. If such a view should be acted on, the course of the 'Valdivia' will be all the more memorable, as crowning a series of voyages which have not only made known, beyond all expectation, the living wealth of the oceanic world, but have kindled, beyond all precedent, a lively interest concerning it in a quite different world—the world of human intelligence.

ART. IX.—1. *Gleanings from an Old Portfolio.* Edited by Mrs. GODFREY CLARK. 1778–1784. (Privately printed.) Edinburgh: Douglas, 1895.

2. *Lady Louisa Stuart. Selections from her manuscripts.* Edited by the Hon. JAMES A. HOME. Edinburgh: Douglas, 1899.

3. *Letters of Lady Louisa Stuart to Miss Louisa Clinton.* Edited by the Hon. JAMES A. HOME. Edinburgh: Douglas, 1901.

'SEND me *Rokeby*: who the devil is he? No matter; he 'has good connexions and will be well introduced.' So wrote Byron to Murray, on seeing a book advertised, with which Lady Louisa Stuart had a close connexion. We may say the same of Lady Louisa herself; she has good connexions and is well introduced. As readers of Lockhart's 'Life' are aware, she was one of Scott's most outspoken and most valued correspondents. She was one of the select to whom the great secret was confided, many years before the 'Unknown' made public confession at the memorable banquet in the Waterloo Rooms. He could have given no stronger proof of his admiration and esteem. Nor was the confidence misplaced, for she was a woman who could keep the secret she must have been almost irresistibly tempted to betray. It is amusing to mark how she fences with it in the letters otherwise unreserved to her intimate correspondents. She writes on one occasion with affected innocence, 'I have lately heard the point of these books 'being W. S.'s violently contested, but without its working 'any change in my opinion, I own.' Lady Louisa had won Sir Walter's respect, and her letters show that she deserved it. He recognised in her a kindred spirit sympathising with his poetical fancies and romantic imaginings, and yet with sobriety of judgement and courage of opinion which did not shrink from indicting blemishes or shortcomings. He answers with mild deprecation when she reproaches him with the habitual foible of 'huddling up his endings' when weary of his latest subject and eager to break fresh ground. We were inclined to believe that had she not, with manifold distractions and little leisure, been a *grande dame de par le monde*, she might have written memoirs as sprightly though less scandalous than those of Brantôme; that she might have left portraits as striking as those of St. Simon, and letters that, as models of style, might have lived with those

of Madame de Sévigné. But greater familiarity with her literary efforts and the very miscellaneous contents of her 'Portfolio' induce us to modify these first impressions. There is a sense of over-elaboration and formality in her literary work, and when writing for even a limited circle of friends—it is notorious that she had always a horror of publication—she seems oppressed by a sort of stage nervousness. Her brightest fancies are somewhat obscure, as if some vapoury cloud interposed between the paper and her mental vision. On the other hand, nothing can be more admirable in its way than the unconsidered correspondence, in which she takes thought neither for fame nor the future. In these letters there is no misunderstanding the meaning: to her dying day they abounded in intense vitality; her opinions are fixed; her criticisms are trenchant; her arguments when those judgements are assailed are cogent and plausible. Few men or women of her time can have read as she had read. Her tastes seem to have been omnivorous as those of Johnson, though she had no pretension to his erudition or research; and like Scott she was blessed with a peculiar memory, which laid tenacious hold on all that appealed to it, but never cared to overload itself with abstruse or indifferent matter. So as it serves her even better in small things than in great, the charm of these letters is their exuberant vivacity. They are a rich repository of anecdote and reminiscence, and of political and social gossip, often tantalising from its incoherency, which anticipated such memoirs as those of Greville, or journals like those of Raikes. Like Horace Walpole she was much behind the political scenes, and not a few of her correspondents were nearly related to borough-mongers, who were powers behind the ministry, or men who had held high office.

The portrait prefacing the 'Letters' and the 'Gleanings' gives us the key to her temperament and character. It is the face of a young girl, not strictly beautiful, but with a laughing eye and the air of *espièglerie* for which there is no exact English synonym. She may have been outshone by Lady Portarlington, the best beloved of her sisters, to whom she freely unbosomed herself in her younger years, but to our mind the less regular features are more winning. It is a mystery why she should never have married, for she had no objection to wedlock. We are told of an early romance with a cousin, a certain Colonel Medows—in a note it is actually spoken of as an engagement; but the Colonel was apparently impecunious, and Lord Bute looked

out carefully for eligible *partis*. Later in life her sister, Lady Macartney, strongly advocated the advances of Henry Dundas, the future Lord Melville. Nor does the lady seem to have been altogether reluctant, though the Lord Advocate, who governed Scotland, had a divorced wife, a grown-up family, and was notoriously addicted to port. The match did not come off; perhaps the gentleman never summoned courage to propose, for Lady Louisa, greatly to her annoyance, had the reputation of a bluestocking, and her wit and wide reading may have kept many men at a distance. She would and she would not, and she waited too long; for once when she had been detained with her family in London till June, while longing for rural scenes, she writes half-seriously to one of her sisters that she hopes no disagreeable man, with a pleasant country house, will propose to her.

The youngest of eleven children, she passed much of her girlhood in intellectual isolation. Long afterwards she complained to her latest correspondent, Miss Clinton, of the uncongenial company in which she had been brought up. She was frank to excess as to her family. They were very good sort of folk, but commonplace, engrossed with society affairs or absorbed in domestic trivialities, and in no sympathy with her tastes and pursuits. For herself, her predilections had come by inheritance. Her father was a versatile and accomplished man, and her grandmother was Lady Mary Montagu. We fancy her complaints did her family some injustice. Three of her brothers were more or less distinguished: one of them became the Primate of Ireland, and though in those days influence counted for much in the bestowal of Church preferment, the letters he addressed to his sisters from Turin show he was a man of culture. But when Lord Bute, fallen from power, had retired in sullen disappointment to Luton, his sons were gone out into the world, and Louisa's elder sisters were married. Lady Portarlington, who became her first and dearest confidante, seems to have been bright rather than clever, frivolous and fond of gossip, like her bosom friend, Miss Herbert, who was specially interested in elopements, pregnancies, and confinements. Had Lord Bute been more genial he might have made the girl's life and his own infinitely happier. She longed for some one to reverence and love; she might have been interested in anything by a husband or father. Bute was an agriculturist, an antiquary, and something of a chemist; he was not averse to intellectual society when

the companions he honoured with invitations kept themselves in their proper place. It gratified his pride to play the Mæcenas, and to him Johnson was indebted for his pension. When he was the most detested of all English ministers, one of the most damning charges brought against him, as the butt of innumerable satires and lampoons, was that he kept all good things for his hungry countrymen. Yet it must be admitted that he chose his *protégés* well —except, perhaps, when he preferred Allan Ramsay to Reynolds as court painter. His confidant, private secretary, and *alter ego* was Home, the author of 'Douglas'; and his confidence was justified, for Home was absolutely disinterested, and never asked anything for himself. As Macaulay tells us, he had a sinecure and a small pension, but both came belated, and on the urgent applications of Lord Milton, then Under-Secretary for Scotland. Robert Adam was selected as his lordship's architect-in-ordinary, and the story of the first introduction is amusing. He had come back from a tour in Italy and the Adriatic, with portfolios filled with architectural drawings, and a brain bursting with ambitious schemes. Going with his friend, Dr. Carlyle, of Inveresk, to be presented by Home, he had hoped everything from the first meeting with the minister. Bute, who, with all his haughty dignity, seems to have been constitutionally shy, received them booted for a ride, and dismissed them rather summarily. The architect went away 'cursing and swearing,' but it was only the omnipotent minister's manner, and Home spoke a word in due season. It was Bute's munificent patronage which gave the four brothers, who have left their name to the Adelphi, the opportunities for revolutionising the residential architecture of England, and of bringing space and light and breezy air into the gloomy mansions of Western London.

It was Robert Adam who built the palace at Luton Hoo, and the minister's marine villa at Highcliffe, near Christchurch—another villa near the site, and of the same name, has since been associated with another Lady Louisa and her sister—and who made the beginnings of what is now Lansdowne House. The Luton mansion was planned to gratify the pride and befit the position of the man who governed absolutely from behind the throne. The owner retired thither, a disappointed man; for the perusal of these letters explodes an alternative theory suggested in Macaulay's essay—that he had been sated by ambition prematurely gratified, and gladly laid down the burden of power, with

its intolerable odium. Though it is true that in an outburst of spleen he had once written to his son-in-law, 'I 'would retire on bread and water, and think it luxury to 'what I suffer,' he did not retire but was forced into retreat, and down to his latest illness he was for ever smarting from the epigrams and scurrilities which pursued him to his grave. There are one or two passages in his daughters' letters which give us the impression of a sullen and moody domestic tyrant. Undoubtedly he was often very disagreeable company, for he suffered from a complication of disorders, and had taken his own case in hand. But the letters during his last and fatal illness show that he was really beloved, and we believe that he was by nature a kindly man, who did not care to curb an imperious temper in a household where he exacted implicit obedience. He was a *grand seigneur* of the old school, who insisted on stately ceremonial, and kept his children at a respectful distance. Naturally, the youngest was the farthest removed of them all; if he sometimes condescended to caress he never cared to understand her. Yet there were quick-witted visitors who could appreciate the precocious child. The clever though eccentric Lady Mary Coke wrote in her journal on March 12, 1767: 'I stay'd with Lady Bute till 2 o'clock, 'and was much entertained with her youngest daughter, a 'child of ten, who showed us the beginning of a French 'novel wrote by herself, and informed us that she was going 'to write a play. . . . She is a very extraordinary girl, and '[has] certainly a great genius.' The play was founded on a Roman story, and was actually written. Even at that age, while still in pinafores, she had begun the study of the classics, and more than fifty years afterwards she bestowed on her young correspondent, Miss Clinton, her complete private collection of all the great Roman authors.

If the young lady found the family life at Luton dull, nevertheless there was everything to gratify her artistic and literary tastes, and to satisfy the most insatiable reader. Lord Bute had laid the foundation of one of the finest private libraries in England, and active agents, with unstinted funds at their disposal, were yearly sending in additions. The stately rooms and lofty galleries were hung with paintings by the most notable masters, and the collection of gems of the Dutch and Flemish schools was already famous. When Johnson visited it with Boswell in 1781, though he started on his peregrination of the grounds in grumbling humour, he was betrayed into unwonted enthusiasm when they made

the tour of the house. 'The library is very splendid, the 'dignity of the rooms is very great, and the quantity of 'pictures is beyond expectation, beyond hope.' We can imagine Lady Louisa passing many solitary hours in that library, and interesting herself in each new consignment of books. Even when young and volatile she must always have been something of a bookworm. Long afterwards she was charged by Lord Montagu with the responsible task of arranging the library in his new mansion at Ditton, when Scott wrote to her, praying that she would take special care not to overlook unpretentious rarities. As to the arrangement of graver books, he seems to have trusted her implicitly. Yet it is only when her later correspondence becomes personal and autobiographical that we realise the catholicism of her tastes and the range of her studies. In the 'Gleanings from an Old Portfolio' there is never a glimpse of the bluestocking, and, save in the brief interchange of letters with Scott, seldom a sign of the woman of exceptional culture, for the simple reason that, having the genius of lively letter-writing, she made a point of suiting her subjects to her correspondents.

We have had the privilege of access to the 'Portfolio,' though it was printed for private circulation. Covering a period of five-and-thirty years, it contains selections from the correspondence of a numerous family, with their innumerable connexions in the highest quarters by blood, marriage, or hereditary friendship. Mrs. Godfrey Clark, a great-grandniece of Lady Louisa, has done the editing admirably, and her notes elucidate much as to the notorieties of all sorts who are passed in review in the pages. Yet we feel lost in the ramifications of intricate pedigrees, and are continually being driven to verify dates, to identify some personage, to whom casual allusion is made, with some other of whom we have vague reminiscence in some very different connexion. Thus John, the venerable Duke of Argyll and Greenwich, is the Duke of Lady Louisa's letter to Scott on the occasion of the publication of 'The Heart of Mid-'lothian,' which she expanded into the monograph published in the 'Selections from her Manuscripts.' He is the old sage with the green shade over the failing eyes, of whom Dr. Carlyle gives so picturesque a description when 'Jupiter' was welcomed to the hospitality of Inveraray. If we mistake not, the Lord Lonsdale who married Lord Bute's eldest daughter was the great borough-monger from whom Boswell expected so much, and who encouraged the cruel practical

jokes which tried even Bozzy's patience to the breaking point. In these letters we see him in a pleasanter light, for he was magnificent in his hospitality and munificent in his gifts. On one occasion he sent on to his poorer brother-in-law, Portarlington, five high-bred coach horses and a sumptuous home-woven carpet. We only quote these instances to indicate the variety of interest we find in the lightest letters. We continually come upon some suggestion we are tempted to follow out; on some doubt or difficulty it is imperative to clear up; on some allusion to an extinct male line and a heritage passing by marriage which throws light on the recent history of our great families; on the transfer of country seats and the changes of historic names. Moreover, the letters more or less embrace everything that was the gossip of society during these thirty-five years, and are a complete *chronique scandaleuse*, in the better sense, for there is no malevolence nor anything that need shock the most susceptible refinement. The sisters had a personal interest in public affairs through their husbands. We learn little of politics through Lady Lonsdale, though the Lowther influence weighed heavily with ministers; politics were not in that gay lady's line. But Lord Bute's second and favourite daughter had married Macartney, intimately associated with affairs in Hindustan and in the further East, and who rose from being the son of a small Ulster squire to refuse the Governor-Generalship of India. Lord Portarlington, tied fast to his encumbered estates in Queen's County, played an important part in the Irish troubles which came to a head in the rising of the '98, and Charles Stuart—the future Sir Charles—had gone out to America when Lord Howe and Governor Johnson came home. His son, who was raised to the peerage as Lord Stuart de Rothesay, and who was to attain the highest grade in diplomacy, held many delicate appointments abroad while Europe lay prostrate at the feet of Napoleon.

The communications of the brothers are generally curt and to the point; those of Lord Mount Stuart in especial are models of sententious brevity, and Lady Louisa remarks with something of envious admiration on the notelet in which he announces his second marriage. But all the sisters had ready pens; brimful of the passing interests of their lives, they gave free vent to their feelings, and were only crippled in their communications by considerations of franks on postage. In their letters we see them exactly as they were, either painted by themselves or indirectly by their

correspondents. Lady Lonsdale, the least sympathetic, is the woman of fashion, absorbed in the world and its vanities, and blindly but unconsciously selfish, as when on the banks of Loch Lomond she upset all Lady Louisa's arrangements for an interesting day and put some hospitable Scotch folk to extreme inconvenience. Lady Macartney, with her excellent principles, her profound sense of duty and somewhat obtrusive piety, always reminds us of Thackeray's Lady Southdown. Lady Portarlington, on the contrary, is invariably charming, and, with her warm heart and congenial temperament, we can understand her drawing out Lady Louisa. As we have said, she was not specially clever, but she throws her heart into everything she writes. A devoted wife and an anxious mother, with a narrow income and a growing family, she nevertheless is always ready to look on the humorous side of things, and some of her descriptions of life in happy-go-lucky Irish homes are almost worthy of Miss Edgeworth. But the charm of all the letters is that they are frankly natural, and we realise it when we compare them with those interpolated from Miss Herbert and Lady Aylesbury. Both these very vivacious ladies had evidently a reputation for brilliancy, and they felt bound to force their high spirits and write up to it.

Of Lady Louisa we need say nothing more now. In the first of her letters, written just when she came of age, and dated from Wharncliff, in Yorkshire, we have the key to her character. She was delighted to exchange the grandeur of Luton for the lonely cottage perched on a cliff, and commanding superb views of the romantic valley. 'I write 'upon a chest, for I am not worth a table, and have only 'three chairs. . . . If you did but see me rambling over the 'rocks; I take delightful walks when my mother has 'business.' And, we suspect, the more often her mother had business the happier the daughter was, for there was still the same essential divergence of tastes. Lady Bute regretted Luton, and longed to bring her landscape gardeners to Wharncliff. 'I could scribble for three hours,' writes Lady Louisa to Lady Caroline, 'on the beauty of this place. 'I believe I used to sit for so long every day upon the 'edge of the highest rock eating up the prospect, and never 'took my eyes away without difficulty.' In familiar phrase, that is Lady Louisa all over. For choice she would always be either enjoying the picturesqueness of savage nature or immersed in cushions and buried among favourite books. In the country she was the most active of fine ladies; in

London, as her brother William once wrote to her, 'it was 'almost impossible to pull her out of her warm little room.' She fell passionately in love with the lonely lodge in the Yorkshire dale at first sight, and that explains her subsequent habits, and her annual Scottish visits. The scenery of the Highlands drew her yearly as with a magnet. When she could, on the tedious northern journeys, she arranged to loiter in the Lake District; once she spent some weeks at Lowwood on Windermere, and complained that the hospitable overtures of acquaintances she by no means disliked interrupted her entrancing communings with solitude. We suspect that her close friendship with the Morritts was greatly owing to the attractions of their romantic seat at the meeting of the waters of Tees and Greta; and it is to the happy introduction of Morritt to Scott that we are indebted for 'Rokeby.' Her favourite resorts in the North were Dalkeith Palace and Bothwell Castle, and it was at one or the other that she made the acquaintance of the 'Magician.' There could not have been more appropriate meeting-places for those kindred spirits; and as a request of Lady Dalkeith was the origin of 'The Lay,' we can imagine the poet's talks with Lady Louisa inspiring such ballads as the 'Grey Brother' or 'Rosabelle.' Within a short drive of Dalkeith was the romantic valley of the Esk, 'Cavern'd 'Hawthornden,' 'Dryden's Groves of Oak,' and 'Haunted 'Woodhouslee.' Bothwell of the Douglas of 'The Lady of 'the Lake' looked down on the Clyde and across the narrow bridge on the battlefield that was to be immortalised in 'Old Mortality.' The Duchess of Buccleuch, and her kinswoman Lady Douglas, who had married the fortunate hero of the famous Douglas Cause, were Lady Louisa's constant correspondents, and their common interest in the successive triumphs of 'The Great Unknown' lends deep literary interest to many of the letters.

We can only give some vague and discursive idea of the very miscellaneous contents of the 'Portfolio.' We are continually coming in contact with our old acquaintances of Boswell's 'Johnson' and the 'Diaries of Madame D'Arblay.' Among the ladies to whom many references are made are the dignified Duchess of Portland and her bosom friend, the venerable Mrs. Delany, who presented the blushing Fanny Burney to their gracious Majesties. There is Miss Monckton, the accomplished daughter of Lady Galway, to whom Johnson paid a memorable compliment; Mrs. Montagu, who reigned supreme in a rival salon; and, above all, Miss

Gregory, Mrs. Montagu's *protégée* and inseparable companion, who became one of Lady Louisa's dearest friends, and married Mr. Alison, the author of the 'Essays on Taste,' and father of the voluminous historian. These are but few among many. Rare allusions to the life of Lord Bute in retirement might have illustrated Johnson's poem on 'The 'Vanity of Human Wishes.' We see him seeking solitude, a prey to low spirits, eating little, and a confirmed hypochondriac who tried each specious novelty in quack medicines. Lady Mary Coke, with her caprices and extravagances, is a constant subject for compassionate satire. Headstrong as Lady Hester Stanhope, almost as fanciful, and with a similar passion for eastern climes and wanderings among strangers, she was one of those privileged persons it was dangerous to offend, for she was formidably ready with teeth and claws. There is much gossip about the royal princes. We cannot call it scandalous, for it was confirmed by a cloud of witnesses and passed unchallenged by the correspondents. We remember how, on one occasion, Fanny Burney mentions that the Duke of Clarence, dropping in on Madame Schwellenberg's dinner-party before a Court ball, declared 'he must 'keep himself sober to dance with Mary.' His brother, the Regent, rose superior to such trivial considerations. Lady Louisa, describing a dance at Lady Hopetoun's, says

'there was a sad *contretemps* which I am afraid spoiled everything to the givers of the fête. . . . Lo, at 12 o'clock in *reeled* his R. H., pale as ashes, with glazed eyes set in his head, and in short, almost stupefied. The Duchess of Cumberland made him sit down by her, and kept him tolerably peaceable till they went down to supper. . . . When *we* went to supper he was most gloriously drunk and riotous indeed. He posted himself in the doorway, to the terror of everybody, flung his arms round the Duchess of Ancaster's neck and kissed her with a great smack, threatened to pull off Lord Galloway's wig and knock out his false teeth, &c.'

We alluded to Lord Portarlington's letters from Ireland in 1797–1798. Nothing is more significant of the state of the country than that in writing to his affectionate wife he made no attempt to relieve her anxiety by representing matters as better than they were. A brave man is writing to a brave woman, and they look the dark situation bravely in the face. His frequent changes of quarters between Belfast Lough and Cape Clear are proof enough of 'the incursions 'and alarms.' French fleets were hovering off the coasts; the peasantry were ready to rise whenever the regular forces were withdrawn, and massacres of the weak and the

helpless were avenged with ruthless severity. We may read between the lines that Portarlington's own regiment—one of the best-disciplined of the irregulars—were little in the habit of making prisoners, and it was little wonder. If the Protestant yeoman did not fear for themselves, they were always trembling for their unprotected families and homesteads. The Portarlingtons' own residence escaped when many of those of their neighbours were sacked and burned; but after the rebellion had been virtually suppressed the fires were still smouldering, and for long, as the letters show, Lady Carlow—as she was then—was hesitating whether she was justified by pressing considerations of economy in risking her children in Queen's County.

One of Lady Louisa's favourite resorts in Scotland was Lord Haddington's seat of Tyninghame, and her sketch of the old place and of its eccentric master is a good specimen of her lively powers of description.

'My Lord's just the same man, and, to be sure, does talk. Good God! how he does talk! So we have chattered abundantly upon all things, past, present, and future. He is so glad to see an old acquaintance from England, he cannot get the words fast enough out of his mouth. . . . This place is not much further from the sea than Mr. Nisbet's (Archerfield), 'but it is upon a bay, and there is the comfortable shelter of very large woods, and many trees close to the house, which is an old one, originally an abbey and patched with apartments by its successive owners, so no regularity without or within, up steps and down steps, full of closets, passages, and staircases—a good place for a ghost to haunt. However, vast, dark, solid walls, and some very comfortable rooms, an excellent dining-room, and a very pleasant drawing-room, and they are comfortable people, abounding in chairs, couches, and tables.'

Those hospitable Scotch mansions were generally full, and she had the opportunity of sketching many notorieties. Few men have made themselves more ephemerally famous or more grotesquely ridiculous than 'Monk' Lewis, though he had the honour of being one of the first patrons of Scott, and the subject of a parody of Scott by Byron. Scott, good-natured as he was, tells a bitter story of a remark of the Duke of Buccleuch at Bowhill, which cut Lewis to the quick. Lady Louisa, writing in 1800 from Bothwell, is quite sceptically contemptuous about the little man—

'by much the greatest puppy I have ever beheld off the stage, though with parts to have made a better thing than he is. . . . He is a very little creature, effeminate in manners, lisping and affected like a fine lady.

Altogether he has been an extreme amusement to me who am too old to be straitlaced, and resolved to take diversion where I can find it. Lord Haddington's aversion to him increased my entertainment.'

Yet Lewis, with his many foibles, was a man of genius and a generous slave-owner; 'the Monk' and 'the Castle Spectre' deserve to be forgotten, but 'Negro Life in the West Indies' is worth reading still. Among more illustrious guests at Bothwell were the Comte d'Artois and his son, the Duc de Berri. Monsieur, after all his troubles, was still much of the man who had been the soul of gaiety at the Petit Trianon.

'He looks much younger than his age (45), and has a splendid, open countenance, but his mouth does not shut, the upper lip being too short. For his air and manner, it is, as I will not say, gentleman-like only, but noble and prince-like, with that sort of high and dignified good-breeding, that gracious civility to everybody, with at the same time the greatest ease you would expect from a prince bred in the politest court in Europe. He has not so fine an air and is not nearly so handsome as our Prince, but, I fancy, exceeds him in conversation; but there is so great a resemblance of manner to the Prince, and also to the P.'s father, though the latter, dear, good man, is, you know, *gauche* and awkward and Monsieur the reverse, that I should have said anywhere, "Why, that man looks like something royal."'

Gay and *débonnaire*, Monsieur even then won all hearts; it was afterwards he turned serious and thought of making his *salut*, when the frescoes with which he had decorated his villa of La Bagatelle in the Bois de Boulogne were to rise in judgment against him. Lord Hertford had bought the property from the nation, and paid the pious king the unwelcome compliment of restoring them. The Duc de Berri was in every respect a foil to his father. 'He is little, 'thick, stumpy, and slouching, with a very ugly, brown face 'that might be fifty years old, and a sullen, dour look.' It is interesting to contrast Lady Louisa's impressions on her visit to the eccentric Ladies of Llangollen with those of Scott, and her remarks on Mrs. Grant of Laggan with those in Scott's correspondence, when he interested himself to obtain her the pension she regarded as inadequate to her merits. 'The Letters from the Mountain' made a sensation at the time, but the writer, as we might say, seems to have 'fluked' herself into fame, and certainly got more praise than solid reward.

The first letter to Scott which appears in print was on the publication of 'Marmion.' Before that there had been

many meetings at Bothwell, and their intimacy had made rapid progress. To show the very high estimate the poet had formed of Lady Louisa's powers and judgement, Mrs. Godfrey Clark quotes from a letter of his to Mrs. Scott of Harden :—

'If you turn your thoughts to *belles lettres*, the best critick I know would be Lady Louisa Stuart; indeed I know not a person who has the half of her taste and talents, or could do a young author half so much good. Lady Louisa unites what are rarely found together—a perfect tact, such as few even in the higher classes attain, with an uncommon portion of that rare quality which is called genius.'

If he admired her talents and taste, he paid a greater, though more indirect, compliment to her attainments when he begged her to collect materials for his 'Swift,' and expressed the hope that he 'might have a long conversation 'with her on that difficult chapter of "Cadenus and '"Vanessa."' In the same letter he tells her that 'the '"Marmion" is nearly out;' and when the poem had taken the world by storm, the lady, nevertheless, exercised to the full the privilege of friendly criticism. Prefacing her remarks with the inevitable piece of civility—that it was great presumption either to commend or criticise—she objects to a passage in one of the introductions as more feeble than the rest. In that piece of criticism we are inclined to agree with her, but we confess to being staggered by a proffered emendation on one of the most pathetic and effective passages in the death scene. It was a fair objection that 'died at Holy Isle' told nothing of the tragic circumstances of the death of Constance. Scott takes pains to explain, at great length, that it was not the purpose of the gentle Clare to embitter the dying hour of a gallant warrior, and he concedes an interpolated hyphen to his critic. But the substitution suggested by Lady Louisa was not only unmelodious, but intensely prosaic. 'Suffer'd 'death at Holy Isle' reads like a line from a *procès verbal*, where the *greffier* notes that a death sentence has been duly carried out. Lady Louisa, as we learn from Lockhart's 'Life,' had been in the secret of 'The Lady of the Lake' long before the publication. She had been one of a house party at Buchanan, where the poet read 'The Stag Chase' aloud. It must have been a special favourite of his, for, as will be remembered, he submitted it to the judgement of a sporting friend who, carried away by enthusiasm, brought a heavy hand down on the table, declaring that dogs must have been ruined who took the water after such a run.

But it was 'Rokeby' that Lady Louisa regarded as a child of her own. It was she who had introduced him to the Morritts and the caverned scenery of the Tees and Greta, where Bertram, as he wrote in one of his letters, 'picked up a lot 'of blackguards in the slate quarries.' When the poem appeared she apostrophised him in congratulatory rhymes in one of his own favourite metres, beginning with 'Rokeby's 'the word.' Five years afterwards he wrote her a long letter, accompanying a copy of 'Harold the Dauntless,' and referring to the strictures on 'Old Mortality,' which had indirectly involved him in controversy with Dr. McCrie. After that there is a long blank in the correspondence, though doubtless it had been closely kept up, and many of the letters may be in existence. But in the 'Letters of Lady Louisa Stuart to Miss Clinton,' edited by the Hon. James Home, the most interesting passages, apart from personal revelations, are references to the writings of the greatest and most valued of her friends.

When a septuagenarian she had formed the most affectionate ties with a girl who was forty years her junior. It might have been taken as the romantic fancy of an elderly sentimentalist, were it not that the growing intimacy was grounded on identity of character and similarity of tastes. It was another proof of the older lady's shrewd penetration. Miss Clinton had taken the place of Lady Portarlington; but the letters are thoughtful rather than gossipy, and the writer unbosoms herself with an unreserve which makes us infer that she sought to form an impressionable mind by the teaching of her own experiences. She invited the fullest confidence, and received it. When they had been corresponding for three years she writes: 'Your further 'account of your own habits is *so like! so like!* Can there be 'a stronger proof of it than that it recalls a thousand little 'circumstances to my memory, which had almost escaped 'it? Good heavens! If I were to go back fifty years, I 'could use no other words than you have done to describe 'what passed in my mind.' She tells her correspondent everything to which we have alluded of her lonely and unsympathetic girlhood, and goes on in a passionate outburst of regrets, 'If I had been set to the hard study I was 'capable of, like you, it might have conquered the secret '*dram-drinking of reverie* I was addicted to.' Elsewhere she talks of her perpetual castle-building, of sucking fiction out of the truth, as a bee sucks luscious honey out of the homely onion. 'Wallace, Bayard, Epaminondas, Scipio, were the

'characters I lived with.' How little we should have guessed so much from the light-hearted letters to Lady Portarlington, full of flirtations, marriages, town gaieties, and country gossip! So her letters to Miss Clinton, when not retrospective or introspective, abound in shrewd comments on public affairs, and in thoughtful criticisms of contemporary books. She is forming and informing her young correspondent; she is indulgent to immature opinions, and stimulated to impassioned disquisition by intelligent questions and remarks. Yet there are two things she cannot tolerate. She is always checking an irrepressible tendency to gush; nor can she endure being raised to a pedestal and worshipped as an idol, although sometimes, reading closely between the lines, we are suspicious of mock humility.

Rambling over four hundred interesting pages, we can only indulge in desultory references or quotations. In one of the first letters we have a glimpse of the morbid strain in her temperament when she observes that the sea always strikes her as more awful and melancholy than beautiful, and, in allusion to her wearisome residence in her father's villa at Christchurch, she says the impression was strengthened by unhappy years passed in view of it. In the same letter she remarks on the most melancholy of the Waverley novels, 'I have just begun "The Bride of Lammermoor," 'and I am afraid I must agree with you, though still the 'style has a particular charm for me, and now and then 'there is a flash of character or description like himself; 'but it is far inferior to the predecessors.' It was just at that time that Scott's publishers, perhaps wisely, refrained from telling him that the circulation was falling off, and he owned himself that in the character of Caleb he had sprinkled the parsley too freely over the chicken. Then comes a page of criticism of the latest number of the 'Quarterly,' showing the range of her classical reading, with an intelligent appreciation of the Athenian systems of philosophy. When 'Ivanhoe' appeared, it is noteworthy that her comments anticipated the satirical parody of Thackeray. 'For "Ivanhoe" make yourself easy; I am its 'sincere partisan and Rebecca's devoted admirer. . . . 'What did I say against charming? I do not recollect. 'Was not it *sweet?*' Whoever converses with Scotch people learns to be sick of that, but it could never be applied to Rebecca. The Lady Rowena, bating her pride of birth and habit of having her own way, is pretty much 'a sweet

'woman.' Returning to that novel, she adverts to a criticism which we have never seen suggested before—the almost profane introduction of scriptural phrases. As to that and the familiarity with Shakespeare and the old dramatists attributed to otherwise uncultured men, she makes the shrewd observation that books were scarce in those days, and that men quoted *à tort et à travers* from the few they knew, 'just as in the seventeenth century they 'did the classics. Even Jeremy Taylor cannot bid us do as 'we would be done by without bringing in a passage from 'Homer or Plato.' So even Sir Hildebrand Osbaldistone, who was no bookworm, of a rainy day would 'go and read 'Guillim;' while Sir Henry Lee had Shakespeare at his finger ends. As for 'The Monastery,' 'it was a great treat 'during the cold, yet I am afraid I must so far concur with 'the multitude as to like it less than any of its predecessors.' 'The common cry,' she says, 'is that the author had better 'never write any more.' As she adds, 'the least falling off 'in an admired author is hailed with secret delight by the 'whole crew whom this blessed passion (envy) inspires, and 'accordingly they set up a general cry over "The Monastery." 'My opposite feeling is a little mortification at not finding 'it a thing so possible to lay down as "Ivanhoe."' She hits the obvious blots that were freely admitted by Lockhart: the tedium of the Euphuist, 'the bad taste' of the bodkin and tailorship, and, above all, the injudicious introduction of the supernatural. 'Kenilworth' she pronounced a delightful work, with a thousand faults, which you never want to lay down. Yet when we follow her into details there we cannot agree with her. She found the beginning heavy; she actually tired of Mike Lambourne, and she was not overpleased with Wayland Smith. It was a fair objection to say that Flibbertigibbet was too like Gilpin Horner, but it was the fashion then to assert that Meg Merrilees had been resuscitated in too many of the novels. If we were to hunt up faint family resemblances, Shakespeare would have hard measure dealt him for not a few of the undying characters he has individualised with the traits and touch of genius. Lady Louisa wearied of the wild Indian adventurer, and took exception to 'the farcical 'buffoonery of Blunt and his yellow stockings,' yet she placidly accepted what seems to us the dead weight of Master Robert Laneham and the pageants he directed. As to the tragical *dénoûment* and the marriages of Leicester, her historical remarks are both curious and instructive. In the

novel old Sir Hugh Robsart is a knight of Devon, yet it is noteworthy that the Robsarts are a Norfolk family, and that their tombs are in the church where Sir Robert Walpole lies buried. *A propos* of criticisms in 'Kenilworth,' there is an ingenious suggestion—she was indebted for it, by the way, to Lady Charlotte Lindsay—as to why, generally hating historical novels, she delights in those of Scott. 'Because all, except his, take the historical 'characters for their heroes and heroines, and then you are 'shocked and disturbed at the audacious isolation of both 'truth and character. . . . W. S. romances upon inferior 'people who lived or might have lived at the time, and 'keeps close to character and *vraisemblance* when he intro-'duces the superior ones—though one might except "Kenil-'worth."' Apply that to his great French rival and imitator, and we see how true it is: to Dumas's stories of the courts of the last of the Valois and the first of the Bourbons. The portraits of kings and princes, ministers and courtiers, are striking in their *vraisemblance*, but it is Chicot, D'Artagnan, Aramis et Cie. who give the actuality of life to the fictions. Galt had then a great popularity—delineating those types of West Country middle-class life which Scott touched off so happily in Bailie Nicol Jarvie. Lady Louisa tells Miss Clinton if she loves laughing to read 'The 'Entail.' She could hardly have set an English girl a more ungrateful task; she admits that the humour is wrapped up in Scotch even broader than she could understand, but, as usual, her criticism hits the mark when she says that the author 'has for once been so wise as to keep out of good 'company, and, avoiding lords and ladies, been content to 'describe the people he has seen.' Very similar are her strictures on 'St. Ronan's Well.' It was a case of *sutor supra crepidam*. Scott made a lamentable fiasco of the would-be fashionables of Meg Dods's 'Spaw:' probably he had sketched from recollections of the second-rate society of Gilsland, where he met his wife. But that novel marked the lowest water of the ebb tide, before with shattered strength he wrote 'Count Robert of Paris':—

'At first I could have cried at the falling off, but the third volume has a little consoled me, for I find the interest deep at last, and the conclusion is not commonplace. In short, all the serious part is good, and the genuine Scotch (Meg Dods's) not bad; the good company at the Well, and the slang and the polite conversation intolerable, and what is more, *manqué*. Oh, the masquerade! I believe verily he has written with the express purpose of making this book as unlike all his others as he possibly can.'

Lady Louisa damns Meg with faint praise. Yet surely Meg is an inimitable survival of the old Scottish ostel wife; none the less so that her favourite catchword—'What 'for no?'—was borrowed from Willie Laidlaw.

Lady Louisa had a happy knack of dashing off good and telling portraits, but her first impressions were not always to be trusted. Take Miss Edgeworth, whom Scott, with perhaps affected humility, recognised as his mistress in picturesque fiction and effective character painting. On the first meeting Lady Louisa finds her 'lively, entertaining, 'and unaffected—perhaps I should say there was something 'about her more like an actress than a lady at large—like a 'person who has been used to lay herself out to entertain 'the company. . . . She does not put me in mind of her 'books, or of any books—she is merely a pleasant, conversible 'woman, with the Irish freedom of manner.' It seems to us an unequivocal compliment, though not so intended, when she adds that 'Miss E. is ready to take out her fiddle and 'play a tune to whoever chooses to listen, without respect 'of person.' After better acquaintance she recants and apologises. Miss Edgeworth's modesty had masked her genius, and she confesses that these first impressions had been too hastily formed.

Possibly Lady Louisa, in her quiet abode in Gloucester Place, had some jealousy of the Berrys' brilliant gatherings in Mayfair. At any rate, in the case of the elder sister she is severely depreciatory and frankly satirical. She quotes with approval Northcote's snarling verdict, given in his Devonshire tones, 'Humph! I have a notion 'that Miss B. is only a quack.' Northcote's notion, she adds, had always been her own. If Lady Louisa is to be believed, Miss Berry was a shameless pretender, who got up her cases like a clever counsel, parading superficial knowledge she had not even found in her brief. Sometimes she would lay down the law, quizzically and dogmatically, with no knowledge at all. There is a story of Miss Berry picking up a volume of the 'Spectator' lying on Lady Louisa's table, and laughing at her 'for reading 'such old nonsense.' Lady Louisa stood her ground, put searching questions, and at last drove her visitor to confess that she had never looked at the book since, as a child of seven, she read some religious papers aloud. She admitted Miss Berry's beauty, but disliked the manner that had fascinated so many men. 'It was involuntarily characterised 'by her friend the late Mrs. Chomeley, half-provoked and

'half-vexed, "Oh dear! I wish she would not put on that '"air of—of *Damme Jack!* she does so often."'

Miss Edgeworth and Miss Berry were living celebrities she was in the habit of meeting, but sometimes there are interesting notices of contemporaries of her father, of whom she had faint personal recollections. There is a noteworthy passage on the Grenvilles which puts that band of discordant brothers in a novel and amusing light. Characteristically enough, it was suggested by a reference to one of Æsop's fables, for any casual text supplied a subject for disquisition. 'The Grenvilles of yore exemplified the fable remarkably—'they all stood by each other, and by dint of pulling together 'through thick and thin got whatever they had a mind to, 'and raised themselves to eminence from the rank of very 'private gentlemen. But the four brothers were all men of 'coarse manners and positive tempers, and no two or three 'of them could be an hour together in the same room with-'out their getting into a dispute, thence into a passion, 'and using such language as made the company apprehend 'knocking down and cutting throats would ensue. Next 'day they united in pursuit of their mutual interests as 'firmly as ever.' We presume the fable referred to was the bundle of twigs.

Of Byron she says little, but she expresses slight admiration of his genius, and she almost went as far as Southey in detestation of his character and conduct.

'Perhaps their' (the Edinburgh Reviewers) 'very unjust, illiberal abuse of his early poems was a flogging that did him good in the main —made him hold back till he had attained his full strength, instead of wasting it on this, that, and the other. Oh, how like the villainous spirit which now possesses him is what you term "the carelessness that seems mockery of his readers." This mockery he always gave way to, but in his first works it appeared only in the flippant prose notes which one was not obliged to read along with the verse, but since it has got into the verse itself it does disgust one beyond measure.'

And remarking on the Queen's trial, which she followed with profound interest, and of which there is frequent mention in the Letters, she says, 'Lord Byron, I see, is 'arrived to give her his assistance. Everything peculiarly 'profligate rallies round her.' Following the proceedings closely, she weighs the evidence with a judicial mind, rare in a somewhat prejudiced woman. Very different, in her opinion, was the attitude of politicians who were influenced

not by principle, but by faction. Looking on at the party game, she remarks:—

'How coolly politicians, when they have cut for new partners, can use all their skill to baffle those whose game they were striving to play ten minutes ago, and be no more ashamed of it than if actually engaged in whist. Lord Erskine! whose zeal against her made him even brutal in the famous examination of Mrs. Lyell.'

Speaking of the embarrassment of old intimates of her Majesty, subjected by jealous partisans to severe cross-examination, she remarks:—

'To tell the truth, it is more my good luck than my wisdom that has kept me ever from this very scrape itself. I mean the scrape of intimacy with H. M. About eleven or twelve years ago she took it in her head to desire my acquaintance as a *bel esprit*, a bluestocking, the thing in the world I dislike most to be *affichée*, and besides she began by publishing a story of me which was not true and made me angry. Then came an invitation, inclosed to my sister Lady L. I was restive and ill-humoured, and declared nothing should make me go.'

Lady Lonsdale's answer was undecipherable, so the Queen waited dinner for Lady Louisa. On hearing that, she sent a letter of apology, 'and conscious I had acted from veritable '*ill-temper* and *spleen*, contrary to my principles of paying 'all of that rank and race the utmost of outward respect, 'I did feel heartily ashamed of myself.'

The latest of the hitherto unpublished correspondence with Scott is to be found in the volume edited by Mr. Home and entitled 'Lady Louisa Stuart.' The first letter, dated from Edinburgh in the winter of 1826, expresses the fortitude—we might say, the almost affected fortitude—with which his masculine character sought to brace itself against overwhelming calamity aggravated by unwelcome condolences. It shows at least absolute confidence in his affectionate friend's intelligent sympathy. The answer, in which the lady obviously endeavoured to cheer and brighten him, gives a pleasant account of a meeting with the Lockharts at Ditton. She knew that there was nothing that pleased him more than the praises of his son-in-law and favourite daughter.

'At night she sang us two or three of her wild songs, and I wish you had seen the eager eyes of some of her younger listeners. . . . I find her the same Sophia she ever was, so natural and so engaging, and her husband just what you described him, a Spanish nobleman, or suppose we say the Master of Ravenswood, with a face for painters to study, but a brow rather awful, notwithstanding its beauty.'

In autumn she writes that the spirit moved her to plague him with a letter. He had been somewhat depressed: she knew he needed encouragement, and she wrote to suggest he should publish the prefaces to his British novelists apart. She had returned from a friend's house, where they had been *devoured* by man, woman, and child. At that house, on Scott's recommendation, she had proposed the reading aloud of his old friend Mackenzie's 'Man of Feeling.' But she feels bound to tell him it was a lamentable failure. Nobody cried, and some actually laughed at the passages she used to think most pathetic, which leads to some interesting remarks on the changes in taste since she was a girl not yet versed in sentiment, and dreading that she should not cry enough to get credit for proper sensibility. Scott himself has supplied another illustration of that truth, when he tells of the disgust of a venerable aunt in trying to re-read the romances of Mrs. Aphra Behn, which had delighted her in her younger years. In March 1827 Lady Louisa begins another letter: 'And so the murder is out, dear Sir Walter.' It was immediately after he had owned to the authorship of the novels. 'The Montagus and I have been comparing 'notes on the subject: they had no notion that I knew it, nor 'I that they knew it, which, I think, speaks us a good, trusty, 'honourable set of people, considering how much and often 'the novels used to be canvassed among us.' In his answer Scott explains what had decided him to drop the mask. 'The avowal was an accident. The circumstances of 'Constable's bankruptcy placed the secret, such as it was, 'in the hands of too many persons to suppose that a denial 'could any longer be taken at my hands, and whenever that 'became the case I only looked for a decent opportunity to 'lay aside the mask which was grown as thin as my aunt 'Dinah's.' In the summer of the same year she thanks him for a copy of 'The Life of Napoleon,' which she had read with even more avidity than the novels, 'from having in a 'manner witnessed the events it records.' She gives it more unbounded and indiscriminate praise than was her custom, so much so that she concludes by reminding him of Dr. Johnson's rebuke to a bluestocking (Mrs. Hannah More), 'Consider what your flattery is worth, dear lady, 'before you choke me with it.' But *en revanche*, she tells him, in a subsequent letter, a touching story, which was the most honest compliment any author could receive. A connection of her own, a man of letters and a learned theologian, borne down by a crushing domestic bereavement, had sought

relief in excessive study. His eyesight failed, the oculists forbade him to use it, and, 'like most people accustomed to 'read much to themselves, he could not bear being read to, 'till your "Life of Napoleon" so riveted his attention that 'his children declare it has been a perfect blessing, for 'which they will thank you as long as they live. He sat 'listening to it from morning to night.' Then with an expression of her gratitude for the 'Demonology and Witch-'craft,' the letters break off abruptly. Lady Louisa lived to the great age of ninety-four, retaining her faculties to the last and her interest in passing events. Miss Clinton survived her: there must be more of the correspondence, and we hope we may expect another instalment of those amusing and instructive letters.

ART. X.—1. *Exhibitions of the Royal Academy. Catalogues,* 1882–1891.

2. *Summer Exhibitions at the New Gallery, Regent Street. Catalogues,* 1888–1901.

3. *Exhibitions of the Society of Portrait Painters. Catalogues,* 1890–1901.

4. *Exhibitions of the International Society of Sculptors, Painters, and Gravers. Catalogues,* 1898, 1899, 1901.

THE perusal of Sir Joshua Reynolds's 'Discourses' is an act better calculated than any other to bring despair to the mind of the critic in art. For here we have a man who is no phrase-maker, one who understands and means all he says, who knows whither he tends, and is much of a philosopher, but no intuitionalist, evolving from his inner consciousness; on the contrary, he is crammed with concrete illustration, and, for his day, well versed in the history of painting. Above all, Sir Joshua has the inestimable quality of being a practitioner of the art he preaches, the very reverse of Balzac's critic, 'the man who has lied to his 'beginnings.' Then, as the outcome of all these advantages, we get from Reynolds the most monstrous, deformed conclusions, the falsest judgements conceivable upon the products of painting—judged by the standard of our taste to-day. Almost all that Reynolds most admired we disesteem. He was very catholic, so it would not be true to say that he would burn what we adore; he would only relegate most of it to a very secondary place. At the worst he utterly ignores some of our great divinities. If, on our side, we should grieve to see the masterpieces he praises lost in the flames, it would be through our antiquarian sympathies, not through our artistic. Yet, in despite of all, we can understand why Reynolds thought as he did. His conclusions follow logically from his premises, and the premises themselves are not unreasonable. In a certain sense, indeed, his first principles are better than our own.

It is a curious fact that the eighteenth century, which in its action was generally so unenthusiastic, so bound to earth, should now and again have been in its philosophy so idealist and platonic, and been in no respect more so than in its philosophy of art. This is quite permeated by aspirations after the sublime and beautiful. And all its most high-flown theories are the watchwords of Reynolds's 'Discourses;'

the whole object of them is to impress upon us the difference between the sublime in art, the grand, the elegant, the ornamental, and so forth. The net product is that Raphael is put in a far higher category than Titian; that the Veronese and Tintoret are placed still lower; that our mentor bids us see in Poussin a man 'whose eye was always 'steadily fixed on the sublime;' that we are to pass Velasquez over altogether as of no account, and find the nearest approach to perfection in Ludovico Caracci. And then we have the most wondrous rules and principles of technique to guide the artist in realising 'the sublime,' as, for example, that his draperies are to be neither cloth nor linen, silk nor velvet, but just draperies (as in the abstract), and nothing more.

Surely such an example should make us modest in our judgements and in our *dicta*. An historical method of criticism is at any rate safer than a didactic; one which, while it recognises that changes in taste must be, avoids calling down curses upon those by whom they come.

Of all branches of painting, that of portraiture would seem bound by the fastest rules—rules that are, one would almost say, mathematical. We have but three elements to our problem—the artist, the sitter, and the artist's medium. Since the days of John Van Eyck the last has remained the same. And the first two have (a man might say) been since the beginning of things subject to the same changes and interactions—more or less of skill, more or less of attractiveness and mutual sympathy. Nothing remains essentially unstable save the fashion of dress. And we are not such vulgarians as to pretend that dress alone can give or take from human dignity and worth. In defiance of all these reasons to the contrary, we know as a fact that there are some methods of portraiture which are as much gone from us as a dead language; that a portrait, for example, after the manner of Giovanni Bellini's doge or even of the later and greater Venetians, of Titian himself, with the same calm eyes, the same serenity and eternity, the like passionlessness and abstraction from all surroundings, and 'that senatorial 'dignity' (it is a happy phrase of Reynolds) which these Venetian faces have, would be as much a *pastiche*, as much a mere pedantry, as a Latin oration. These things are so; but when we ask why, the answer is not easy to find.

Portrait painting has, indeed, obeyed the tendency which has in modern days moved all pictorial art and all criticism thereof in a certain direction—toward the end of

finding, as Du Maurier's æsthete did, 'the beauty in the 'picture,' not in something external to it. It is the habit of doing the opposite of this that led Reynolds and his contemporaries to such strange speculations on 'high art,' to still stranger conclusions. But the reaction may have gone too far. Because people have judged of painting in too intellectual a way, it does not follow that the intellectual side, the literary intention, is to count for nothing. We find, for instance, Mr. R. A. M. Stevenson (one of our best critics so untimely lost), while speaking of Velasquez's 'Meniñas,' exclaiming:—

'Could the gracious attitudes of these tending maids, the calm born pride of the Infanta, the solemn gravity of the environment speak more eloquently to us if this were an Adoration of somebody by an early and religious Italian? No, truly, but the mind of the literary objector, which will not obey the suggestion of paint, would find itself under the more familiar impulsion of words running in a familiar rut.'*

And no doubt he himself thinks that he is expressing a self-evident truth in criticism; moreover, nine out of ten contemporary critics would say the same. But, as a fact, we have only the right to go so far with him as to affirm that all the arts tend towards independence, and no doubt ought to do so within limits; and that till the other day painting was the least free of all the arts to follow its own natural laws or move in its own orbit. For instance, we should have to go to primitive races or prehistoric times to find poetry closely tied to music or music to words, as till the other day painting was to ideas which were outside of painting. Yet the emancipation of poetry from music seems nowadays too great in a Browning or a Walt Whitman, and in all those prose poems (even when they are Baudelaire's) of which we hear so much to-day. For it still holds true, as De Banville says, that *toute poésie est chant.* In music, again, the corresponding emancipation, the freedom from words—that is, from the influence of all those ideas that can be formulated in words—reaches its climax in Beethoven, or in symphonic music generally. Here the art of music has no external reference, its beauties belong to itself only. It would be impossible to maintain that in this respect music has on its side exceeded its just bounds. But at any rate it is beyond the taste of the majority, and we have to record a set-back in our own day towards opera and towards a more dramatic—*i.e.* a more

* The Art of Velasquez, p. 26.

literary opera than existed at the outset. Art—painting more especially—seems to claim a sort of manumission from subservience in literature similar to that which has been accorded to music.

Let us, however, note in passing that this emancipation from words in painting or in music is opposed to the democratic tendencies of our day, and serves to keep the enjoyment of these arts to the educated few. For words form the only language of uninstructed man. No one quite untaught in music can pretend—or more than pretend—to enjoy a symphony of Beethoven; no one without some touch of art-technicalities can appreciate Manet. The arts no doubt not unwillingly seek the cold shade of opposition; but they do not stay there indefinitely. And so, as there has been in music, there will be reaction again in painting towards the popular side. We shall have once more a revival of subject-pictures, a less impersonal landscape and more objective portraiture.

Howbeit, though we have detected a setting of the fashion or of the inevitable tide in painting, and its necessary effect even on the painting of portraits, it hardly goes to the length of creating new types or *genera*. In the germ at least, all the influences which now affect the portrait painter's point of view have been present among the masters of the past—that is, since painting reached its maturity; and we may say that from the sixteenth century onwards there have been, and still are, four types of portraits, at any rate four tendencies in portrait painting, towards which the past masters have inclined. These types are the intellectual, the decorative, the realistic, and the impressionist; as they have existed in former times, so they persist, according as the artist is variously affected by his sitter, by his or her physical beauty, or by the whole personality; according as he sees the sitter as part of his surroundings, as (so to say) one with his dress; as he most desires to blend all these into a beautiful scheme of colour, or to give before all else the effect which the first *coup d'œil* has produced upon himself; or, finally, as he feels the supreme importance of the historical record the summary of the man's features, those parts of the portrait which vary least with time and place. In a general sense it may be said that that which was Titian's aim in the sixteenth century is Watts's aim in the nineteenth. No modern painter is quite so purely decorative as Rubens; it is before all things the colouring of the hair, the tints of the flesh which please him, which he cares to reproduce;

but in some of his pictures Mr. J. J. Shannon is very nearly as simple in his aim. He too, sometimes, seems to see little else than a colour scheme. So seems at times—and with a difference—Mr. Whistler. Van der Helst is the ideal of a realistic portrait painter, and his intellectual offspring to-day is Mr. John Collier. Impressionism speaks its first and almost its last word too in the later work of Velasquez. And of those among us who follow that master the name is legion; of the more notable of them we shall have to speak presently and at large.

The above sentence may seem a direct contradiction of what was said earlier, that it was impossible to paint portraits nowadays quite after the fashion of some of the old masters. The first example chosen from the moderns is the most nearly a contradiction of it. For there can be no doubt that Mr. Watts has applied himself to paint, as far as in him lay, after the manner of the Venetians. But the endeavour also witnesses to the difference in the art (we say nothing here of skill and success) in the early age and the modern one. Besides, there is something of pedantry in Mr. Watts's production, fine as it is. For this reason he has had very little influence on the history of portrait painting in England.

A little farther back than Watts it was the decorative painting of Rubens which had been supreme in forming our art here. Of course, no artist is one thing alone. Rubens could be highly intellectual; and when he added this gift to his unfailing skill in decorative portraiture he reached his greatest achievement; an example of such is his 'Jaqueline 'de Cordes' in the Brussels Museum. Vandyke, the pupil of Rubens, who was to set the fashion of English portrait painting for two centuries, followed in his master's steps. It is hard to believe that the majority of Vandyke's cavaliers and dames are historical likenesses; obviously, as regards details (such as hands) he was quite indifferent to accuracy. The portraits are decorative in a high degree. And what is true of Vandyke holds in the main for Reynolds and Gainsborough,* and holds for the inferior painters who intervened between the days of the first Charles and the third George. Nothing is more deceptive than any hope of finding the real man or woman under the masks which the

* In the main. It is not denied that Reynolds, at any rate, could paint faithful and distinctly intellectual portraits, such as Fox or Sterne or Johnson.

Lelys and the Knellers placed upon the faces of their sitters,—the real Marlborough, or the real Sarah Jennings, the real Swift, the real Addison or Gay, the real Harley or Godolphin. All the men and women of that time accommodate themselves to an idea firmly implanted in the brain of the artist. So do, too, the women of Reynolds and of Gainsborough, with the difference that the ideal is vastly superior and in a certain sense more objective. For of Vandyke and of Reynolds and Gainsborough we may say that, though they do not quite give us individuals, they do seem to record the type, the intellectuality, that is the sentiment and character of a class, subtle sentiments and refined characteristics such as the more realistic among the Dutchmen (the Hollanders of Holland), perhaps, could not have attained.

Our portrait painting has long since broken utterly with the tradition of Reynolds and Gainsborough, which, declining in Lawrence, soon seemed to sink into the earth. But we have been much slower than the French have been in seizing upon that impressionist idea which was the creation, one may say, of Velasquez, and which of recent years has been a sort of Aaron's rod swallowing up all the other types of portraiture. It is not the influence of Watts who in the first place is too nearly a *pasticheur*, and in the second place is too much allied with that purely intellectual movement of pre-Raphaelitism (so intellectual that it lies almost outside the sphere of pictured art) to be a lasting influence, which has kept us long in a different path from the impressionist. It is much rather the influence of Millais. The one thing which Millais never acquired was the gift of the comprehending glance, the sense as it is called of 'values,' which is to-day the *alpha* and *omega* of impressionism, which was Velasquez's peculiar acquirement, his supreme legacy to the future. Millais is never impressionist; but he is by turns everything else in his portraiture. In his best work he is almost purely intellectual: no sense of decorative scheme remains upon the mind when we try and recall his Gladstone (the earlier Gladstone, that is to say, of '79—the Gladstone of '83 is much more realistic) or his Sir James Paget. In both these, as a matter of fact, the fresh colouring is not pleasing, and far below Millais's higher mark in this matter. The Hook may be placed beside the two portraits just mentioned for its intellectual qualities; and as painting, as a scheme of colour and of light and shade, it is superior. At other times the pictorial instinct

quite dominated Millais. It often did so even when he was painting members of his own family, where one might have supposed the character of the face would be more present to his consciousness than its decorative qualities: it does so in such a portrait group as 'Hearts are Trumps.' Again, with sitters with whom apparently Millais was not much in sympathy, he could be brutally realistic.

Through Millais we pass to a whole school of English portrait painters, who, however much they may differ among themselves, are certainly to some extent his disciples, and still more surely outside the main stream of the impressionist movement, to the advantage in many cases of their originality. Mr. Ouless the most nearly represents Millais's point of view. All we can say of him is that his gifts are much inferior to the master's. Frank Holl is more uniform in his aims than is Millais; he is more constantly faithful to a decorative scheme—rather a monotonous one on the whole; one feature in it is that Holl always paints his black coats blue. But he combines these two elements, the intellectual and the decorative, the making his sitter at once interesting and picturesque, with a justness of instinct such as few of our portrait-painters have reached to. Take his 'Duke of Cleveland' for an example. It is the confidence in this instinct of his, the resulting clearness of his aim, which give to Holl's work the charm of its unerring brush, and (as we have before said) a certain monotonousness. There is something of the same clearness of aim, with nothing like either the sense of beauty of Holl or his technical skill, in the portraiture of Pettie and of Herkomer, who have both achieved a monotony of execution which has rarely been equalled. Of almost all other painters it must be said that though their work has a tendency towards one special type, it is liable constantly to assimilate itself to other types. Mr. Collier we have classed among the realistic painters; but this does not prevent him when happily inspired from being likewise intellectual and decorative. He is all the three, for instance, in the seated figure of Professor Huxley (his best achievement), which was exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1891. Mr. Orchardson as a portrait painter is essentially decorative, but can at need be highly realistic. He never departs from a certain colour scheme which is the base of all his subject-pictures, the scheme expressed by 'Punch,' when he imagined the personages in one of those subject-pictures exclaiming 'saffron is the badge of all our tribe.' This tone

of rich golden brown is connected in our minds with such graceful drawing and beautiful composition that it has an associated charm as well as its natural one—in the subject-pictures, that is to say. But in the portraits its advantages are more doubtful. Its effects are the more fatally evident when, on some rare occasion, Mr. Orchardson has sought a partial escape therefrom, and introduced some bright colour into a portrait, such as the scarlet robe which was so conspicuous, and not happily conspicuous, in one of the pictures by this master in the late French Exhibition.* But in the 'Sir Walter Gilbey' which was there exhibited likewise, wherein the painter has frankly resigned himself to his hobby, we have Mr. Orchardson at his best. It is impossible to doubt that, while the picture is beautiful as a picture, it is an excellent likeness also. One or two of Orchardson's portraits of women are not inferior to this.

If the sitter were allowed a determining voice in the matter, it may be assumed that—the entrainment of fashion apart—he would in the majority of cases decide for the realistic portrait. A woman sitter might elect the decorative; though the decorative treatment of a subject by no means implies that the sitter will be made beautiful; and the impressionist manner implies it still less. The essential desire of the sitter must be to be handed down to posterity, or at least to stand before the eyes of his children in his habit as he lived. The realistic treatment seems to promise this better than any other can do. We can hardly believe that Titian's sitters were exactly as he represented them. Rembrandt made *his* conform themselves to some decorative plan or predetermined scheme of chiaroscuro. Wherefore it is said that as a fact the burgesses of Amsterdam preferred Van der Helst to Rembrandt. On the other side it may be argued that the man painted can only hope to 'live' if he capture the imagination of the painter. The realistic portrait is comparable to the work of the scientific historian. We cannot perhaps always trust the pictures which Michelet or Carlyle or Froude (here the 'perhaps' is redundant) draw for us. But after all the times and the personages are alive in their pages. In the pages of Professor Freeman or Professor Gardiner—there is a difference.

The essentially English school of portrait painters, among whom Millais stands as the chief representative, tends more

* This picture is not named in the Exhibition catalogue. The name of the sitter escapes us at the moment.

and more to be flooded and carried away by that of the impressionists. We use the last term to express all those painters whose workmanship is essentially the expression of the *coup d'œil*, the artistic emotion caused by viewing the scene at one moment, 'taking it in,' as people say, at a glance. As a fact this whole school does derive mediately or immediately, knowingly or unconsciously, from Velasquez. And from among the vast concourse of painters in this *genre* two stand out conspicuously as, when not the direct masters of the others, at least the first among a band of fellow-workers. These two are, it need not be said, Mr. Whistler and Mr. Sargent, both Americans, but European-Americans one may say. Across the Atlantic there is now a considerable school of art, of painting, of sculpture, above all of black and white design. The practical sense and quick intelligence of our cousins bring them to apply themselves with diligence and success to master the technicalities of their art: they willingly search out and make good use of the best schools; and the best schools are in Paris. But the want of beautiful surroundings in their lives at home, the essentially unæsthetic existence which most Americans live, keeps the taste of these students far in arrear of their skill. In the instance of the two painters whom we have named there have been special counterbalancing circumstances. The former springs from the Southern States: all his childish reminiscences must be of those States before the great War, when almost nothing of the commercial spirit of the North was known there. And Mr. Sargent is the son of a physician who early expatriated himself and came to live in Italy, so that the childhood of this painter was passed among the finest art treasures of the world.

Mr. Whistler, whose apprenticeship dates back nearly half a century, who was already a master-craftsman forty years ago, is still reckoned by a large portion of the English public as something of a beginner or an amateur. The Paris 'Figaro' more truly expressed his position when, speaking of certain of the American painters best known in France, it added 'de ne pas parler de M. Whistler, qui est un peu le 'maître à tous.' Mr. Whistler has himself asked on what ground people talk of 'English art' any more than of 'English mathematics': so it is not necessary to consider whether he can in any just sense be claimed by our country,*

* The German artistic publication 'Das Museum' classes Whistler as of the 'Englische Schule.'

seeing that his birth is American, he has lived more in Paris than in London, his reputation is French, he has received no official honours in this country. But his influence on surrounding English portrait painters has been so great that by that fact he belongs to us. Along with a strong but somewhat whimsical originality, it is easy to detect in Mr. Whistler two sources of inspiration from which he has drunk in almost equal measure, the first that of the art of Velasquez, the second that of the art of Japan. This last was only introduced to Europe about the time when Mr. Whistler began to paint; and some of his early works show very frankly the attraction which it exercised upon him. His 'Princess from Porcelain-land' * painted in the 'sixties was exhibited once more a few years ago at the International Society's first exhibition. A picture of about the same epoch is his 'Gold Screen.' Both works are of notable merit; more realistic and sober than Mr. Whistler is sometimes and yet permeated with a beautiful decorative feeling; and one cannot but wonder that they should have attracted so little attention when they were first shown: if they had been more noticed, we may surmise that the painter's art would have run a less eccentric course than it has actually followed. But they are somewhat Academic; and he, too, might, if he had been encouraged to proceed upon the same lines, have remained less original than he is to-day. The influence of Japanese art on European art cannot be wholly good. While the Eastern people possesses in an eminent degree that decorative sense which seems rather to belong to early civilisations than to modern ones, it is always contemptuous of the human form, just as the yellow race as a rule is contemptuous of and indifferent to human life. The Japanese rarely make a study of the human form as a pure subject of art: at best it forms part of a larger subject—a decorative design: in the majority of cases it is treated as a grotesque: while birds and animals may be exquisitely studied, human beings scarcely ever are so. It is obvious therefore that a portrait painter who is subjected to Japanese influences prepares for his work some grave defects. We must remember too that the Japanese painting is in water-colour, and is nearly always flat. Mr. Whistler's portraits are not flat. They are on the contrary usually exquisitely and subtly modelled; and that is as much as to say that he has escaped the worst side of the Japanese

* 'Princesse des pays de la porcelaine.'

art. But Mr. Whistler has invented for himself certain theories of how a portrait should stand within its frame, how it is to fit into its decorative surroundings of a nature to hamper his freedom, and such as he would find no precedent for in the great masters of the past, in Velasquez more than in Titian or Rembrandt. In the catalogue of the recently closed International Society's third exhibition Mr. Whistler broke into the calm of the mere list of pictures and painters with a deliverance on this subject—observations just enough in many respects, but not always just in their application.

'That flesh should ever be "low in tone" would seem,' he says, 'to many, a source of sorrow and of vast vexation! And its rendering in such circumstance, an unfailing occasion of suspicious objection and reproach.

'Such objection, which is the more fascinating, in that it would imply superiority and much virtue on the part of the one who makes it, is vaguely based upon the popular superstition as to what flesh really is—*when seen on canvas!* For the people never look at nature with any sense of its pictorial appearance—also they never look at a picture with any sense of nature, but, unconsciously, from habit, with reference to what they have seen in other pictures.

'Now, in the usual "pictures of the year," there is but one flesh that shall do service under all circumstances, whether the person painted be in the soft light of the room, or out in the glare of the open.

'The one aim of the unsuspecting painter is to make his man "stand out" from the frame—never doubting that, on the contrary, he should really, and, in truth, absolutely does, stand *within* the frame—and at a depth behind it, equal to the distance at which the painter sees his model.

'The frame is, indeed, the window through which the painter looks at his model, and nothing could be more offensively inartistic than this brutal attempt to thrust the model on the *hitherside* of this window.

'Yet this is the false condition of things to which all have become accustomed, and, in the stupendous effort to bring it about, exaggeration has been exhausted, and the traditional means of the incompetent can no further go.'

The words here written are in defence (kind but unavailing) not of Mr. Whistler's own work, but that of a pupil. We may pass that over to consider how the writer understands them himself, to recall the sort of room and the peculiar lighting thereof which we see through the window of Mr. Whistler's frames, and mentally compare the Comte de Montesquiou or Miss Alexander or Carlyle or Lady Meux (we purposely choose four pictures representing four varieties of Mr. Whistler's work) with a like number from the great masters, Moroni's Tailor, say, in our National Gallery or

Rembrandt's Burgomaster, or the Admiral Pulido or Holbein's Christina of Denmark, and we see how close are the restrictions Mr. Whistler imposes upon himself, how he deprives his picture of strong vitality by his preoccupation with the framework, the decorative scheme. To produce this low relief which marks all Whistler's work certain technical methods seem to have been called into play which remind one a good deal of the Japanese. Everyone has the right to guard the secret of his own technique. But unless appearances are strangely deceptive, we should judge that this master deliberately sets himself by an abundant use of oil to give his work the qualities of water-colour. There is altogether just now, it may be observed in passing, a sort of democratic tendency in painting to reduce a more difficult and comprehensive form of art to the level of one which is simple and essentially easier; now oil painting is made like water-colour; now it is likened as much as possible to pastel; sometimes it is almost monochrome;* or it is reduced to the level of that strictly two-dimension art of the handbill or *affiche*. There is quite a school of young artists in England who practise this last device—for reasons of their own: their work was very conspicuous in the last Academy: Boutet de Monvel is an example among the French. We call this a democratic tendency, because the effect of it is obviously to let the man who has achieved the lower accomplishment, who has mounted the first steps on the ladder of art, stand on an equality with the one who has advanced higher.

These last observations are parenthetical: they do not apply to Mr. Whistler's painting, which, whatever its deficiencies, is not cheap nor easy. Indeed, whatever its defects, its merits are likewise very great. The low relief in which this master delights often serves only to make more visible his excellent modelling; and how good that is we see on comparing his work with that of his disciples; indeed, this low modelling has a special charm analogous to what we often feel in sculpture—in the very low relief of some early Italian work, Donatello's Entombment in the South Kensington Museum, say, as compared with the high relief of Ghiberti's gates, in the frieze of the Parthenon as compared with its metopes. No man can be insensible to the fascinations of very low relief in sculpture; though it may be argued that the pleasure is hardly legitimate, and that

* As with Carrière.

sculpture thus seen is reduced too near the level of monochrome painting. It is to be feared that the excessive use of oil which characterises some of Whistler's portraits and of certain other impressionist artists (Mr. J. J. Shannon is one) will tend to make the pictures lose their tone in the course of time, as Reynolds's pictures have done (and those of the French portrait painters of the middle nineteenth century) through *their* use of bitumen or asphaltum.

It would be pleasant to dwell longer on the beauties of Mr. Whistler's best work. But his greatness is as well proclaimed by the number of younger painters who have formed themselves upon it. Some of these have been very close imitators of the master, M. de la Gandara for instance in France; and Mr. Humphreys Johnston, an American painter who exhibits there, little in this country. The technical accomplishment of both these painters is considerable; but their originality is very small. On this side of the Channel we count as Whistler's chief creation the so-called Glasgow school and certain other painters of the 'New English Art 'Club' type. Among the first Mr. Guthrie has varied least from his exemplar; but he has kept to the best Whistler tradition. He never degenerates to such a mere piece of decoration, little else than a pattern, as was that picture of Whistler's to be seen at the National Portrait Exhibition the other day—'Violet and Blue—the Red Feather' the painter called it. With Mr. Guthrie we have all the mannerisms and traditions which we now know so well—the pink bow of Velasquez, the peculiar reflection from the hair and so forth; we have likewise more grace and charm than from any other painter of this school. Mr. Lavery is stronger and more original: he is supreme in all parts of his portrait except the flesh. But—whether from personal predisposition or from docility—he has so taken to heart the theory that flesh in a picture should be kept *down* that he makes his people look unwashed. Mr. Melville, a painter of great power, has the same peculiarity, with an added attempt at extreme impressionism almost after Claude Monet's manner in dealing with landscape. It is only fair to add that when, as occasionally happens, Mr. Lavery paints his flesh brightly and naturally, as in the excellent group 'Father and Child' or 'Père et 'Fille' which was bought by the French nation, he produces as good work as any living portrait painter. Mr. E. A. Walton is another of the Glasgow painters, but less hallmarked by a peculiar style than his brethren; Mr. Henry, a fifth of excellent talent. And with this group we may

perhaps class Mr. C. H. Shannon, chiefly on account of his delight in this dim flesh painting and in a certain scheme of decoration similar to theirs. It is astonishing how far all this group of painters has departed from anything which might recall the pure and brilliant flesh tints of their Spanish master.

It is grievous to the critic sometimes to be obliged to group together painters, each of whom has no doubt tried to express what he individually saw in life or had learned to see, while we not less than he must remain ignorant of the exact proportion of originality or imitation in his art. Nobody is wholly original; all seeing in art is traditional—the child sees as the Assyrian or the Egyptian did in the childhood of Art; and what appears to show one painter the imitator of another may be partly the accident that both are submitted to like influences from the age of which they are. But, out of a number of artists, when any one man stands out pre-eminent, we must perforce take him as the representative of that school, and treat other painters as a sort of satellites to his brightness. Thus, while the group of portrait painters whereof we have just been speaking does seem essentially to reflect the rays of Mr. Whistler, there is another group of impressionists whose manner more nearly recalls that of Mr. Sargent. Some of these, who are Mr. Sargent's contemporaries, may have developed their art simultaneously with his: others, younger men, are probably, in the stricter sense of the word, his disciples. Among the former is to be classed the other Mr. Shannon, the better-known Mr. J. J. Shannon, a compatriot of Mr. Sargent and his contemporary, whose painting is distinctly of Sargent's *genre*, but an inferior type thereof. There is, however, considerable variety in Mr. J. J. Shannon's style. In his best work, such for example as his Miss Clough (New Gallery, 1891), he is only impressionist in the sense that he is concerned very distinctly with the outward appearance, and that there is a certain feeling of thinness in his workmanship: we have just the same sense of thinness in regarding Mr. Sargent's work. At other times Mr. Shannon is impressionist and almost purely decorative as well. His faces are blurred and flat, of exquisite but unnatural delicacy in their tints. He has the air of using his paint extremely wet; but there is nothing of the precision which with Whistler keeps the modelling, keeps, that is to say, the tones and the surfaces which they represent distinct. Mr. Shannon's work in this class of pictures is what the French artistic slang calls *léché* or 'licked'—the

outlines blurred, the tones melting into each other. Of this class are the pictures of this artist's wife and children and a considerable series of the same kind. Younger painters of the second order, the evident imitators of Mr. Sargent, are Mr. Jack and Mr. Brough, who may be passed over in favour of their master.

Mr. Sargent then represents the 'last word' of portrait painting with us at this moment. His work is so familiar to picture seers (he has never, like Mr. Whistler, hid his light under a bushel nor quarrelled with the powers that be) that one may assume that the memory of the reader will follow a more detailed reference to his works.* Mr. Sargent is a painter whose workmanship is not easy to characterise: though comparatively young, he has already passed through several phases. Throughout, his technique has tended more and more towards very rapid brushwork: in portraiture (nowadays at least) he seems to make it his system to complete the head of his subject at a sitting; if not satisfied with his first attempt, to paint over it and start quite afresh, without letting the paint dry upon his canvas. It may even be that now that the painter's skill has advanced he often puts in the whole figure at a sitting. The obvious danger, the evil of this is that Mr. Sargent is more and more likely and disposed to *kodak* his sitters, to seize upon some immediate and transient expression which is before his eyes or to represent the person painted if possible almost in the act of moving. This is the extreme of impressionism in portraiture: it is quite a different thing from that impressionism (which is Velasquez and Whistler's alike) which, while it imaginatively and emotionally takes in all the aspects of the scene which is to serve for one artistic whole, all the different gradations therein of light and shade ('values') either of many objects or of surfaces differently inclined towards the light, while it takes in all these things at once, is not precluded from a tolerably slow and careful working out of the essential points of the picture, because the emotional vision once got can never again be wholly lost. There is nothing, for example, in the bust of the older Philip IV. in our National Gallery, painted though it was in Velasquez's quite impressionist epoch, to suggest an execution such as is

* Mr. Sargent began to exhibit in the Royal Academy nearly twenty years ago (the summer of 1882). Since that day not more than two years have failed to show some specimen of his work on the Academy walls; and his contribution to this exhibition alone has risen as high as eight pictures in one year.

Mr. Sargent's. In fact the latter substitutes or is disposed to substitute enormous dexterity of handling and keenness of physical vision for the emotional vision which ear-marks the impressionism of another type. Mr. Sargent's first great and renowned success 'La Carmencita' (R.A. 1891) was a subject the best suited which could be found for this artist's method and his ideal aim; because a dancer can hardly be conceived of in a state of more than momentary repose. And if Mr. Sargent had been a man of narrower ambitions and capacities he would no doubt have confined himself altogether to such subjects, as Degas has confined himself almost altogether to the poses of ballet-girls. Mr. Sargent is far too fine an artist to narrow himself thus. That he can paint people in complete repose is moreover shown by such portraits as Miss Evans (exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1899 and in 1890 in the French Exhibition) and Mrs. Russell Cook (R.A. 1895), dignified and simple and full of charm and character. But it hardly goes with Mr. Sargent's grain to treat his sitters thus, and the great majority of his portraits are in a too literal sense 'speaking' likenesses. So that when he gives us Mr. Coventry Patmore (R.A. 1895) the poet is seemingly in the act of returning thanks for literature; Mr. Penrose is listening, courteously indeed but with impatience, to the scheme of some reformer of the Institute of British Architects, and ready to answer the moment the other comes to a pause: the poet at least must have had his moments of reflection when he looked very different from the standing figure Mr. Sargent presents us with. The painter's 'Mrs. Hammersley' again is rising from a sofa; Mrs. Carl Meyer (R.A. 1897) is just turning round to speak to the artist, while she keeps her children quiet for one moment: and the three daughters of Mr. Percy Wyndham (R.A. 1900) are but a shade more reposeful. Of course this sort of thing is more realistic than the attitudes of Reynolds's 'Waldegraves' or even of Millais's three ladies in 'Hearts are Trumps.' Even in the latter picture there is little suggestion of movement and much suggestion of sitting for a portrait: it fails wholly to please us on that last account. Titian and Velasquez painted people on rearing horses; but there is no genuine movement in these representations either. To have painted portraits with such extraordinary vitality in this kind is therefore a notable achievement of Mr. Sargent, a contribution to the history of art, a conquest for its domain. Howbeit, the great painters who refused to paint these

speaking and moving portraits could paint motion on other occasions: Raphael, who is so enamoured of the expression of movement, never tries it with a portrait; so if all these refrained from doing as Mr. Sargent has done, it may have been for sufficient reasons.

In all pictures of the type of this impressionist portrait painting the accessories should be a matter of importance. For, when we apply Mr. Whistler's principle of the window-frame to these works, we see that persons with such very lively attitudes and expressions as we have here, if they were emerging out of blackness (as Mr. Whistler's people often do) or even if they were seen without some counter-balancing environment, would produce too much the effect of a person grinning through a horse-collar.* And further the introduction of accessories is the more needed, because the person is really not shown as he or she is for all time, not in 'the abstract' or even in 'the general,' but at some particular moment of his or her terrene existence. It is certainly a fault in the 'Coventry Patmore' that it is without such accessories. As a rule such are very charmingly introduced by Mr. Sargent, even if the accessory be only a certain amount of room space. Take his Mrs. White for an example of this instinct of his, one of his early portraits: on a narrower canvass without the chair and curtain the figure would not have half the effect. The sofas of Mrs. Hammersley and Mrs. Meyer serve the purpose sufficiently: Mr. Wertheimer's poodle is useful in the same way. But of late Mr. Sargent, though he paints the accessories, silver lamps, pottery, statuettes, with immense skill, has shown a certain monotony in the choice thereof: a particular silver Roman lamp occurring in three or four pictures painted at the same date and recently exhibited.

There may seem a touch of mysogyny in the suggestion that Mr. Sargent's rapid and after all superficial study of his sitters is more suitable to portraits of women than of men. But let it be remembered that even a greater acquaintance with his subject might easily in the case of a woman fail to produce a more understanding likeness, seeing the difficulty (sufficiently shown in novels) which the one sex must always have in understanding the other. With men, then, the loss

* In the recent Exhibition of the Society of Portrait Painters there was a head by Lenbach (No. 135) treated just in the way we have deprecated, a head vividly painted with red hair, and almost speaking as it came out of the blackness *through its frame.* It was a whim—a *tour de force.* But not a portrait as portraits should be painted.

occasioned by this superficial method is the more felt. In the case of a sitter whom the artist had long known, as Velasquez knew his Philip IV. or for that matter most of the people of Philip's court, a method as rapid as Sargent's might have been used (though with the Spanish master it never was) without much loss. Let it be noted parenthetically that Innocent X. is painted by Velasquez in a much less impressionist manner than he felt free to use for Philip. Under the actual conditions of a painter of our day, this plan is sure to tend towards the search for the salient characteristics, and towards their exaggeration, to the ignoring of those which are more subtle—the long neck of Mr. Patmore, the willowy form of Mr. Graham Robertson, the business acuteness of Mr. Wertheimer, and so forth: to tend in fact more and more towards caricature. And if it does not likewise follow by any necessity, it certainly has resulted in fact in Mr. Sargent's particular case that the painter's scheme seems to shut out that delightful handling of colour, the love of the paint for the paint's sake, all that higher kind of decorative sense which distinguishes the colourist born, whether he be a Titian or a Manet. It is not denied that in some of his subject-pictures, as in 'Carnation, Lily, Lily, Rose,' Mr. Sargent has handled colour with great effect, and with a considerable measure of charm; but never with an intimate sense of its possibilities. Taken in the sum his colour is poor and thin. Millais was crude as a colourist, but he had still a painter's love for colour: there is not much evidence of that in Mr. Sargent's work; his decorative achievement is small. Compare the yellow dress of Carmencita with the yellow robe of one of the feasters in the 'Marriage of Cana' in the Louvre. Compare Mr. Sargent's flesh tints with any flesh painting that is really fine; if the Venetians' be too far away, then with the incomparable 'Olympia' of Manet. Mr. Sargent's hands are especially feeble in their colouring. Neither is his drawing what can truly be called 'fine'; and in the only nude that he has painted, his Egyptian girl, it was visibly defective. It is no place here to speak of Mr. Sargent as a designer for the mural decorations at Boston. To be judged those must be seen *in situ*; and we have not seen them there. Here a portion only of the design has been shown. It certainly may be said the figures more nearly approach grandeur than anything else which the artist has accomplished. But we fail to see through the

whole any ruling principle, anything that seems to speak of inexpugnable conviction.

On the whole then we suspect that with Mr. Sargent it is as with the majority of those who at the present time obtain most wide and rapid recognition in any field of art, whether in the plastic arts, in music, or in literature; that is to say that, while his intellectual gifts are developed to an astonishing degree, the gifts, as one may call them, 'of the 'spirit' have not kept pace therewith. These gifts of the spirit of painting are in the first place a love of the *métier*, a mere delight in handling and dealing with colour, such as Mr. Sargent does not seem to possess; therewith a sensitiveness to the beauty of outward things which can only come with emotion; and which achieves its highest when, to this sensitiveness of eye, this emotion from the nerves, there is added a moral and poetic sensitiveness to suggestions of grandeur and all moral worth. When we discover these gifts upheld by technical qualities as great as the American painter's, then we shall really get what Reynolds talked about so much and sought and found in such strange places, the sublime in art.

ART. XI.—1. *Speech of the Earl of Rosebery, K.G., at Chesterfield.* Reported in the 'Times,' December 17, 1901.

2. *Imperium et Libertas: a Study in History and Politics.* By BERNARD HOLLAND. London: Edward Arnold, 1901.

3. *The Heart of the Empire.* Discussions of Problems of Modern City Life in England, with an Essay on Imperialism. London: Fisher Unwin, 1901.

LORD ROSEBERY appeals from the present Parliament 'unto Cæsar!' His professed object is to reconstruct the Liberal party. He advises it to start on a new career 'with a clean slate,' having first of all sponged out the records of the last few years. The last Queen's Speech for which Lord Rosebery was responsible held up as the objects of the Liberal party Home Rule, the disestablishment of two State Churches, and a measure of 'Local Option.' Over and beyond all this there was an alluring prospect of a death struggle with the House of Lords. But that was in 1895!

In 1901 Lord Rosebery cares for none of these things. The sincere and consistent Home Ruler, Dissenter, Teetotaller, Democrat—each and all are warned that they must move with the times. There are 'Tory Liberals' on his own side of politics, alas! as much attached to a creed outworn, as unconscious of their own belated prejudices, as any members of the Carlton Club. The Opposition of the present day should have but two watchwords, 'Imperialism' and 'Efficiency.' But surely Lord Rosebery is not dissatisfied with the 'Imperialism' of the present Government! 'Imperialism' is a war-cry better calculated to rally one-half of the Liberal party against the other than to carry dismay amongst the followers of Lord Salisbury and Mr. Chamberlain. 'Efficiency' is a cry far better suited to the necessities of Opposition. It appeals very naturally to that large section of the public which realises what the war has cost and is costing the British Empire in life, in money, in reserve of strength, in security of position, and which wishes to put down the whole of that cost not to the policy it has approved, but to the incompetence of the agents—political, civil, military—who have had to carry it out.

Now we readily admit that if Lord Rosebery and the Liberal Imperialists knew of some patent process by which the Dutch Republics could have been easily conquered,

which would not have raised to fever heat against us almost the whole Dutch race in South Africa, which would not have stirred against Great Britain the violent animosities of the peoples of Europe, it is a very great misfortune to the Empire that during the last three years they have not been in power. We are asked to believe that in some way or other our Liberal Imperialist friends would have swallowed the Dutch States in a single gulp, so that with comparatively very small cost we should have gained all the advantages of victory. As there is no reason for believing anything of the kind, the criticism of the 'Liberal 'Imperialists' (if so they are to be called) seems to us to miss the mark. They tell us they would have managed much better, but till they are kind enough also to tell us how, they must remain in the illogical position of quarrelling with the consequences necessarily attending upon the policy they approve. Lord Rosebery's observations of the supreme importance of restoring peace to South Africa and of the means by which he would endeavour to obtain it were pitched in the right tone—a far better and wiser one than has been usual of late amongst public speakers. The terms of pacification with the Boers do not, however, come within the topic which, on this occasion, we propose to discuss.

In our last number we gave some attention to the position and prospects of political parties. Lord Rosebery's speech has, so far, made no change whatever in the situation, though it may well be that future events may show it to have been of real importance as the first step of a new departure. Does Lord Rosebery propose to reconstruct the Liberal party, so as to enable it in a shorter or longer time to overthrow the Unionist Ministry? He has against him at present a very large majority in the House of Commons; but with the examples of Disraeli and Gladstone present to his mind that fact may not daunt him. If he can do this, he will of course earn the gratitude of all Liberals; and in the meantime he will strain every effort to minimise internal differences, and to bring 'under one umbrella' (to use an expression he has himself made classical) all the heterogeneous elements of which the party is composed. That is one policy.

But there is another possibility. Lord Rosebery may wish to construct an alternative Government to Lord Salisbury's, which will not be a Liberal Government; or at all events an exclusively Liberal Government—one which will owe its support to a section only of the Liberal Party in alliance

with a section of the Unionist Party. In furtherance of such a policy he would gladly see differences between the more or less Radical sections of the Opposition become stereotyped, whilst he would offer any encouragement he could to dissatisfied or half-hearted Unionists to support a coalition. Clearly for such a purpose it would be wiser to make 'efficiency' rather than any political principle the rallying cry of the new combination.

It is worth while to examine a little into what is meant by Imperialism. In the mouth of Lord Rosebery or Sir Edward Grey it does not seem to differ very widely from what was formerly called patriotism; and that, we are happy to think, not being the monopoly of any particular party, is too wide to constitute a 'plank' in a party 'plat-'form.' In the mouth of many Radical speakers 'Impe-'rialism' is taken to be merely a new name for the vulgar music-hall Jingoism so rife a few years ago, and by no means yet extinct. Mr. Gooch in his vehement essay on Imperialism in the 'Heart of the Empire' sees in it no more than this. If its meaning is limited to our inter-colonial relations, the word no doubt conveys a repudiation of the policy of disintegration of the empire, or the severance of any part of it from the common throne and flag; but on this point, so far as public men are concerned, there is, in the year 1901, complete unanimity. Lord Rosebery seems to think there is something new in the British feeling for 'the Empire;' and many of Mr. Chamberlain's admirers speak as if the sentiment had been discovered by the Colonial Secretary. No doubt, as the times have progressed, and as the facts have changed, a different conception of empire has taken possession of men's minds; and we turn with relief from the noisy platitudes of the platform to Mr. Bernard Holland's thoughtful examination of the gradual developement of the national sentiment as regards the fundamental principles upon which rest a united empire and a united kingdom.

According to Mr. Bernard Holland, and we are by no means sure that he is far wrong, the greatest of the 'problems of Greater Britain' is how to reconcile in practical working the ideas of Dominion and Freedom. In his recent 'Study in History and Politics' Mr. Holland points to conspicuous instances of success and failure in the attempts of our statesmen and people to solve this perennial problem. 'The American Revolution,' the 'History of 'Canada,' 'The Irish Union and the Home Rule Movement,'

'Our Modern Colonial Empire,' are all considered in order to discover by the light of example or warning how we may safely steer our course amidst difficulties of the present and the future, similar in kind at least to those that have greatly vexed our ancestors in the past. All Englishmen are at heart imbued with the spirit of their national song. They wish to 'flourish great and free,' and they are rightly loth to admit that it can ever be necessary for Englishmen to sacrifice freedom to greatness or greatness to freedom.

'The North is fighting for empire, the South for inde-'pendence,' Englishmen were told during the great Civil War in America in one of those epigrammatic superficial phrases which in exciting times catch the ears of the populace whilst their eyes are closed to the deeper significance of events. But 'empire may be a very good thing,' as was said by an eminent Liberal statesman, of that very struggle; and assuredly all men now see that the successful maintenance of American nationality was a real triumph in the cause of freedom. The victories won by the overwhelming military power of the North did not lay the foundations of militarism in the midst of a liberty-loving people. The men who were able to defeat and conquer the greatest rebellion that the world has known were no less magnanimous after victory than they had been resolute at every cost in achieving it; and to this wise magnanimity has been largely due the obliteration of the hatred and of the spirit of vengeance which have almost always animated, even for generations, the party of unsuccessful rebellion.

Mr. Holland has written a singularly interesting volume, which, in the circumstances of the present day, it will do men good to read. It was, he argues, because our statesmen and our people did not understand the possibility of combining two great conflicting principles in one harmonious system that in the eighteenth century the British Empire was rent asunder. It was to the fact that the eyes of the nation becoming at last opened to a new ideal of Imperial sovereignty and colonial independence, that the British Colonial Empire of to-day owes its existence; and it is by virtue of a still better understanding of all that our author conveys in the expression 'Imperium et Libertas' that he looks forward in the future to a more heartily united kingdom and a more strongly consolidated empire.

'For ourselves, during the last hundred and fifty years,' says our author, 'the most important political question has been no longer the political demarcation of the frontiers between Royal power and that of the body

of the nation, or even that between the State and individual liberty, but of that between Imperial power and national liberty. In order to reconcile these two things there must be some sacrifice of the advantages of Imperial unity on the one side, and some sacrifice of national independence on the other. Yet the benefits of the result should be greater than those either of unity alone or of independence alone. The sacrifice and the benefit is the same, in a wider sphere, as in the case of that compromise between the power of the State and the liberty of the citizen which has been so successfully worked out in the course of our domestic English history.'

What, then, is the lesson we ought to draw from the rupture in the eighteenth century between Great Britain and her American Colonies? In a few pages and by means of a number of extracts from contemporary letters, speeches, and memoirs, the way in which the colonial relation was regarded by general opinion in England and America is very clearly demonstrated. There was, to begin with, no desire amongst Englishmen generally to play the tyrant towards their fellow-subjects beyond the seas; and there was certainly no desire amongst Americans to establish their independence and to break up the Empire. Still, there were questions in difference which statesmen should have seen (as some statesmen did, in fact, see) must almost inevitably lead to violent discord unless patience and wisdom were brought to bear in their solution. In England the lawyers argued and the public believed that Parliament was constitutionally competent to tax America; but the Rockingham Whigs, whilst willing to assert the right, regarded its exercise as impolitic to the last degree, and accordingly in 1766 they repealed the Stamp Act whilst placing on the Statute-book a declaration of the supreme authority of Parliament. 'The view of the 'man in the street and in the coffee-house' a year later is given us in an extract from a letter of Benjamin Franklin:

'The current of talk was that it is high time to put the right and power of this country to tax the Colonies out of dispute by an Act of taxation, effectually carried into execution, and that the Colonies should be obliged explicitly to acknowledge the right. Every step is being taken to render the taxation of America a popular measure here;'

and if any such measure were brought before Parliament, he says that those who opposed it would be stigmatised 'as Americans,' 'betrayers of old England,' &c.

Mr. Holland's quotations from Burke, from Junius, and from Governor Pownall, show that they at least held the views now accepted by constitutional statesmen. An Act of Parliament is now as it was then—supreme in theory throughout the dominions of the Crown. But the practical question for

statesmen was then, as it is now, not what are the rights as defined by lawyers between Mother Country and Colony, but what is the wise policy to adopt having regard, not only to constitutional theory, but to the actual facts of the case and the conditions of the time. It is impossible to maintain that at that stage of English history men were incapable of grasping the idea of a British Empire of which colonies with locally independent parliaments formed a part, and we should be unwilling to admit that the necessities of that age *compelled* Englishmen to entertain the narrow prejudices of their King and his purblind Ministers. Two policies were from the early days of the dispute with our American Colonies clearly marked out. It was for British statesmen and the British people to make their choice. Burke may be taken as the representative of the one. The King and Lord North of the other. What says Governor Pownall? Mr. Holland quotes from his speech in the House of Commons of 1767 on the question of the power of the Imperial Parliament to override by legislation the will of a Colonial Assembly:—

'If we consider each of the Assemblies of the provinces and colonies as what it is—a legislative, deliberative body, as the will of a province or colony, it must have a right to decide; if it has the free-will to say *aye*, it must have the same power to say *no*. You may properly order an executive power to execute, but how and with what propriety can you order this deliberative body to exert its will only in one prescribed direction? If any supreme and sovereign will shall preordain what this inferior power of deliberation shall will, it will make the same confusion in practice which the divines and metaphysicians have made in theory between predestination and free-will absolute. If the Assemblies of the colonies will not in every mode, article, and particular provision decide in their deliberative capacity as an Act of Parliament directs and preordains, you consider the Colonies as denying the sovereignty of Great Britain, than which nothing can be more unjust.'

In 1767 came the stupendous folly of the Act imposing the duty on tea and other articles imported to America, most of which duties were repealed two years later; that, however, on tea being retained 'in order to keep up the right.' Lord North, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, would have liked to give up this duty also, 'on the conciliating prin-'ciple,' since it had given rise to dangerous opposition in America, and had caused dissatisfaction also amongst British merchants. But the Ministry would not make a concession to those who they declared were insulting supreme authority, disputing Imperial rights, and aiming

at independent government. It was the official view that colonial insubordination had already been greatly encouraged by the weakness of a former Ministry in repealing the Stamp Act. Lord North was the mouthpiece of the Government, and his tone, little as it represented his own inclinations, of course pleased the King and delighted the populace. 'As 'a matter of fact,' says Mr. Holland, 'Lord North's eloquence 'was official, and he was only prevented by the pride and 'prejudice of the King, and of a strong party in Parliament 'and the country, from following the dictates of his own 'good sense.'

After the Boston tea riots and the repressive measures passed in Parliament, the voice of calm reason could hardly obtain a hearing on either side of the Atlantic.

'Large phrases and sweeping allegations usurped the place of argument. The Americans accused the English of long-formed designs to reduce them to slavery; the English, with equal error and conviction, believed that the Americans had for years aimed at complete independence, and that questions of right of taxation had been a mere cover of deep and treasonable designs, or had been used by conspirators to stir up the misguided, if honest, people.'

In England the news of the battles at Lexington and Bunker's Hill was decisive of public opinion. The Americans, it was declared, had begun the war by resisting the Royal troops, and almost all Englishmen felt that there was but one way of dealing with armed rebellion. The Declaration of Independence of 1776 united Englishmen almost as one man in the passionate desire to secure by any efforts that might be required the integrity of the Empire. Burke, in his letter of the following year to the sheriffs of Bristol quoted by Mr. Holland, wrote that

'for some time he had been clearly convinced that in the present state of things all opposition to any measures proposed by Ministers concerning America was vain and frivolous. . . . Several very prudent and very well-intentioned persons were of opinion that during the prevalence of such dispositions all struggles rather inflamed than lessened the distemper of the public counsels. As he found that such resistance was considered factious by most within doors, and by many without, he could not conscientiously support what was against his opinion, nor prudently contend with what he knew was irresistible.'

When war had begun it was too late for moderate counsels. Earlier in the day they might have prevailed had the King been advised by statesmen big enough to withstand the prejudices of their monarch and the rapidly

growing passions of the people. 'The common English 'belief of that day,' says Mr. Holland, 'that there had 'existed for years a great conspiracy aiming at indepen- 'dence, was as foundationless as the American allegation 'that the King and his Ministers were resolved to reduce 'America to "a state of slavery."' On this point both Ministers and people were misled by their officials and heated loyalist friends in America. In fact, the whole situation was monstrously misunderstood both as regards the feelings with which the American colonists began their resistance, and the means they possessed of making it successful. 'Nothing ripens ideas so quickly as war' most justly observes Mr. Holland. Accordingly, the demand for privileges quickly became a claim to independence, and Englishmen and Americans found themselves engaged in a mortal struggle for the decision of a momentous question which very few men on either side of the Atlantic had really wished to raise.

Burke's great speeches and letters on our troubles with the American colonists are as full of instruction for politicians of to-day as they were for the British public of a century and a quarter ago. He had done his best to resist every false step on the downward path which he foresaw must end in civil war; and a despairing tone, which after-events so fully justified, now characterised his language. 'Everything administered as a remedy to the public com- 'plaint, if it did not produce, was at least followed by, a 'heightening of the distemper, until by a variety of experi- 'ments that important country has been brought into her 'present situation—a situation which I will not miscall, 'which I dare not name, which I scarcely know how to 'comprehend in the terms of any description.'* He believed, no one more strongly, that 'America was a noble object'—an object well worth fighting for. 'Certainly it is,' he cried, 'if fighting people is the best way of gaining them.' He would not enter upon the military aspect of that question, which he left to the soldiers; but, 'Sir (addressing the 'Speaker), the use of force alone is but *temporary*. It may 'subdue for a moment; but it does not remove the necessity 'of subduing again; and a nation is not governed which 'is perpetually to be conquered.' Burke showed the scorn of a real statesman for that barren discussion of technical

* Speech on Conciliation with America, March 22, 1775.

rights which absorbs the mental energies of lesser politicians:—

'The question with me is, not whether you have a right to render your people miserable, but whether it is not your interest to make them happy. It is not what a lawyer tells me I *may* do; but what humanity, reason, and justice tell me I *ought* to do. Is a politic act the worse for being a generous one? Is no concession proper, but that which is made from your want of right to keep what you grant? Or does it lessen the grace or dignity of relaxing in the exercise of an odious claim, because you have your evidence-room full of titles, and your magazines stuffed with arms to enforce them? What signify all those titles and all those arms? Of what avail are they when the reason of the thing tells me that the asserting of my title is the loss of my suit, and that I could do nothing but wound myself by the use of my own weapons?' *

Burke ardently wished to keep the American Colonies within the Empire, and his method was to make his fellow-countrymen beyond the seas realise that there lay their truest interest and their highest aspirations:—

'My hold of the Colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, from equal protection. These are the ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the Colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government—they will cling and grapple with you, and no force under heaven will be of power to tear them from their allegiance. But let it once be understood that these two things may exist without any mutual relation—the cement is gone, the cohesion is loosened, and everything hastens to decay and dissolution.'

We are entirely unable to accept the fatalistic theory of history and politics to which the consideration of the American troubles has led Mr. Holland. Judicial fairness in a historian is an admirable quality. The fair and honest treatment of opponents in contemporary political warfare, when it can be found, commands our admiration—a counsel of perfection hardly to be looked for in real life. But we refuse altogether, in spite of Burke's failure, to admit that individual men are powerless in their own generation, or that Englishmen are driven along to their destined fate solely by 'a public opinion controlled, as it ever is, by the 'spirit of the age.' Strafford may be no more morally to blame for aiming at monarchical absolutism than Hampden for resisting the levy of ship-money. George III. may have been as honest according to his lights in trying to maintain

* Speech on Conciliation with America, March 22, 1775.

British supremacy as George Washington in defending the liberties of America. It is not the province of mortal man, or historian, or even reviewer, to pronounce '*lastly* on each 'deed.' But Englishmen may surely ask of their statesmen to understand a little better than the ignorant crowd the facts and conditions of their own time! To us it seems that the disasters which fell upon the Empire in the reign of George III. were the natural and necessary results of the colossal folly and ignorance of our governors. An honest but most narrow-minded and prejudiced King, advised by Ministers blind to the forces of their own age and to the nature and conditions of the struggle into which they entered with a light heart, appealed to the passions of the people which wiser men would have striven to allay. The ship, being badly steered, went upon the rocks, and we are asked to believe that it was the inevitable result of ocean currents! Are George III. and Washington really to be classed together simply as honest men advocating different theories, out of the clash of whose contentions arose a new and better state of things, to which, therefore, each in his degree was a contributor? Where, we wonder, in 'the 'study of history and politics' does statesmanship come in? Lord Elgin, writing in a fit of temporary annoyance in 1857, declares that English statesmen seemed to make it a principle never to check an evil till it had gained great proportions, and this they called governing a democracy. And he thought 'the time was approaching when foresight would 'be a positive disqualification in statesmen.' * There seems to be little immediate danger to British statesmanship from an excess of endowment in this direction. The future is almost always more or less a leap in the dark, but the best preparation for the future is the true reading and understanding of the present. And here it was that Lord North and his friends so signally failed. It was insight rather than foresight that was lacking. They made no patient efforts to understand the facts; they listened only to counsels of pride and violence; they had not the imagination to understand the point of view very naturally adopted by their fellow-citizens beyond the Atlantic.

We have quoted above the words of Burke to show that the language and thoughts of the present day as to the true bonds by which the Empire should be united are no new discovery. And in his day the constitutional system of

* Imperium et Libertas, p. 280.

Great Britain and Ireland made familiar to all men the idea of two kingdoms with different Parliaments, both owning allegiance to the same King. It was not the novelty of the idea that prevented Englishmen from conceding Parliamentary government to the Colonies, but rather the unhappy temper of the public mind, excited by various unfortunate occurrences, and stirred by reckless politicians. This put all calm inquiry, all reasonable concession, all rational compromise, entirely out of court. Long before the peace of 1783 very many Englishmen, even amongst Lord North's supporters, had realised all this as clearly as we do to-day. After the Declaration of Independence it might well have happened, indeed at one time it seemed very probable, that British arms would prevail. But for all that the two peoples could never have become united on the basis of conqueror and conquered, and when war had once begun this or dismemberment was all that remained to the Empire.

It is a relief to turn from the great failure of the eighteenth century to the great success of the nineteenth century, from the loss of America to the up-growth of the Canadian Dominion. In Lower Canada, at the time of the accession of Queen Victoria, the French Canadians, forming a large majority of the population, had control of the representative Assembly. They formed almost the whole of the farming or peasant class of the community, whilst the minority of British settlers possessed the energy and resources upon which the future growth and prosperity of the Colony clearly depended. The Council, consisting of nominees of the Governor, represented the sentiments of the British. Hence perpetual deadlock; the conflict in fact turning upon whether the popular House was to control the Colonial Executive, or whether the latter, relying upon the support of the home Administration, was to prevail. There was every circumstance of racial and religious difference to embitter the quarrel. In the eyes of the British the majority were simply rebels to be put down and kept down by force. After fighting had taken place it required no little firmness on the part of British statesmen to resist the pressure of excited loyalists and to place their confidence in the restoration and developement of a free Parliamentary system, under which, as with us at home, the Executive was to be controlled by the popular assembly of the Legislature. In Upper Canada there was no racial difficulty; but there also the popular House had been held in check by a Council of nominees, representing powerful interests and families, and

the reformers of the Lower House were clamouring for the authority over the Executive possessed by the British House of Commons. Lord Durham's expedient was to combine Upper and Lower Canada in a single Parliament, in which, of necessity, there would be a British majority, and frankly to concede to the Parliament of all Canada the privileges of the Parliament at home. A difficult and dangerous situation was saved by the true insight and wide-minded sagacity of the High Commissioner whom the Queen's Ministers sent to Canada after the suppression of the rebellion. It is, however, less the scheme of settlement itself than the way in which it was discussed that requires our attention. Mr. Holland points out that the old Canadian Constitution, unlike the systems of the American Colonies, rested not upon Royal Charter, but upon the statute of 1791. It was the first of a long series of colonial constitutions framed by Act of Parliament, and there could therefore be no contest between Canada and the Mother Country as to the authority of the Imperial Legislature to bind the Colony. The discussions at Westminster upon the principles of the new constitution show that men's minds had indeed 'widened 'with the process of the suns,' and that the lessons taught by the bitter experience of the American conflict had not been learnt in vain. Mr. Holland thinks that Lord John Russell and other statesmen were too ready under the gloomy influences of that terrible dismemberment to contemplate the ultimate possibility of Colonial independence, and to hold that even that solution would not necessarily be fraught with disaster. We are inclined to think that this facing of the real facts of the situation is far wiser than letting oneself and others be deceived by resounding phrases about Imperial supremacy. No doubt in 1836 Whig statesmen and Tory statesmen, in speaking of the relation between Great Britain and her Colonies, always implied a relation in which the latter were largely *governed* by the Mother Country. In referring to Lower Canada, with the French majority in the Lower House, Lord John Russell declared that to give that body control over the Executive Government would be 'incon-'sistent with the relations between Mother Country and 'colony, and that it would be better far to say at once, '"Let the two countries separate," than for us to pretend 'to govern the colony afterwards.' He saw the facts—viz., that free parliaments, with the power to choose their own governments, rule; he knew that the Parliament of Lower

Canada was hostile; and that, under these circumstances, to *govern* it from outside would be the merest pretence. Two years later, when Lord John—then Colonial Minister—brought in the Bill to suspend the Canadian Constitution, he insisted that a Parliament that named its own Executive was beyond control. In such a case, he said: 'The question 'arises, "What is to become of the orders given by the '"Imperial Government and the Governor of the Colony?"' —a question which in truth deserves just as much consideration now as it did then. He believed the possession of our Colonies tended materially to the prosperity of the Empire, but the future might bring with it changes, and he could imagine a time might come in which 'our Colonies 'might with propriety be severed from us, and formed into 'a separate and distinct State in alliance offensive and 'defensive with this country.'

On all this Mr. Holland's comments are full of interest. What, he asks, would Lord Rosebery and Mr. Chamberlain as representatives of modern Liberalism say to this? And he goes on to refer to Sir Wilfrid Laurier's speech in the Jubilee year 1897, when he claimed that 'Canada was a 'nation.' 'Canada,' continues Mr. Holland, 'is no longer 'a colonial dependency. It is a distinct State. It is in 'alliance offensive and defensive with this country. Yet it 'has not ceased to be an integral portion of the Empire. 'Thus in the case of Canada we have succeeded in recon-'ciling Imperium et Libertas—autonomy and Imperial 'connection—*res olim dissociabiles*.' Well, but let us look at *things* as well as phrases. Canada, according to Mr. Holland, is a distinct 'State' in strict alliance with this country. Sir Wilfrid Laurier says Canada is a nation. Apparently the term 'State' is hardly sufficient to satisfy Canadian aspirations. Nay, the Colonial Secretary, in speaking of Mother Country and Colonies, has himself used the phrase 'sister nations,' which, in our opinion, very happily expresses the relations between Great Britain, the Canadian Dominion, and the Australian Commonwealth. If, then, we take the true measure of the facts, was Lord John Russell so very far wrong after all in 1838? It is, in truth, because the Mother Country does not *govern* the great Colonies that the unity of the British Empire is maintained. And the great question of the future is to discover, not how the mother is to govern her daughters, but how to secure that the sister nations in time of general danger may act together.

Thus Lord Durham and the Whig Ministry came to the conclusion that the only way of keeping Canada within the Empire was to concede to that colony the main principle of the British Constitution—the subordination of the Executive to the popular branch of the Legislature. It was not long before circumstances arose to test the firmness of the Imperial Government in adhering to the path it had marked out for itself. Lord Elgin was determined, if he could, to make Lord Durham's policy a success, sharing to the full the belief of his father-in-law that in this way only would Canada ultimately become a contented and loyal portion of the Empire. Eleven or twelve years after the rebellion a Canadian Ministry, representing the French element in the colony, together with a small minority of the British, was returned to power, and proceeded to introduce a Bill to indemnify persons in Lower Canada, other than convicted rebels, for losses sustained in the rebellion of 1837–38 through the violence of the troops and the loyalists. The injuries done to the rebels by the loyalists had already been made the subject of compensation.

'This modest and just measure,' as Mr. Holland calls it, 'met with a most violent opposition, and petitions flowed in from all parts of Upper Canada asking that Parliament might be dissolved on the question, or that the Bill might be reserved for the Royal sanction. Amongst the objectors were many most worthy colonials, to whom, as Lord Elgin wrote to Lord Grey, "the principles of constitutional government are unfathomable mysteries," and who regarded the representative of the Crown, and more remotely the Imperial Government, with the most intense and unrelenting indignation if political affairs were not administered in entire accordance with their sense of what is right.'

Lord Elgin, for having assented to the Bill, was attacked by riotous mobs in the streets of Montreal, whilst numerously signed petitions were sent home by vehement loyalists for his recall. At home a large portion of the press joined in the clamour against him, and the outcry was supported by the vigorous protests of the Opposition in the House of Lords and the House of Commons. The Imperial Government, however, firmly supported the constitutional and conciliatory policy of the Governor, and in Mr. Holland's opinion 'nothing did so much to inspire the French Canadians with 'faith in the justice of Imperial suzerainty as the resistance 'of Lord Elgin to the attacks made upon him on this occa-'sion by the Tory, Orange, or so-called Loyalist party' (p. 142). When Confederation came, Ontario and Quebec

again became provinces with separate Legislatures, within the new 'Dominion.' Most men to-day will agree with Mr. Holland in thinking that it was only by treating the Canadians 'as a nation' that the union with the British Empire could have been maintained. In this instance he claims that the twin problems of reconciling 'Imperial connection with national freedom, and national power with 'sub-national or provincial self-government,' have been solved successfully. 'Canada is a loyal and free nation 'amid the nations of the Empire; Quebec a loyal and free 'province amid the provinces of the Dominion.'

The great Australian Commonwealth has been the work of Australians themselves, British Ministers, whether Liberal or Conservative, having at last discovered that the truest statesmanship is to leave our fellow-citizens beyond the seas to work out their own salvation on their own lines. A British colony, when it becomes prosperous and populous, always insists upon having a free hand. Our political ideals at home may possibly be sounder or more magnificent than Colonial aspirations, as, for example, when in 1873 the Australian Colonies wanted to tax each other's imports, whilst a strong feeling at home would have inclined towards a Free-trade Empire. In vain did Lord Grey protest that the connection between Mother Country and Colonies was becoming a merely nominal instead of a living bond of union. 'There must be,' he said, 'a single and paramount 'authority to ensure that on subjects of general and common 'interest all the separate communities that form the Empire 'shall act in concert, and shall co-operate with each 'other.' How, he asked, could the colonial relation remain if we allowed the Colonies to impose protective duties against our commerce even more hostile than those of most foreign countries? The real answer was that, for good or for evil, the Colonies could no longer be kept in leading-strings, and happily English statesmen were wise enough to recognise facts. We think the facts are of even deeper significance than Mr. Holland quite realises. He says truly enough that the discussion of 1873 shows that the Parliament of the United Kingdom was no longer in reality sovereign over our great self-governing Colonies, so far as legislation regarding their domestic affairs was concerned. It might, perhaps, be questioned whether the taxation of British produce is entirely the domestic concern of the particular importing colony; but apart from this the true importance of the lesson is the rise of a *Colonial sovereignty*

which declines to be ruled by authority external to itself. It is quite true that the Parliament at Westminster, being an exclusively British Parliament, however well fitted to govern through the instrumentality of His Majesty's Ministers the United Kingdom and its dependencies properly so called, is by its very nature not fitted for the government of the 'sister nations.' Hence very wisely it abstains nowadays from attempting anything of the kind. But even in matters regarded beyond all dispute as common to the whole Empire, such as peace or war, the establishment of a Zollverein, the provision of means for the common defence, and so on, are we wise to look for 'a paramount authority' to rule us all? Doubtless for Imperial purposes British Ministers, depending solely upon a local electorate—that of the United Kingdom—form the only Supreme Government of the Empire, and in this Government Britain beyond the seas has no direct part. What should be the basis of our new arrangements to meet the altered state of things? Should we set ourselves to construct an actively paramount authority, or should we frankly acknowledge that the Empire is held together by free concert only, and limit our endeavours to providing a constitutional means of consulting, rather than of controlling, the separate nations of which the Empire is composed? Are we—to put the question shortly—to base our Imperial Constitution on the idea of a federation under a supreme Federal Government with the right and power to command, or on that of a great British league between nations whose feelings of kindred, whose sentiment of a common loyalty to the throne and flag, whose appreciation of their own dignity and interest will always keep them united in the face of danger, and able to act in concert as regards the outside world?

Mr. Holland rightly argues that the House of Commons of the United Kingdom cannot by the introduction of Colonial representation possibly become a satisfactory principal Chamber of an Imperial Parliament possessing the functions attaching to Parliament, of taxing, of legislating, of choosing a supreme Executive. He would, therefore, look rather to the establishment of an

'Imperial Council acting as an intermediary between the great officers of State and each part of the Empire, conveying the wishes and opinions of the nations concerned to the Imperial Executive, and recommending, conversely, to their own Governments the measures suggested by that Executive and approved by themselves. This developement would be accompanied by the gradual detachment from

the special affairs and political life of the United Kingdom of the officials who are charged with the care of those naval, military, and external affairs in which the whole Empire is jointly interested. One can even imagine a system under which these high officials were appointed by the Crown, in conformity with the wishes of the Imperial Council, and held office, not as now, so long as the Cabinet to which they belonged was supported by the majority in the House of Commons, but for a term of years, after the fashion of the Viceroy of India.'

Mr. Holland ends his book with a glowing description ot the rising importance of the Throne, which he should take more care to distinguish from the personal power of the Sovereign. It is true that it is in their relation to the Throne that the young democracies within the Empire feel most strongly the tie of a common citizenship. How little our philosophical thinkers and writers of the nineteenth century foresaw such a developement as this! Still, Mr. Holland's *theories* are sometimes enough to make an old Whig turn in his grave. 'In theory,' says Mr. Holland (at p. 269), 'the Monarch can of his own free will dismiss 'and appoint any Minister as he likes, dissolve his Parlia- 'ment, and rule without one, himself conduct all the affairs 'of the Empire; in practice, he reigns but does not govern, 'except indirectly by influence and advice.' Is it, we humbly ask, part even of the *theory* of the British Constitution in this twentieth century that the King can govern without a Parliament? The influence of the Sovereign has grown in recent years; and why? Because for more than two generations the Throne was occupied by a great and wise Queen who understood her part in the Constitution. Mr. Holland gives an interesting extract from a letter of Lord Elgin, in which he declares that the power he exercised in Canada, as a Constitutional Sovereign governing through and by the advice of his Ministers, was, in fact, greater than that which he wielded in Jamaica as Governor of a Crown Colony. Any movement in the direction of converting a useful influence of this kind into direct action on the part of the Sovereign would very soon produce both difficulty and danger to our whole system.

We do not intend here to pursue the inquiry into the best Constitution with which in the abstract it might be possible to provide the British Empire or the United Kingdom. We are dealing with practical politics, and everyone at all conversant with the working of our system must see that the suggestion contained in the last sentence above quoted involves fundamental changes in the English Constitution greater than have taken place since the days of William III.

Mr. Holland does excellent service in bringing before Englishmen the history of the growth of the Empire, and in recalling to their attention the wise and enlightened patriotism of statesmen like Lord Durham and Lord Elgin. The conclusion to which he comes is, in our opinion, established beyond all dispute—viz., that the great Colonies are now, as they claim to be, 'nations,' and are not therefore to be ruled by our British 'national' authorities, whose existence is dependent upon the will of the people of the United Kingdom alone. Still the situation is not made clear by the mere use of the word 'nation.' If Canada is 'a nation,' Australia 'a nation,' and so on, it behoves the British 'nation' to treat them as such. But then we are reminded in the same breath that we are the 'Mother 'Country,' or that we are all 'sister nations' together; and we are not told whether this relation of 'motherhood' or 'sisterhood' involves more than those all-important feelings of common kinship and common loyalty which as a matter of fact hold us together. It is clear that some amount of definition is required, and Mr. Holland in his first chapter undertakes the not very easy task of defining the word 'nation.' Everyone, he says, clearly understands the meaning of the word; but surely the word is frequently used by different people in quite different senses. Mr. Holland does not intend the word to signify a community which possesses a collective legal personality together with a very large degree of independence, though this is undoubtedly a very general understanding of the word. By 'nation' he means

> 'a natural community of men on a sufficiently large scale, whether or not they possess legal personality and governmental forms. A nation is an aggregation of men, usually based in the beginning upon some degree of affinity of race, and distinguished from other aggregations by certain sentiments of greater union among themselves. These sentiments are due to original kinships, maintained by constant intermarriage, the geographical position, language, religion (some or all these elements); but, above all, to a community of history. And it must not be forgotten that a nation can be made by a process of bitter suffering, defeat, subjection, regret, disappointment, as well as by a successful, prosperous, and glorious career. Nor can a nation, once so fashioned, be unmade, nor can existence cease with misfortune. (P. 19.)

Thus Mr. Holland would not say, as we should ourselves say, that the result of the Unions of 1603 and 1707 was to make one nation of the English and the Scotch peoples. For him the English nation and Scotch nation still exist. It is important, then, to bear his definition in mind in his

very frequent use of the word. Mr. Gladstone said during the American Civil War that the Confederates had made 'a 'nation.' Mr. Parnell's aspiration was that Ireland should take its place as 'a nation' amongst the other nations of the world. The worst of Mr. Holland's definition is that of necessity he finds himself compelled to employ a new word, 'sub-nation,' to describe a nation that is lacking in some of the attributes generally supposed to belong to nationhood. He was clearly bound to give his own definition, as certainly by many persons the word 'nation' is understood as implying a political condition of a people as well as some of the attributes mentioned by Mr. Holland.

Let us turn our thoughts from the Empire and our great Colonies to the United Kingdom. Within the Empire a policy of Home Rule has been pursued, of which all men approve. Does the success of this policy encourage the hope that a policy of Home Rule within the United Kingdom would produce equally good results? The lesson of our colonial experience is clear enough that in these democratic days a Colonial Parliament and Executive Government become practically sovereign over the Colony, and that mutual goodwill becomes henceforth the sole guarantee for the continuance of satisfactory relations with the parent state. By Home Rule alone can we approximate to the realisation of 'Imperium et Libertas,' so far as the Colonies are concerned. But the problem of the Empire and the problem of the United Kingdom differ essentially. The facts and conditions and necessities of the one case are utterly unlike those of the other. And the very reasons which make us Home Rulers as regards the great Colonies compel us to take our stand firmly on the parliamentary union of the three kingdoms.

Mr. Holland entirely disapproves of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bills of 1886 and 1893. After the parliamentary and national discussion to which those extraordinary projects were subjected, few educated men have been found to stand up for either. The first involved the exclusion of the Irish members from the supreme Parliament at Westminster. It was therefore inadmissible. The second retained the Irish members at Westminster, though an exclusively Irish Parliament was to be established at Dublin. It was therefore inadmissible. These two objections to the two measures were felt almost universally; and they necessarily dispose of the possibility of the settlement of the Irish difficulty upon Gladstonian lines. Should, therefore, Irish

Home Rule be given up as a bad job? We should answer yes; and for all we know Lord Rosebery and many other distinguished members of the late Home Rule party may agree with us.

We see with regret that Mr. Holland would endeavour to turn the flank of the Unionist objections to Mr. Gladstone's measures by advocating a far wider project than that sufficiently adventurous statesman contemplated. He, in fact, advocates 'Home Rule all round,' and would take as his model for our new constitution the system of the Canadian Dominion. England, Scotland, Ireland, and perhaps Wales, would each have its own parliament and executive government, and would be subordinate to the Parliament of the United Kingdom at Westminster. This, indeed, was the suggestion thrown out by Mr. Chamberlain in 1886. The idea seems to be that the establishment of sub-national institutions for all these countries would relieve the central Parliament of a great part of its legislative burdens, and would gratify the national pride of Englishmen, Scotchmen, Irishmen, and Welshmen, to such an extent that they would co-operate more closely than ever in the general business of the kingdom. The wheels of Parliament, it is said, at present work heavily. Had we five parliaments, ten legislative chambers, five executive governments, so great would be the division of labour that far more work and far better work would be done. The legislative relief to the central Parliament would indeed be considerable, if such measures as are now passed separately for each kingdom were entirely withdrawn from it. There would then, no doubt, be any number of days available for the discussion of the Indian Budget—always the stock example of the neglect by the House of Commons of its Imperial functions. As we understand the proposal, it is that each local parliament, as representing what Mr. Holland terms a nation, shall within its own borders have those powers of legislating, of taxing, and of controlling an executive government, which go with the English conception of 'a parliament.' Each, of course, would be limited to what was defined as being its own business by act of the supreme Parliament. Now one advantage of the proposal of a federal system such as this for the United Kingdom, is that the whole question is raised out of an Irish atmosphere, and has to be scrutinised on much more general grounds. Englishmen and Scotchmen are quite as much concerned as Irishmen in considering the advantages or disadvantages of the suggested reform. Does the scheme take account of

present-day facts and conditions, of the tendency ever growing towards assimilation, as men's habits of life, their pursuit of business or pleasure, and modern facilities of locomotion disincline them to the more home-keeping ways and more provincial ideas of their ancestors? At the time of the Scottish Union much was said, by those who were unable to look forward, in favour of a federal as against an incorporating union. But that was two centuries ago! For generations past Scotchmen have learned to think that inasmuch as England forms an important part of Great Britain, good and wise government in England is not altogether beyond the scope of Scottish interest. The size and power of England make a federal system in the United Kingdom an absurdity, unless indeed Englishmen, in the words, we think, of Mr. Balfour, 'are obliging enough to 'cut their country up into lengths to suit the requirements 'of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.' Imagine the central Parliament at Westminster at issue, as it well might be, with the Parliament and Government of England! A Tory ministry in England would not make things very comfortable for a Radical cabinet supreme over the United Kingdom! And is any good result likely to come from giving a national form and complexion to local and party differences? The truth of the matter is that federal Home Rule was not advanced by Mr. Gladstone, because he recognised that, of all possible schemes, it was the most hopeless. And such favour as it now finds, it enjoys solely because, more fortunate than its predecessors, it has escaped the disaster of taking shape as a concrete measure, and has never been exposed to the ordeal of parliamentary discussion.

In our opinion the safety and peace of the kingdom depend upon the unquestioned supremacy of Parliament over every part of it. The theoretical supremacy which Parliament retains over the great Colonies would be entirely inadequate to the due governing of the British Islands. If Ireland was an island in the Pacific, inhabited by a people which desired, with any feeling of unanimity, to live under its own institutions, there would be no objection to setting up Home Rule. But then the conditions would be entirely different from what they are. At home, parliamentary sovereignty—the only possible sovereignty—must be no mere theory resting upon the construction, perhaps the disputed construction, of a statute. It must remain the very essence of our whole system.

We cannot say that the Canadian internal system, which,

after all, as national constitutions go, has yet had but a short life, impresses us as being in any way suitable to the quite dissimilar conditions of the United Kingdom. As regards Ireland, the establishment of a national executive would be an entirely new departure. Before the Union the King was the actual head of the Irish Executive, and he governed through ministers dependent upon the Parliament of Great Britain. Is there good reason to suppose that an Irish Government and Parliament representing the majority of the Irish people would studiously keep within the limits laid down by the new statute to be passed at Westminster to take the place of the Act of Union? It is not possible to set limitations to the aspirations of the Irish nation, as Mr. Parnell and other Irish Home Rulers used frequently to remind us. If, on the ground that the Irish are a nation, we establish national institutions, should we have any reason to be surprised that some millions of Irishmen considered themselves as something more than a state like New York, or a province like Quebec? Mr. Holland has greatly overrated the importance of the change made in recent years as regards Scottish administration, whose head he describes inaccurately as a Secretary of State. The Scotch and Irish departments are in no true sense executives distinct from the Executive Government of the United Kingdom. They are merely branches of that Government, as the Home Office and Colonial Office are other branches. It may well be that much local business may be usefully administered in Scotland, and in Ireland and in England, through more or less separate and local agencies; but that is quite consistent with reserving as the sole depositaries of national authority and power the ministers who enjoy the confidence of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

It is desirable in politics to retain some sense of proportion between the grievance or injustice complained of and the remedy proposed. Two or three millions of Irishmen, belonging chiefly to a peasantry the most ignorant and backward of the whole European population of the Empire, are possessed by a desire to establish an Irish Parliament and nation independent of the rest of the kingdom. There is much in the history of the past to account for Irish discontent and hostility to England, without our having recourse to the theory that Irishmen have received a 'double 'dose of original sin.' But we have to deal with things as they are to-day—to make the best of the present situation. Home Rulers on Gladstonian lines and 'Home Rulers all

'round' propose that the whole constitutional system of the forty millions inhabiting these islands should be turned upside down in order to satisfy what are called Irish aspirations. The Unionist position naturally commends itself more strongly to British good sense. Much may be said for local as against central administration. There is a great deal of it already, and doubtless it may be usefully extended. But when we are dealing with the affairs of the whole nation, our grand principle should be to treat Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen on an absolute equality as citizens of one country, enjoying the same privileges, subject to the same government, legislated for and taxed by the same Parliament. All attempts to reconstruct, within the kingdom, nations or 'sub-nations,' in any sort of political sense, must be met with a decided negative. We are, in fact, politically one nation, and not three nations, and it would be the height of folly and against the whole tendency of the age to found our institutions on the distinctions of a dead past, to substitute for our larger patriotism a 'particularism' entirely out of date.

If our experience with the Colonies has taught us anything at all, it is that the grant of a Democratic Legislature is sure to be followed by the demand of that Legislature to control the Executive. Home Rule having been conceded in full, the Colonies have their own future destinies in their own hands. The more completely Imperial authority holds itself aloof from Colonial parties and factions, the better in the long run for the permanence of the tie between Mother Country and Colony. Are these relations *possible* between Great Britain and Ireland? Many and great mistakes have been committed in the past; but they would all pale before the folly of equipping Ireland with a complete set of national institutions, and then denying to Ireland the right to act as a nation! We agree with Mr. Holland in thinking it probable that Gladstonian Home Rule would have led to civil war; but we cannot believe that 'Home 'Rule all round' would give us peace.

In 1886 Irish Home Rule was made by Mr. Gladstone and his followers the great and sole test of 'Liberalism.' The opposition of Unionists led by Lord Hartington was never rested upon objections to special details of Mr. Gladstone's projects. The destructive criticism to which every detail of his two Bills was subjected served to expose the impossible principles upon which a Home Rule policy is necessarily based. The Unionist victory has established

once for all that the national unity of the United Kingdom in regard to its Legislature and Executive is fundamental. This can never be with Unionists, Liberal or Conservative, an open question. We have to get the best working system we can for the Empire and the Kingdom. The facts and conditions are quite dissimilar in the two cases; and it is only by suiting our system to the facts in each case that we can hope to make a success either of our Imperial or of our national Constitution.

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ART. I.—1. *La Guerre de* 1870–71. Publiée par la Revue d'Histoire rédigée à la Section historique de l'État-Major de l'Armée. Paris: 1901.

2. *The Franco-German War*, 1870–71. Translated from the German Official Account by Capt. F. C. H. CLARKE, R.A. 1874. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1874–1884.

3. *Ueber kriegsgeschichtliche Studien als Mittel zur Förderung der Kriegstüchtigkeit des Offiziers.* Von Colonel v. GIZYCKI. Eisenschmidt. Berlin: 1831.

4. *Royal Engineer Institute Occasional Papers.* Vol. V., 1880. 'Plevna,' by Captain G. S. CLARKE, R.E. London: Stanford, 1881.

THE purpose of that study of military history so strongly enjoined by the great Napoleon and other successful leaders in war is strictly utilitarian. The soldier studies a campaign to ascertain what effects are produced by certain causes, and to trace to their causes certain effects which are recorded to have been produced in the theatre of war, or on a battlefield; sometimes he goes a step further, and adopting as premises the phenomena which have actually exhibited themselves, he reasons out what would happen in situations of a somewhat different character. Military history, like all history, constantly repeats itself; the same or almost the same situations recur in all campaigns; so the soldier who, from study, has learned what incidents occur in war, knows what to expect when he takes part in war; and the more numerous the imaginary situations he has framed and worked out for himself, the less chance is there of his being taken by surprise and found unprepared when the unexpected happens. And if a knowledge

of war as it is is so incumbent on the combatant officers in whose hands lie to so great an extent the fate and the lives of those under their command, of transcendent importance is a full and thorough knowledge of military history, with its campaigns and its battles, to those supreme military authorities on whom the nation or the Government relies for preparing the army for war, and for directing its military strength rightly and to the best advantage when war breaks out. Obviously it is to the more recent campaigns that both the soldier who studies for his own personal benefit and the military authorities who desire to obtain information for wider aims must principally devote their attention. For civilisation in her progress works great changes on the surface of the globe, improving means of intercommunication and transport, or introducing means before unknown, creating new towns and villages, depriving old ones of their importance, or causing them to grow and increase in importance, and converting desert areas into tracts of cultivation; so that both the movements of armies and the method of their movements in a particular theatre of war at a given time in history may, a few years later, have to be completely modified, and the theatre of war may even become unsuitable as the scene of a campaign; whilst the leading of the different arms on the battlefield, and their relative importance as instruments in the hands of the commander, are constantly changing owing to the unceasing improvement of the arms in use; and even a position impregnable to-day may mean defeat and destruction to the army that holds it in the near future. There is no doubt that Alexander, Hannibal, and Cæsar, in old times, Frederick the Great, Marlborough, Napoleon, the Archduke Charles, and Wellington, in less remote times, teach us in their campaigns some lessons of great value even for to-day; but the number of the lessons applicable to the present are but few; in fact, it seems hardly too much to say that, as affording practical lessons suited to to-day, on war in all its branches, the value of campaigns diminishes in a geometrical ratio as they recede from the present towards antiquity.

But although it is, in the first instance, the most recent campaign, and then the others in inverse chronological order, that must be submitted for investigation, we are at once encountered in that investigation by the difficulty that whilst of the old campaigns, which are the less valuable, we can learn much, yet of the most recent, by far the more valuable, we can learn but little. This difficulty, which seems almost

paradoxical, can be fully realised only by those few students of war who have made a special detailed study of any most recent campaign; and the existence of the difficulty will probably seem incredible to the vast mass of readers of to-day, who, having read one or more of the many accounts already published of the South African war, believe that at all events that is a war the history of which they have mastered. To derive lessons or to draw deductions from a campaign will, however, be admitted to be impossible unless there be in existence a narrative of the campaign; and unless this narrative be accurate, and also complete, both lessons and deductions may be false teaching and erroneous. And yet it is a notorious fact that, beyond giving general features, the histories of campaigns, drawn up immediately after their close, have for their characteristics inaccuracy of statement or incompleteness of the record, or perhaps both. And only a little reflection is needed to show that this must necessarily be the case.

The only witnesses in a position to furnish the accounts of the incidents of a campaign or a battle are the soldiers who have been the actors in the strife, and of these some are for ever silent, being numbered among those who fell in the fight. Commenting on a company advance both hopeless and useless, and involving a sad waste of life, in one of the battles of 1870, the historian wrote: 'What was the motive 'that led the brave Burgdorff to undertake this isolated 'attack lies buried with him in his grave'; and in war there are a legion of brave Burgdorffs of all ranks. And besides this there are other reasons in abundance.

'If a battle were a sum in arithmetic,' writes Gizycki—'and it is too often described as such—in which the only point was to move bodies of troops like pieces in a game of chess, then, no doubt, a faithful account might be given. But a battle is no more a sum in arithmetic than life is—it is a drama in which every individual plays the part of a hero struggling with fate, risking his life and limb, fighting for the life to which he is tied by a thousand bonds; a drama in which in every individual an internal spiritual process takes place, a struggle to overcome the strongest of human impulses—that of self-preservation; and all this takes place amid bodily exertions in the course of a perpetual struggle with the unexpected, and in a region of uncertainty, where, at every step, all kinds of difficulties have to be overcome. Accordingly every act—and every act is here one of responsibility—is accomplished under the most difficult circumstances; then, when it is over, the officer sits down to write his report. The ground on which he has fought he probably never saw before, and while he saw it his whole attention was concentrated on the enemy

opposed to him, so that much to which his attention was not directly called escaped his notice; thus the names of the places through which he has passed he will probably only learn afterwards; the time at which he fought he perhaps will not know, as he did not fight with his watch in his hand. Moreover, time had a quite abnormal value, so that it is hard afterwards to define, minutes having become hours and hours minutes. Accordingly he makes a picture which, considering all these circumstances, can only be an approximation to the truth. Then comes his dear self, with all its little peculiarities. The consciousness of the danger he has passed makes him exaggerate what he has done; the desire to bring his regiment and himself into prominence makes him exaggerate a great deal; the consciousness of the mistakes he has made causes him to pass over in silence, or even to misrepresent, many things. . . . These are the reports as they are written. They must be collected, and must then be worked together into a whole. This is a herculean task, for no two reports agree; and after they have all been read the student is in greater darkness than before, when he only had a general idea of the action. At last, after long research, he succeeds in ascertaining something which perhaps approaches the truth, and sets to work to write it down; and now new hindrances appear. At one point he does not like to represent the bare truth, because A. or B. will be compromised by it; at another he fancies the superior has made a mistake, and he hesitates to describe this as it presents itself to him; or, perhaps, it concerns some otherwise honourable character, whom he loves and respects, and whose repute he would not willingly diminish. Sometimes he is anxious to bring to recognition, as far as he can, some brilliant service, and this leads him to exaggerate. Such are works on military history; even the best of them cannot be free from these faults. . . .'

And then, referring to the German official account of the Franco-German War, compiled under the supervision of the experienced Von Moltke, he says most truly:—

'We must be able to read between the lines. The History produced by our General Staff, the best that has been written of the last war, and, therefore, the most valuable of all for study, requires to be read between the lines, seeing that criticisms of persons are always expressed in it with finest tact, while the historical truth, as far as it can be ascertained, is always there.'

And most reticent the Germans have been as regards that war. A striking instance of reticence is shown in their official treatment of the events of September 2 and 3, 1870, when three commanders—General Von Tümpling with the 6th Army Corps, Lieut.-General Von Rheinbaben and the Duke William of Mecklenburg-Schwerin with the 5th and 6th Cavalry Divisions—all three of whom had been expressly charged with the duty of preventing hostile troops returning to Paris, allowed General Vinoy with one

division of the French 13th Army Corps to pass through the outposts, slip through their fingers, and regain Paris, where the division and its commander formed the nucleus of the defence. In the official account published soon after the war, the incident reads as something quite natural and not out of the common. Not until twenty-eight years afterwards did the German Staff give to the world the full history, showing the crass blunders and mistakes committed by all ranks, from General Von Tümpling down to a cavalry trooper. And so it must be with the Official Histories of all campaigns published whilst the chief actors in them are still playing their parts on the military stage. The compilers of these histories may be trusted to tell the truth, and nothing but the truth; but to tell the whole truth would not only lead to endless recriminations, but would be fatal to the discipline of the Army. The Official History of the South African War, said to be now in course of compilation, cannot possibly be an exception to the rule. 'Le jeu ne 'vaudrait pas la chandelle.'

And when we come to essay the task of tracing effects to their causes, and attributing to causes their effects, we soon realise the almost unfathomable depth of the well in which the truth lies out of sight. A single effect in war is rarely due to a single cause only, but to several causes, and only by careful searching, and perhaps after many years, do we succeed in obtaining even a fair proportion of these. And as the causes originate with one of the armies engaged, and the effects are produced in the other, it is not until we have obtained from both sides their respective versions of any incident, and have carefully compared them, that we can arrive at even an approximation to the real facts. But, since politics, political differences, and national rivalries, will not stay their course until soldiers shall have threshed out the best means of dealing with the settlement of these differences by appeal to arms, soldiers can do no more at first than select, from the most trustworthy reports on the most recent war, the most important and the least controverted matters, and regard them as affording some general indications of the directions in which strategy and tactics are developing, and consequently, of the probable modifications in training, armament, equipment, and organisation, desirable in the immediate future. For the deduction of sound inferences from the data available much careful consideration and thought, and much interchange of views, opinions, and personal experiences, all requiring

time, are necessary; whilst the conclusions, eventually accepted, will have to be applied with great care, great caution. It is here that is so conspicuous the difference between the popular interpretation of the narrative of a war and its interpretation by an expert. The 'man in the 'street,' as the designation runs, forms his opinions from first impressions only, and jumping forthwith to conclusions, demands at once sweeping and radical alterations and changes, imagining them to be 'reforms'; the expert hardens himself before all things against the influence of first impressions, and he suspends his judgement until he has before him a fair amount of well-established facts on which to form one. Most notably has this been the case with the 'Lessons from the South African War.'

Our totally unexpected reverses in South Africa, and the equally unexpected successes of our opponents, caused not a few, in the excitement of the moment, to entertain the idea that 1899 marked the introduction of one of those epochs of the conduct of war, in which new methods of strategy and tactics completely supplant those of even the most recent past. The year 1899 found in their minds its prototype in 1806, the British Army corresponding to the stiff old-fashioned Prussian Army which was destroyed at Jena; and the Boers to the mobile army that Napoleon employed for its destruction. Cooler judgement recognises that the South African campaign has afforded on the modifications necessitated in tactics by the introduction of smokeless powder, long-range fire, and the magazine rifle, practical object-lessons for all wars; but it regards the conditions of the campaign as so abnormal that for other lessons of the past on the art of war the campaigns affording them are the same as before 1899.

But assuming that the experts are in practical agreement as to the direction indicated for the developement of the art of war by some recent campaign, there arises the difficult question of the extent of the developement and the mode of applying it to any particular army, for all armies possess the special characteristics of the nations, and these differ so widely from each other that a military system which is excellent for one may be totally unsuitable for another. Moreover, an army may have to carry on war against different enemies in different localities, and may find itself therefore compelled to adopt a different system of war against each. But even if a certain developement be accepted, armies cannot in a few weeks or months change

their habits, beliefs, lines of action, and conduct; time is required for unlearning as well as for learning; armies are essentially conservative; new ideas filter but slowly into the mass. So that whilst the study of a recent war may have an immediate effect on the views and opinions of the individual student, it is only the most conspicuous and least controverted lessons of a recent war—and this comes but to little—that will influence an army generally in the immediate future; and so it follows that the so-called 'Lessons of a War' seem as a rule to be seed sown on a barren soil.

To this there is one marked exception, the Franco-German War of 1870–71, for the lessons that this war was regarded as furnishing met at once with ready acceptance. Immediately on its conclusion all European nations set to work to remodel their armies and their system of war on the German system. The German organisation, conduct of staff work, decentralisation of command and responsibility, artillery tactics, training in peace time, the free use of independence and initiative by the leaders in low as well as in high rank—all these important matters were seized on as exemplars, and in the hurry of the moment there were dogmatists who did not hesitate to lay their finger on some one of these subjects and assert that to it, and it alone, was due the superiority of the Germans over their opponents in the field. But in war, success alone is no sure test of the real value of any particular line of conduct or of action; sound leading may fail, but its soundness is not impaired thereby; unsound leading may succeed, yet it may be desirable to treat it in future as more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

In drawing lessons from a war we must, in order to come to a right judgement, hear, as already indicated, both sides of each case that comes before us, and up to the present time our conclusions and deductions from the war of 1870–71 have been based mainly on *ex parte* evidence—namely, that furnished from the German side. The German writers have apparently had every wish to do justice to their opponents; but they could often only guess the motives and reasons for their actions. The voluminous Enquête Parlementaire, the Procès Bazaine, Lehaucourt, Chanzy, Gambetta, the somewhat hysterically minded Dick de Lonlay, and a host of others, have given us a certain amount of insight into the French conduct of the war; but into all of their writings, more or less, necessarily entered personal or

political influences, and they were put before the world at times when passions might obscure the facts or lead to the misrepresentation of them. Of really reliable information from the French side we have hitherto had but little. We therefore welcome the appearance of the first instalment of the 'History of the Franco-German War,' just published, and compiled by the French War Office, as a valuable aid to the further gain of lessons from that war. The History covers the period from 1866 to the day of the first defeat of the French—August 4, the battle of Weissemburg.

And it is the more welcome on account of the impartial and judicial tone adopted in the treatment of the subject by the compilers of the History. France can now afford to reveal fully the causes of her overthrow, and to put forward those causes as warnings to the present generation of her children, for the chief actors in the tragedy have passed away from the scene; military revelations, now that the Republic is firmly established, cannot be turned to political purposes; and with the reforms in her system of defence completed, she is secure from invasion by her former foe.

Doubtless much of the information here given has already been published in works which have appeared in France and on the Continent from time to time in the last thirty years, but to most English readers even this will be new. It is purposed, therefore, in this article to extract from the French History, information on those matters which, from their importance, chiefly influenced the course of the war; and also, where the opportunity offers, to draw from the History such lessons as may be applicable to ourselves. But before dealing with this matter it seems desirable and necessary to say that although the war of 1870–71 does afford lessons still valuable for to-day, and from its yet unexplored depths, the later period, there will be forthcoming many more, the monopoly of attention and study that has been bestowed on it has acted to a certain extent prejudicially to the training and preparation of our own army for war. It is not that attention and study were not necessary, but the fact that the war has had a monopoly of attention and study, and on this matter we shall dwell at some little length as a caution for the future. It is not difficult to account for the monopoly of study possessed by this particular war. There is an attraction little short of enthralling in the resistless onward march of the invaders, victory succeeding victory with unprecedented rapidity; and when the curtain falls at Sedan, at the end of

the first act of the tragedy, the closing scene is in the highest degree dramatic—the head of an Imperial dynasty laying down his sword and being led into captivity with 200,000 men, the remnant of the Imperial army in the field.

And, moreover, when studied in detail, the war gave from the German side lessons new, and to a great extent original, on the important matters already mentioned. There was also another incentive to the study of this war. The battle-fields lay close to this country, and to them access was easy and at small cost; so year after year since 1870 there has been a steady and constant stream of British military pilgrims to them, many of the pilgrims being students at our Military Educational Institutions, 'personally conducted' by a professor or instructor, but very many of them voluntary students; and among the latter the most notable was a band of nine, headed by the then Adjutant-General, Viscount Wolseley, and including five other generals and three Staff officers, personally conducted by an ex-professor of the Staff College. It must also be borne in mind that the teachers of military history in this country are but few, very few, in number. To them, not unnaturally, for seven years after the war that war was all in all. Their lecture-room was not only indoors: it was also on the scenes of the strife itself. But after the Franco-German war there came, in 1877-78, the Russo-Turkish war. And how have these instructors utilised this campaign? What has the present generation of soldiers, the officers fighting in South Africa, learnt from them with regard to the lessons this war offered? Literally nothing. Not that its teaching was altogether neglected, for the present Sir George Clarke, then a captain of the Royal Engineers, contributed to the 'Occasional Papers of the Royal Engineers' 'Institute,' in 1880, a volume of valuable teaching, 'Plevna.' Another officer of the corps, Colonel Lonsdale Hale, then a professor at the Staff College, included it in his course of instruction. But attention to this war soon died out; and why? Were there no lessons to be gained from it? Most assuredly there were, and among them six of special importance, which, if they had been driven home into the minds of our generals and our regimental officers, would, twenty-one years later in South Africa, have gone far to keep us from committing blunders and mistakes, and would have saved lives and lives.

These lessons were—

(1) The value of long-range rifle fire used against an attacking force.

(2) The value of entrenchments in the defence.

(3) The hopelessness of a pure frontal attack against an entrenched position.

(4) The little use of artillery fire against a well-entrenched defence.

(5) The necessity for utilising, to the utmost, cover in advancing against an enemy armed with long-ranging breechloading rifles.

(6) The probable need for the use of entrenchments in the attack.

For a time these matters specially attracted the thoughts and attention of military men. And in an article, 'The 'Military Power of Russia,' which appeared in the number of this Review for January 1878, all but one are brought forward. As regards infantry advancing under fire, there is a description of the Russian soldier almost literally applicable to our own soldiers in South Africa:—

'The Russian soldier is brave to a fault, but more than any other soldier he requires direction; he will move to his front with gallantry, and sometimes with dash; if he cannot advance, he will stand still to be shot without flinching; he is, however, not the man spontaneously to adopt a new disposition, to resist or execute a flank attack; he is also little given to take advantage of cover, of profiting by the accidents of the ground; in short, he is still to a great extent a military machine, very helpless in action save under the immediate direction of his officers.'

Again:—

'Artillery fire, unless extraordinarily concentrated, is of little use in preparing the way for an infantry assault of earthworks, provided that the defenders possess underground shelter for themselves.'

Again:—

'One great characteristic of the war has been the abundant use made by both parties—more, however, by the Turks—of the spade, and we have learned that a frontal attack on steady troops ensconced in shelter trenches is almost certain to fail.'

But ere long these lessons passed out of mind and were ignored, and the probable causes of the regrettable neglect of them are not far to seek. The main cause seems to be that our normal warfare in the forty years which followed the Crimean war, and in which occurred the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, was carried on against Asiatics or uncivilised enemies, all inferior in armament to our own; and it was regarded as necessary to cherish in the minds of the rank and file a firm belief in the only form of attack

hitherto successful against Asiatics. Here a resolute advance has been the form of attack which experience showed to be the only one resulting in success. Rarely does the defensive answer; and seeking cover was not to be thought of. Into these wars long-range infantry fire seldom entered.

In Zululand in 1879 one of the 'As-Vogels'—as the later arriving contingent of special-service officers was sarcastically denominated—joined the troops at Port Durnford, and soon expressed his astonishment at the site chosen for the small fort in course of construction, within some 300 yards of a commanding hill. He was confidently assured by officers of experience on the spot that, owing to the indifferent weapons in the hands of the Zulus, and their ignorance in using them, the garrison would be as safe from the hill fire at 300 yards as at several more hundreds of yards further distant.

This matter of long-range infantry rifle fire had come prominently forward in the Franco-German war, but, notwithstanding the superior range of the Chassepôt over the German rifle, the attacking Germans soon managed to arrive near enough to the enemy to use effectively their short-range weapons; and even St. Privat showed that, had the Guard Corps not been huddled together in the closest and most unsuitable formations, they would have arrived at decisive range in overwhelming numbers without any extraordinary losses. The advance from Mars-la-Tour of Von Wedell's Brigade on August 16, 1870, under this fire and across open ground, against Grenier's Division in position on the further side of a deep ravine, was certainly not conclusive of its value against a well-ordered attack in superior force.

And against the adoption of this fire was always urged the undesirableness of undue expenditure of ammunition, expenditure without some assurance of return for it. But it is precisely on the amount of ammunition expended that depends the effectiveness of the fire. If there is a lack in the supply of ammunition, every cartridge expended at long range is a cartridge wasted. It was in this respect that long-range fire in 1870-71 differed so essentially from the same fire in 1877-78. The same name was applied to both, but they were essentially different: the French had no ammunition to spare, the Turks had heaps of cartridges always close at hand. Men who have been under this fire in South Africa tell us of the appalling and unceasing rain of bullets. It is the continued intensity of the storm that constitutes its effectiveness. The Boers had profited by the experience

of 1877-78, and, following the example set by the Turks, had provided themselves with unlimited supplies of ammunition close at hand in the trenches.*

A cause affecting the view taken of the value of entrenchments has been the absolute unreality of the use of entrenchments in our peace training for war; for even in the defence of a position the very slightest disturbance of the surface of the ground by pick or shovel has been always and rigorously interdicted. For real entrenchments were therefore substituted lengths of canvas about two feet broad, which were carried about in rolls; for real entrenching was substituted unrolling the rolls and placing the canvas upright by means of sticks along the line selected for the entrenchments. The whole of this proceeding was egregious folly, for it conveyed to the rank and file no instruction whatever; they learnt nothing of the time required and the difficulties encountered in breaking into virgin soil. For the officers to try to fit a long strip of canvas on to the exact line—a trench which should in some cases, perhaps, be sinuous, and not continuous—was impossible; a mistake in the original selection of the line could be at once remedied by taking up the sham trench bodily and carrying it elsewhere, whilst practice in the concealment of the trench from the enemy's view, so thoroughly mastered by the Boers, was simply impossible when the trench was a piece of yellow canvas standing two feet high above the surface of the ground.

The greatest and most important innovation in tactics, illustrated in 1877-78, was the employment of entrenchments by the attackers in their advance. Great was the impression produced by the accounts of Skobeleff's men at the Green Hills using their mess-tins to scrape earth together to give them a safe resting-place under cover in their onward movement, but, owing to the reasons given, this impression soon faded away. Again, exaggerated ideas were formed from the war of 1870-71 as to the destructive power of artillery, especially when the guns were massed. The fact that the artillery to which the Germans were opposed

* Sir George Clarke wrote, in 1880: 'Let a position be fairly well entrenched and held only by well-armed infantry with an unlimited supply of ammunition, and merely able to shoot steadily; and a few mistakes in the general plan of attack, or a want of tactical training of the right kind on the part of the attacking troops, may entail a disaster not easily retrieved.' How prophetic of South Africa in November and December 1899.

were inferior both in the guns and in the training of the arm was, at all events at first, overlooked. The idea of the great power of artillery fire was further strengthened by the improvements in our own guns and projectiles, and it was generally anticipated at the commencement of the South African war that nothing, either in the open or in entrenchments, could hold its own against British shrapnel fire.

The distance of the battlefields where long-range fire and entrenchments had played such important parts was so great that the only military pilgrims who could visit them were those rejoicing in the possession of a long purse. The published accounts given by the combatants were in languages unintelligible to ninety-nine out of a hundred British students of war; so by degrees, from these and the other causes already mentioned, 1877-78 faded out of soldiers' thoughts, and 1870-71 resumed its sway.

To return now from this digression to the consideration of the work before us. It has been truly said that the real *casus belli* of a war is never that which is utilised for the actual outburst of hostilities, and of the Franco-German war the real *casus belli* was not the succession to the Spanish throne, but the war of 1866 between Prussia and the rest of Germany headed by Austria. Of the consequences likely to arise out of that war General Ducrot, one of the most far-seeing generals of the French army, wrote on June 18, 1866, just before the foes came into contact:—

'The state of things we appear to desire to maintain seems to me fatal. If Prussia wins she will owe us nothing for our neutrality, and she will form a Germany as she pleases. If she is beaten, she will be the first to preach a crusade against France to rehabilitate herself in the eyes of Germany and to obtain more favourable conditions.

'I abominate public opinion, which I am sure fetters our Emperor, thwarts and warps his policy, and which, to avoid a few passing embarrassments and sacrifices, prepares for us perhaps a sad future.'

And then he adds words full of warning to ourselves:—

'It is in vain that a great nation such as ours endeavours to inspire its neighbours with sympathy and confidence; it will always be an object of their jealousy and distrust; and it will be able to preserve the position it has acquired, and to play the *rôle* which belongs to it in Europe, only on the condition that it shows itself always strong and inspires a salutary fear.'

And when the war was over he wrote:—

'To regain the position which belongs to us in Europe we must sooner or later embark in a terrible struggle with Prussia, who will be

supported by all Germany and, perhaps, Austria, who will remember against France the Holstein campaign.'

Immediately after Sadowa the Emperor and his War Office set to work on preparations for the coming struggle. The preparations as given in the History were the reorganisation of the French army and the drawing up plans of operations for the campaign. That very important matter, alliances, was apparently not taken into consideration until 1870. As regards the reorganisation, the military element in the councils found itself thwarted by the politicians, who, specially in view of the approaching International Exhibition of 1867, preferred to let matters lie quiet. The Emperor had to give way, so far as outward action was concerned; but his views as to the pressing need for reorganisation were unshaken, and immediately after the Luxemburg incident in 1867 he set to work himself, with the aid of General Lebrun, at the preparation of a scheme. After eight months' work this was completed on January 2, 1868, and 100 copies were printed, of which there is one in the Archives of the French War Office.

According to this project, France would be able on July 1 in that year to put into the field 498,978 men and 918 guns, forming three armies, the Imperial Guard, and two reserve corps. But the project remained a dead-letter. The only measure ultimately adopted, the revival of the Garde Mobile, had little result; so, with the exception of the introduction of the Chassepôt and the mitrailleuse, the condition of the French army, as a fighting-machine, remained unimproved during those critical four years. The unpreparedness of France for the campaign is well known, but only as a general fact, and general facts do not always carry with them great depth of impression. Two of the lessons most important for, and most applicable to, ourselves at the present day are to be drawn from those wasted four years: organise thoroughly, and do not lose or delay an hour in the work.

In vain Ducrot wrote that the nation had material, horses and men, but few soldiers, and was without that organisation which was the secret of rapidity of mobilisation and concentration. Only seven years previous to the attention of the ruling Government of France being forcibly drawn to national military needs owing to Sadowa, the French army had carried out a victorious campaign against another European Power; so her military chiefs necessarily had already a practical knowledge of the needs and require-

ments of war; yet, as the event showed, it was for France in 1870 the same as if that campaign had never been; and not even four years sufficed for those chiefs to bring her army up to a level with that of her predetermined foe. Surely here for all time is a lesson of the truth of the otherwise somewhat unfortunate remark of Lord Salisbury, that it is the people whose business it is to look after their own defence. May this lesson come home to our readers.

In the appendices to the first four of the five parts now published is given, day by day, the condition of each of the eight corps as regards readiness, or, rather, unreadiness, for the field; and the demands pouring into Paris and Metz for making good the deficiencies. Neither men nor horses appear at the places where they are wanted, and which are designated as their rendezvous. A week after the movement to the frontier commences, and when MacMahon arrives at Strassburg, he finds nothing but the ordinary peace garrison; a Staff officer asking for transport for the Staff is told that he must draw the vehicles and harness from the stores; as regards horses, there is given him 25,000 francs, and he is told to buy them; the drivers he must find himself; and only by desperate measures the troops in their own country are saved from starvation. And so near are they to it that the occupation of that dangerous frontier town, Weissemburg, is urged because in it are good bakeries. On August 2 the patience of the compilers in recording this uninterrupted stream of shortcomings revealed gives way, and they write as follows:—

'We have published so far the documents dealing with each day separately; it will thus be seen that there was no mobilisation, in the true sense of the word, of the French army. Its organisation was far from being finished on August 2. Placing the army on a war footing will continue during the following days;'

and they announce that from August 2 only selections of documents bearing directly on the operations will be published. One extraordinary instance of want of forethought, and of the impossibility of making it good until too late, must be recorded. The Minister had ordered, on July 23, that no reservists should be sent to their units without an order from himself, so that at the depôts were thousands of reservists, waiting for orders to join their corps, which themselves were not effective owing to deficiencies in men. Possibly the blocks on the railway lines may have already commenced, and it was only by adopting

one bad measure that the Minister was able to mitigate the effect of another.

Doubtless in our own country no one outside the official circles can know whether we have a real regular army, corresponding in numbers, equipment, and organisation to the official representation of it on paper. But as regards the huge number of auxiliary forces of Yeomanry, Militia, and Volunteers, there can be no concealment. Every commanding officer of any one of the units of these forces ought to know, and every officer belonging to them can know, if he chooses to do so, whether the unit to which he belongs is in every respect, as a field unit, ready for service. It is these officers who mix freely with the people generally, and live among them; and we hold it to be their imperative duty to keep the public, generally, fully informed on the matter, so that the public may make its voice heard, and deprive the Government of that official cloak of concealment and misrepresentation which is common to our Governments of all parties.

Turning to the next branch of preparation, the plans of the campaign, there were many, of which eleven are given in general terms. They included lines of operation from Cuxhaven on the north to Berlin; and southward, lines of operation from Huningen and old Brisach to Nuremburg and Munich in Southern Germany.

One, doubtless the most important of all, which was furnished by General Frossard, the Governor to the Prince Imperial, is missing, and has not been found in the War Office Archives. This is the more to be regretted because the defensive project from the same pen, and which the Emperor practically accepted for the defence, shows a thorough appreciation of the military situation and is sound strategy.

Frossard's plan of defence was based on the assumption that, although the Germans might make a diversion against Upper Alsace from Southern Germany, the main attack would come from the north-east against the frontier lying between the Moselle and the Rhine. The right wing of the attack would be directed to the opening at Saarbrucken; the left would cross the Lauter about Weissemburg and move forward in the open country between the Vosges and the Rhine. To meet this the left wing of the defenders would take post facing north-east on the position of Calenbronn, a short distance south of Spicheren, the right wing occupying the position of Reischoffen and facing east.

As it would be impossible for the invaders to advance south past the last-named position, leaving it on their flank or rear, this portion of their forces must wheel to its right, and the invading army would have to attack from divergent starting-points an army in two strong positions, with convergent lines of retreat through a country which, from its wooded and hilly character, offers full scope for rearguard delaying actions. Each wing of the defenders could, moreover, send assistance to the other if this were necessary. In the event of defeat, the defenders would find a second line of defence in the Moselle and the Seille from Metz southwards. That the actual defence resolved itself into a species of bastard imitation of this plan was due solely to the unreadiness of the French army and to the incompetency of its leaders.

In connection with the sledge-hammer form of attack adopted by Von Moltke, and the absence of any real attempt to hold some portion of the defending army in Upper Alsace, away from the scene of the actual attack, the thought arises whether Von Moltke may not have been influenced by the desirability of keeping the South German troops under his own control, at all events whilst the war was near the frontier. These troops were but recent recruits to the King of Prussia's army, and most unwilling recruits they were; it would therefore hardly be judicious, by giving any independence to the leaders of these forces, to expose them to the temptation, should the opportunity occur, of breaking away from the service enforced on them. Baden, Bavaria, Wurtemburg, and Saxony would probably, on their own soil, have been but half-hearted opponents of an invader who would undoubtedly in his advance have proclaimed to them an offer of freedom from the hateful Prussian yoke. Frossard's plan had also the advantage that whilst the positions assigned to the corps were good for defence, they served also for any of the plans of offensive campaign that might be adopted.

And as regards the particular offensive plan of campaign which the Emperor intended to adopt, and his anticipations as to its result, this History offers a strange contrast to the statements in a well-known pamphlet entitled 'Des 'Causes qui ont amené la Capitulation de Sedan,' which is attributed to the Emperor himself. In this pamphlet the only plan is a crossing the Rhine at Maxau and gaining the support, or at all events securing the neutrality, of Southern Germany.

But the compilers, quoting from the 'Souvenirs Militaires'

of General Lebrun, show that from March 1870, at the latest, France, Austria and Italy were working together in the endeavour to form a plan of combined campaign against Germany. Lebrun himself was the trusted envoy to Vienna. The real military difficulty lay in the fact that whereas the French army—so Lebrun was authorised by Le Bœuf, the Minister of War, to tell the Archduke Albrecht—could be on the frontier in fourteen days, and ready to take the field on the fifteenth day, the two other Powers would require six weeks for mobilisation. Austria undertook to endeavour during that time to draw away troops to look after her in the state of threatening armed neutrality she would assume, but beyond this she could not go for forty-two days, a long time in modern war. But both Austria and Italy seem to have been playing a waiting game. The withdrawal of the French garrison from Rome—a demand strongly pressed by Italy and supported by Austria—was a convenient diplomatic stumbling-block, causing prolongation of the negotiations. To cross the Rhine at Maxau for the purpose of detaching Southern Germany was an excellent pretext for the first disposal of the French army; but this disposal was a necessary part of any campaign carried out in conjunction with Austria and Italy, so the pretext afforded a cover to the real and secret designs. 'Des Causes' now reads somewhat as the reflections of one who was wise only after the event.

It is difficult to understand how it was, if the Emperor was not thoroughly satisfied with the preparations and confident of the future, he should have deliberately, when despatching Colonel Gressly to MacMahon in Algeria, volunteered the statement: 'This war will be nothing more 'than an amusement for the Marshal; he will retain the 'Governorship of Algeria, and will be temporarily replaced 'by General Durrien, the Vice-Governor. Let him make his 'arrangements in view of a speedy return to Algeria.' Le Bœuf was full of confidence, and in his interview with MacMahon, who arrived in Paris on July 21, he told the Marshal that he thought there was a great deal of exaggeration in the views held by Stoffel and Ducrot. The Emperor in an interview talked to MacMahon rather of Algeria than of the coming campaign. To the Marshal the Emperor appeared from the very first to have no doubts as to the defeat of the Germans. And equally clear it seems, although 'Des Causes' is silent on the matter, that it was the hoped-for triple alliance, and not a separation of Germany, that

gives the explanation for the intended crossing at Maxau. From the moment war was declared these negotiations were carried on with great activity, and so late as August 3, the day before Weissemburg, the Italian Envoy quitted Metz for Vienna with a fresh draft of a treaty.

It was on July 24 that Le Bœuf, it was on July 28 that the Emperor, on their respective arrivals at Metz, learnt for the first time that the French army, which was to be their instrument in the great venture to lay Prussia low, and to change the face of Europe, was indeed but the baseless fabric of a dream.

The daily record given in this work proves thoroughly that the cry which soon burst from the sorely tried rank and file, and which found, doubtless, an echo in the hearts of the regimental officers, 'Nous sommes trahis,' was literally true, though not in the sense in which it was used by those who uttered it. There was no treachery, there were no traitors after the war broke out; the treachery and the traitors existed before the war. The traitors to their country were the officers who had been the vast military hierarchy of the French army in the time of peace since 1859; the officers who filled comfortable posts in peace time, learnt nothing about their work, knew nothing about it; who, believing war certain in the near future, had not prepared themselves for it, had posed as men in responsible positions on the Staff, but when the touchstone of active service was applied to them showed that to the posts they had occupied they had not considered any real responsibility whatever attached. 'Les Causes qui ont amené la capitula-'tion de Sedan' have not yet been published to the world, but they will be found in the inner history of the Staff of the French army from 1859 to 1870, if ever that history sees the light.

The record from July 28 is really painful reading for those who appreciate at its full worth the splendid bravery and the grand fighting of the French troops. Without a real leader the best army is powerless; and here there was no leader anywhere, and it may be doubted that even near the nominal leader was there, in a subordinate position, any real leader to whom he could look for help and assistance. All idea of the offensive had to be speedily given up; but there was in an active defence full scope for decisive action. Not two miles in front of one corps ran the great railway connecting the wings of the approaching German host—that from Treves by Saarlouis, Saarbrucken, Neunkirchen, Homburg,

Kaiserslautern. To thoroughly destroy this must necessarily affect the earlier stages of the war and gain time; but anything of this kind was rejected as likely to provoke the enemy, and was forbidden. At one time a *coup-de-main* on Saarlouis entered into consideration; but the Emperor, like many men in similar positions engaged in great undertakings, was a man of one idea only, and, having to resign that, he had no other to adopt in its place. Undoubtedly, as we learn from the German History, Von Moltke was somewhat puzzled as to the intentions of the French; and no wonder, for day after day corps wandered about in almost aimless fashion, to suit what appeared to the leader to be the requirements of the moment.

And it was solely according to those momentary requirements that from July 29 to August 4, and not according to any well-considered and definite plan, that the Emperor worked the force at his disposal. An account of the affair at Saarbrucken on August 2, when one whole French army corps, supported by a second, was engaged all day with nine companies of Prussian infantry and six guns, on outposts, is given in full detail in this History. The encounter itself was trivial in the extreme, but it will be dealt with somewhat fully here, for it is a real revelation, throwing a flood of light on the character and methods of the higher leading of the French Army in 1870. It may be accepted as a type of that leading throughout the period of disasters that culminated in the catastrophe at Sedan; and when contrasted with the German leading, it shows conclusively how unequally the contending armies were matched; and at the same time compels us to acknowledge that in Von Moltke's second great campaign, as in his first in 1866, that great soldier did not have to deal with a commander worthy of his steel.

The Emperor on July 29, the day following his arrival at Metz, went to St.-Avold to confer with General Frossard, commanding the 2nd Army Corps, as to the future. General de Failly, commanding the 5th Army Corps, and General Coffinières, the Army Commander of Engineers, were present at the conference. The Emperor was hesitating as to the course of action to be adopted. Crossing the Rhine at Maxau at once was no longer to be thought of; a *coup-de-main* against Saarlouis was practicable. On the other hand, reports, utterly baseless, indicated the concentration of a very large hostile force in rear of Saarbrucken, and also of Duttweiler, four miles further north. Saar-

brucken had always been regarded as one of the points at which the enemy would seek to penetrate into France, and it might be necessary to take up a defensive position against him. The final conclusion arrived at was to make a reconnaissance in force (*reconnaissance offensive*) on Saarbrucken. Frossard was ready to carry out the operation on August 1. The orders issued by the Emperor on July 30 fixed August 2 for the operation. The 2nd Corps was to cross the Saar above Saarbrucken on two bridges to be thrown over by the army bridge train; the 2nd Corps was to be supported by the passage of two divisions of the 3rd Corps (Bazaine) just below the town, and by two divisions of the 5th Corps which, coming from Saargemund, eight miles up stream, were to march towards Saarbrucken along the right bank of the river.

To Marshal Bazaine was given the command of the whole operation; the details of the operation were not entrusted, however, simply to him alone, but were to be settled on July 31 at a conference in which Bazaine, Frossard, de Failly, Coffinières, and Soleille (the Army Commander of Artillery) took part. Doubtless its deliberations were aided by the receipt at Metz, on the previous day, of a first batch of 600 copies of the only map of the country, showing the roads to the Rhine; a facsimile of the map, which is astonishingly bad, is given. It seems to be a hurried production, neither scale nor compass points appearing on it. So late as August 4 General Ducrot was the only possessor of a map of the east side of the Vosges in that part of the theatre of war. At eleven in the morning of July 31 the conference assembled at Forbach, and, as in most councils of war, the generals at once began to differ with each other. By degrees the original proposal was whittled down until unanimity was obtained, and this unanimity was to limit the operation to seizing and occupying the positions on the low range of hills overlooking Saarbrucken from the left bank, and whence the railway station of the suburb of St.-Johann could be commanded by artillery. Any crossing of the river was cut out of the programme. Of this decision the Emperor approved later in the day. But the mountain had already been undergoing some of the pangs of labour to bring forth even this mouse. The marching had begun on July 31. But how to arrange marches of troops in large bodies was beyond either the knowledge or ability of the French Staff.

The marches of the corps were generally executed by marches of divisions, each division marching by itself without

any regard to its neighbours, and without the corps and divisional commanders co-operating for this marching, although it was in broken country covered with woods and forests; collisions, friction, and delays became inevitable. As an instance, Bazaine had ordered the 1st Division (Montaudon) of his own corps to move off at five in the morning to St.-Avold; but Frossard intimated to General Montaudon that the division (Vergè) of the 2nd Corps which was there would not leave the place until seven o'clock, and he requested him not to be at St.-Avold before nine. Montaudon put off his departure four hours, until nine, and even when arriving at St.-Avold had to keep his division standing in a pouring rain, as Frossard's head-quarter baggage was blocking the road. The marches were very short, varying from six to twelve miles, but they occupied a long time. The French army had had no experience of cantoning since 1815; in their wars they had always, at the conclusion of the day's march, encamped. So a corps or division, being concentrated on one spot, the commencement of a day's march was necessarily a process of unrolling, the conclusion was a process of rolling up again; consequently the troops in rear started very late, and could arrive only very late; and to intensify the evil, the hour to commence the march was also far too late, being generally not before nine o'clock, even in those early autumn or late summer days.

For the operation two whole corps (the 2nd and the 3rd), one division of the 4th, and two of the 5th—ten divisions in all—had been placed at Bazaine's disposal; but what part Bazaine played, or what was his idea of the exercise of command, it is difficult to ascertain. August 2 foreshadowed the exercise of command at Metz and Sedan. Although the Marshal was in supreme command, there is no trace of his having given Frossard, who was charged with the main attack, any orders at all. At 9 A.M., August 1, he wired to Frossard, 'Tell me at what time you will commence the 'operations, so that I can arrange my own movements.' Frossard replied that 'he should attack at ten o'clock, 'because the fog would be in the way earlier and the 'Prussians would not expect anything at that hour.' Most certainly not—the German habits of campaigning were sometimes unpleasantly early.

On August 2 Frossard produces his *spectacle militaire*, which is graced by Imperial presence. What part he took in it himself, beyond that of stage-manager, the historians

cannot tell us: they merely say that from the orders no one could tell where he was to be found; but that to compensate for this he arranged beforehand minute details which are the province of subordinate commanders. What enemy is supposed to be in front, and where the enemy is supposed to be, are not communicated to the attacking force; and without even any advanced guard, the whole corps deploys in line of battle, and resolutely advances to capture the low hills on which the hostile outposts stand watching for the onset. As these outposts are but five companies of infantry and two guns, the great feat is soon accomplished.

Frossard's troops, having cleared the part of the town on the hither bank, stand on the low range of hills, looking down proudly and contentedly on the three permanent bridges on the river, but not attempting to secure them; and also at the important railway station and railway two miles distant on the other bank, and which a very slight effort would have sufficed to completely destroy and render useless to the invaders for a long time; the only other German troops to be driven off being eight more companies with four guns and a squadron of cavalry. Four days later, on August 6, steamed into this very station a train carrying the 1st Battalion of the 12th Brandenburg Regiment, which, dismounting from the carriages, crossed these same bridges, and, hurrying to the battlefield of Spicheren, arrived there at one of the most critical moments, and helped to overthrow this same 2nd Army Corps. And during this skirmish of August 2, where was the Chief Commander, Bazaine? But maybe he did not consider himself the chief commander. The testimony is conflicting. First comes on the scene of action Le Bœuf, the Major-General of the army;* he is followed by the Emperor and the Prince Imperial. The Emperor wishes to see Bazaine, and search is made for him, but he is nowhere to be found. He had gone away with a small force on a reconnaissance towards Saarlouis, which he believed would give him better employment than he would find elsewhere. Earlier in the day he had sent to Frossard notification of his arrival at Forbach; but Frossard was engaged in conference with Le Bœuf, so Bazaine did not wait for him. Bazaine was quite unaware that the Emperor intended to be present, but as soon as he heard of his arrival he galloped

* Marshal Le Bœuf had handed over to General Déjean the duties of the Minister of War, and had joined the Army as its Chief Staff Officer, a post designated 'le Major-Général de l'Armée.'

back, only to find that the Emperor had gone back to Metz. Colonel d'Andlau asserts that the Emperor and Le Bœuf reserved to themselves the power of taking command on the battlefield, so that this annulled its previous delegation to Bazaine. But the whole matter is involved in mystery, and is a striking illustration of the utter hopelessness of French command at this period. Meanwhile De Failly, with two divisions and a cavalry brigade of the 5th Corps, had moved off from Saargemund, down the right bank of the Saar, towards Saarbrucken. This really important operation resolved itself into an advance three miles down the river, and then the two divisions deployed into position, cut four times by the Saar and a bend of the Blies, the Cavalry Brigade being also *à cheval* the Blies on the extreme right. The cavalry reconnaissance was limited on the average to 1½ mile to the front. That characteristic of the French army, love of initiative, the keen love of the attack, was strong as ever among the rank and file, but had died out among the higher leaders, owing, so the compilers tell us, to the dissemination of exaggerated views in recent years as to the superiority of the defence over the attack, due to the improvement in firearms, and inculcated by the official instructions for the army. So this war was to be a war of positions.

And whilst there is no power of actual leading in the campaign or on the battlefield, the danger of the situation is intensified by ignorance of the method of exercising command. There is no single source of control, no single source of command. There are three powers acting against each other, and often directly contrary to each other—the Emperor, the Major-General, and the two general officers who are the assistants to the Major-General; orders and counter-orders succeed each other without cessation. The troops, tossed about on the roads from one point to another, know not what to do; disgusted by useless marches and shifting about, they lose all confidence in command. The Emperor sometimes gives orders direct to the troops without his immediate Staff knowing of them. Von Weyde writes:—

'The Emperor never told anyone of his intentions. He himself disposed of the divisions separately, thus rendering useless the orders of their corps commanders. It resulted that no one knew why he had to do the work assigned to him or what he was expected to do. So the commanders simply remained with their arms folded, waiting for what might turn up, until a fresh order or some movement of the enemy afforded a fresh impulse to action.'

The corps are exhausted and disorganised before they encounter the enemy. No decision on any matter, however trivial, can be regarded as final, for advice is taken from many quarters, and the last taken would generally be that adopted. This part of the record shows not only that generals cannot lead and command unless they have a capable and well-instructed staff, but also that a staff, however capable and well instructed, is little more than a cipher unless the general knows how to use it.

And in no branch of the leading of the two hostile armies is offered a more marked and more vital contrast than in this of 'order giving.' The German system was simple, business-like, sure, and methodical, and it afforded a wholesome and effective check on an impatient, interfering, or fussy commander. Between the chief commander of a force and his sub-commanders and heads of departments there is no direct communication, so far as orders are concerned. By his side is always the senior officer of his staff, his chief staff officer. To this officer the commander communicates his views and wishes as regards any movement or operation he may intend to carry out. This officer at once proceeds to embody those views and wishes in written orders, in a form arrived at by long experience, and which contains, first, the information available as to the enemy, and the object of the movement or operation, and then, in a regular and well-established sequence, the part which each sub-commander and head of department will have to play in it with the troops under his command; and to these officers he himself communicates the orders. These officers understand what is to be done, and its purpose; they know to what extent they are to co-operate with others, and what co-operation they may expect to receive from others. And since no order of the chief commander can be sent or received, except through this one channel, the chief staff officer, there is a record of every order sent; contradictory orders are impossible; counter-orders can emanate from the chief commander only, and, if they are issued, the chief staff officer knows of them, and is able to give warning of the alterations to all concerned. Similarly, the chief staff officer is the sole channel of reports and messages sent by subordinates to the chief commander. The chain of transmission of orders from higher to lower is preserved intact, so that only in the rarest cases will a commander find his subordinate acting under any orders but his own. Where, however, circumstances compel an order to take a short cut,

the intermediate link passed over is at once notified of the fact.

After the war of 1870–71 this system was at once recognised in this country as not only thoroughly sound, but the only one securing the proper issue and distribution of orders in a force of any size in civilised warfare. It was adopted into our home army; it was taught at the Staff College and in all classes of military instruction, and was the only system recognised at Aldershot and our manœuvres. It was the one lesson of the war that seemed to have taken permanent place in our military economy; and, in fact, the First Army Corps, when it left this country for South Africa, had been trained on this system. Yet, strange as it may sound, whilst in certain Divisions, such as those commanded by Aldershot generals, it held good with most excellent results, in the higher leading of the army it did not take hold. Neither of the three distinguished soldiers, Earl Roberts, Lord Kitchener, or Sir Redvers Buller, had, before landing in South Africa, ever commanded a large force in civilised warfare. Each of them had his own method of command; they did not therefore appreciate at its real value the German system of 'order-giving.' Lord Kitchener bore the title of 'Chief of the Staff' to Lord Roberts, but he was no more a 'Chief of the Staff' to Lord Roberts than Lord Roberts was to him. The personal system of order-giving prevailed, as it had done in the French Army in 1870–71, and orders sometimes reached a commander through more than one channel. Major-General Sir H. Colville in his 'Work of the Ninth Division' records that on one day, May 18, he received from three different Staff officers messages relating to the movements of troops—the Assistant Adjutant-General Headquarters, the Military Secretary, and the Chief Staff Officer Bloemfontein. This is not better than the French system described in this work. The lamentable result of this non-acceptance of one of the clearest lessons of a war is an open secret; and as regards this most important branch of Staff work, the South African campaign shows a lesson from war unlearnt.

Of the operations and movements on August 3 and 4 in Lorraine, we learn that they were governed by no certain aim; they were such as to meet each report of the enemy's movements and initiatives as it was received at the Imperial Headquarters at Metz.

But these headquarters, although very fairly acquainted with the actual disposition of the enemy, were still under

the delusion that the enemy was yet far from ready to strike, so that the news of Weissemburg, received on the evening of the 4th, came almost as a bolt from the blue. Alsace had, to all intents and purposes, from the declaration of war up to the day previous to Weissemburg been practically defenceless. The corps assigned for its defence were the 1st Corps—MacMahon's—of which the rendezvous was Strassburg, 35 miles from the north-eastern frontier, which is there formed by the Lauter; and F. Douay's 7th Corps, of which the rendezvous was Belfort, 60 miles further south; but Dumesnil's division of the corps was at Lyons, 200 miles from Belfort. MacMahon's troops had mainly to come from Algeria, and only Ducrot's division had moved north towards the Lauter; and as Lyons could not be left without troops, it was not until the 4th that the concentration of the 1st Corps nearer the Lauter could be carried out, and for this orders were issued on the 2nd; but on the evening of that day Bavarian troops were reported to have been already in Weissemburg, ascertaining the resources of the place, in view, so they asserted, of the arrival of troops within four-and-twenty hours. Now the urgency was apparent. MacMahon, on receipt of this news, ordered A. Douay with the division at Hagenau to move north on the 3rd, instead of the 4th. Ducrot, under whose command he was temporarily placed, writes to him that he does not believe the enemy are sufficiently near in force for any serious operation. At 4 A.M. on the third A. Douay, with his division, left Hagenau, and at 10.30 arrived at Sulz, where he was to halt, draw rations and other most necessary articles of equipment. For these he waited five hours in vain, and then resumed his march to Weissemburg, opposite which his troops arrived in the dark at 8.30 without the General having in his possession one single map from which to learn something about the country into which he was suddenly launched. He was separated from the 1st Division by a seven hours' march across the Vosges, and by $10\frac{1}{2}$ and $11\frac{1}{2}$ hours' march from any other assistance. Moreover, not any information had been given him as to the position of the enemy.

At half-past eight on the morning of August 4 commenced to issue from the forest beyond Weissemburg the host of three German corps, all of which took part in the combat against the 5,200 infantry, the 900 sabres, and the 18 guns which were all that Douay had to oppose to them. Douay lost his life early in the day, and the command fell

to General Pellé. The result of the combat could not be in doubt; but the splendid bravery of the troops and the skill with which much of the eventual retreat west towards Reischoffen and Worth was conducted are among the brilliant feats of the losing side during the war.

The news of the defeat at Weissemburg, so totally unexpected, since in MacMahon's correspondence there had not been anything to create alarm or anxiety, was another of those blinding blows which the Imperial Headquarters seemed destined to receive in quick succession from time to time. Emotion appears to have at once taken the lead, superseding calm judgment. Immediate revenge was demanded. Le Bœuf proposed for adoption a plan emanating from either Lebrun or Jarras—namely, to launch at once two or three corps by Saargemund on Homburg to sever the important Saarlouis-Mayence Railway. This was certainly shutting the stable-door after the steed was stolen. The Emperor determined, before adopting this plan, to consult the artillery and engineer chiefs and the head of the supply department. The first two concurred without reserve; but the last named declared that from reliable information he believed the country beyond the frontier to be already swept by the enemy clear of supplies: the army could exist only by carrying its food with it, and its food was even now being drawn from the interior of France, and there was only two days' supply in hand. So the plan was given up. Frossard's corps was left as an advanced guard on the Saar, Failly's corps was drawn westward from Saargemund to Bitsch, and was to be placed under the command of MacMahon; a division from the 3rd Corps was to move to Saargemund, to close the opening at that place, whilst the other three corps were to be collected somewhat further from the frontier in rear of Frossard. It was on these lines that the final orders for the 5th were drawn up and issued, and here the record comes provisionally to an end.

During the last four or five years, and especially since the outbreak of the South African War, there has been a decided reaction against the study of the Franco-German War, and there is a disposition to regard it as a 'moribund' campaign. Every campaign, whether studied from the standpoint of the victor or from that of the vanquished, affords, however, teaching and instruction on two matters common to all wars: the one is the employment of force and the direction given to that force in the theatre of war, where it is generally known as strategy, and on the field of battle, where it bears

the name of tactics; the other is the mechanism and the machinery through which that force acts: these are the organisation, the administration, the training, the control and the command of the army, which is the force itself, and on the soundness of the second depend now more than ever the results of the first. The first is the work in war, the second is preparation in peace time for war. On both these matters we have had a great deal of information as regards the victors in 1870–71; this information has clearly shown the value of preparation for war, and what good preparation means; and it is, as it were, a standard held up before us, and to which we should seek to attain. But, after all, the mere exhibition of a high standard does not necessarily act as an incentive to strive to reach it. To many of us a more powerful incentive is the portrayal of the ills we shall bring on others if we do not reach it. As respects 1870–71 this incentive, this warning must come from the vanquished. Herein lies the great value of that portion of the History which is before us, and especially of the appendices in it, for these show in detail the almost complete absence of the real preparation of an army for war, whilst the main body of the work gives the lamentable result. The succeeding parts of the History will give us lessons on the intensified effect in the trying hours of defeat and disaster of this want of preparation, and will doubtless accentuate the lesson, that whilst an army not thoroughly prepared in peace may win campaigns against enemies of a lower grade of civilisation than itself, it simply courts disaster when it enters the field against an enemy as advanced in civilisation as itself.

In this article it has been the endeavour of the writer, on the one hand, to point out the value of the study of War as a Teacher of War, and, on the other, to show the difficulties surrounding this study, and the liability of even the most painstaking and conscientious students to deduce from it false and dangerous conclusions as guides to future action. In our own army in the past the value and the importance of the study have not been recognised, either by the military authorities, save exceptionally, or by the mass of the officers; and owing to the small number of students the conclusions deduced have been rather the *dicta* of individuals than general assent based on experience, sound reasoning, and military common-sense. Save for the superior leaders of our numerous minor and other expeditions in the last forty years, the qualifications of the officers for successful leading were courage, dogged determination and endurance,

combined with marked individualism, rather than any profound knowledge of the military history of the growth of the Empire, or of the struggles between other nations on their battlefields; these matters were, for our officers, of little practical interest or value. But even if any officer desired to study military history, the means were wanting, owing to the lamentable and notorious deficiency of military literature in the English language. The study has therefore been confined to a very few officers, possessing a knowledge of French and German, and, of these few, the majority occupied educational posts; so that on the one side were the students of military history, chiefly teachers, and on the other, the so-called practical soldiers, between whom and the former there was little in common. But in threshing out questions of military history the larger the number who take part in the operation, the greater the amount of truth likely to be garnered, and the less the chance of 'fads' and 'hobbies' getting the upper hand; so the paucity of the students was regrettable.

The time has now come for the authorities to take an entirely new departure in their view of War as a Teacher of War—the British Army of 1902 is not the British Army of 1899. The army of to-day, taught by painful experience, will receive gladly the lessons of war in the past, if these are put within its reach; it will no longer look askance at those lessons merely because they are in printers' ink. But military history is not to be mastered in classes of instruction, or by listening to lectures, or passing examinations. The mastery can be acquired only by individual reading of books and by meditation upon them. For our army the necessary literature should, therefore, be brought into existence by the military authorities, and then placed at the disposal of the officers; the preparation of the works, both original and translations, and their publication should be regarded as a branch of the military education of the officers. The study of military history by our officers is all-important; but the first step towards that study is its popularisation among them, and the first step in that popularisation is the provision of ample facilities for obtaining materials for the study—a provision which should not be left to private enterprise, but which it is the duty of the military authorities to secure.

Art. II.—*The Life and Letters of Lady Sarah Lennox, 1745–1826, with a short political sketch of the years* 1760 *to* 1763. By Henry Fox (1st Lord Holland). Edited by the Countess of Ilchester and Lord Stavordale. In 2 vols. London: John Murray. 1901.

Every generation that has grown old looks back to the golden age of its own youth. 'Tis sixty years since!' And throughout these sixty years, if we are to place implicit confidence in the fond recollections of our elders, the world has been on the downward grade. In England we hear and read every day of the falling away from the high standard of our ancestors. Religion has been undermined. Politics, from having been a great conflict of opposing principles, have become a mere factious bidding for the support of the mob. Parliament is degraded. Our commercial supremacy is doomed. Honest trade has given way to mere speculation, and bankruptcy has ceased to bring discredit. In old days greater rectitude, more simplicity of life, even higher morals and better manners prevailed. It was a simpler, pleasanter, gayer, better-behaved world in the early 'forties' of the nineteenth than in the opening years of the twentieth century. This is the tradition.

When we turn from present-day recollections of the past, and from histories written long after the period they describe, to the contemporary writings of these same ancestors of ours, when we read what they thought and said *of* each other in their most confidential letters *to* each other, a very different picture is presented to our view. Instead of apologising for ourselves, we are driven to make excuses for them, and to call to mind that, in comparing the present with the past, the latter is exposed to far the fiercer light, for the lapse of time has dispensed with the necessity of maintaining appearances, all veils have been torn down, and what was once told amongst intimate friends under the strictest seal of secrecy is now recorded in black and white for all the world to read.

In 1818 Lady Susan O'Brien, the life-long friend and correspondent of Lady Sarah Lennox, jotted down some of the changes that had come under her own observation since 1760.* Society, she says, had become far too large. At Court, Drawing-rooms once a week, which, 'a well-regulated 'and elegant assembly of the best company,' mostly of titled

* 'The Life and Letters of Lady Sarah Lennox,' vol. ii., Appendix.

and official personages and connexions of the Court, used to attend, had given place to much more frequent gatherings, to which 'everybody, man or woman, that assumes the 'name of gentleman or lady go,' making 'crowds so great 'and of so little decorum that people's clothes are literally 'torn to pieces.' In 1760 'Assemblies' of the larger kind were held only at the great houses, such as Bedford House, Northumberland House, Norfolk House, Lady Shelburne's, &c.; whilst less magnificent hostesses 'had their own 'acquaintance in such parties as their houses could accom- 'modate agreeably, always according to the card-tables— 'for cards were indispensable for all parties. Balls were 'few. One place in one evening was an engagement and 'sufficient amusement. But now,' says Lady Susan, assemblies have become so numerous that '2 or 3 of a night 'it is common to go to. The size of the house is not 'thought of much consequence, as if it is not quite crowded 'it is not thought good or agreeable; more people can be 'contained in a large one, but the crowd must be equal 'everywhere. No cards are admitted. Music, in which all 'are proficients, has taken their place. Balls extremely 'numerous.' The theatres, which in 1760 ladies, even unaccompanied by gentlemen, were able to attend had, along with the company that frequented them, deteriorated to such an extent by 1818, that respectable people could not go to the play without running great risk of 'seeing and 'hearing very improper things.' No doubt the change to late hours had much to answer for. In the former year the 'Houses of Parliament met early, and, when no parti- 'cular business was expected, were up time enough for the 'dinner-hour, universally 4 o'clock. This allowed for going 'easily to the Play, Opera, or to Card parties, and for 'keeping early hours at night; long speeches were very 'rare, even with the great orators.' But 'now (1818) Par- 'liament does not meet till 4 or 5 o'clock; long speeches 'are in daily practice on every topic, and by everybody. 'All are orators. This mania has occasioned the lateness 'of every amusement and every topic and family transaction '—dinner at 7 or 8 o'clock, partys beginning at ten, balls 'at eleven or twelve. Thus everything is done by candle- 'light, which adds greatly to the expense in large families, 'is hurtful to the health of young persons, and the morals 'of the lower classes.'

This melancholy decadence is found everywhere. The respect once shown for age and rank has given place to a

vulgar familiarity, and the general civility that had prevailed in every class is gone. 'Persons with or without 'titles are now called by their Christian names . . . every 'man, tradesman, or farmer is Esquire, and every prentice 'girl a young lady.' It was not amongst 'the lower classes' only that morals had suffered. A spirit of greediness and cheating had taken possession of our merchants and traders. Society paid little regard to the virtue of the fairer sex. Democratic ways had come in with the French Revolution, and every alehouse club presumed to discuss the conduct of the Royal Family, and the state of the representation. 'Every parish has its committee to arrange some-'thing or other. No committee but call themselves 'gentlemen, thank their chairman, and ape everything of 'this kind in their superiors. At present (as once before) 'the kingdom is governed by committees. The consequence 'may probably be the same.'

Eighty-four years have passed since Lady Susan, in her old age, recorded in her note-book these and other symptoms of our national decay; and we are able to see that changes of fashion, which in her eyes seemed of such vast importance, did not really involve the deeper consequences which she anticipated. The morals of Courts and of 'society,' and the manners of men, may have advanced or receded somewhat from age to age; but it is hardly possible to doubt that the people, as a whole, have made progress in civilisation along the whole line, and that in morals and in manners there is little reason to mourn that in any class there has been a falling away from the standard of the 'good old 'times.'

The 'Life and Letters of Lady Sarah Lennox' makes intimately known to us a personality of singular charm. To Lady Sarah, in her own day and since, much interest has always attached. When only just out of her childhood, King George III., little more than a boy, proposed to her, and Lady Sarah would have become Queen of England had not those who surrounded the King, combining with statesmen, who feared the influence which so close a connexion with the throne would have brought to her brother-in-law, Lord Holland, induced him to give her up. Before she was sixteen Horace Walpole describes her acting at Holland House with Lady Susan Strangways* and Charles

* Lady Susan Strangways, afterwards Lady Susan O'Brien, was a daughter of Lord Ilchester, elder brother of Henry Fox.

Fox in 'Jane Shore.' 'I was infinitely more struck with 'the last scene between the two women than ever I was 'when I have seen it on the stage. When Lady Sarah was 'in white, with her hair about her ears, and on the ground, 'no Magdalen by Correggio was half so lovely and ex-'pressive.' To a large extent Holland House was the home of her girlhood. It was her sister, Lady Caroline, who had made the secret marriage with Henry Fox (afterwards first Lord Holland), which sixteen or seventeen years earlier had convulsed Court circles and London society. The political sympathies in which Lady Sarah grew up clung to her through life; and her genuine Whiggism characterises her allusions to passing events and contemporary statesmen in all the letters which during half a century she wrote to her lifelong friend, Lady Susan.

This book, however, is no political biography. It is only quite incidentally that the letters touch upon politics at all. Even 'Lord Holland's Memoir,' prefixed to vol. i., though interesting, adds hardly anything to our knowledge of events at the opening of George III.'s reign. Yet an understanding of the men and women of the time, of their strong political principles and prejudices, and of the way in which they regarded each other, can often be much better gained from unpretending literature of this kind than from the works of grave students of history. Throughout all her letters it is Lady Sarah herself, not the events about which she is writing, that really interests the reader.

In the 'Memoir' Lord Holland shows himself in the character he has already won in history—as one of the most worldly-minded and self-seeking of the statesmen of the eighteenth century. In his letters to the young Lord Shelburne* we have seen him doing his best to drive any 'high imaginings' out of the head of that rising statesman as quite unsuited to those schemes of self-advancement which he himself conceived to be the real business of politicians. In the 'Memoir' his comments on the characters, motives, and conduct of his contemporaries afford a good insight into the true nature of the man who makes them. His ability is undeniable; his comments sometimes pungent and true; his descriptions often interesting as to what has come under his own observation. On October 15, 1760, George II. at seven in the morning,

* 'The Life of the Earl of Shelburne,' by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice. London, 1875.

'suddenly fell down dead,' and 'all sorts of people, great and 'little, friends and enemies, conspired in saying that the 'Duke of Newcastle (the Prime Minister), remaining where 'he was, was absolutely necessary. Strange that unless a 'worthless and a silly and an ignorant man is at the head of 'a state it cannot flourish. I never thought so, but I was 'not sorry others said it, who probably thought it no more 'than I do.' (Henry Fox was at that time a very highly paid Minister of the Crown, but outside the Cabinet.) On November 6 a sort of 'inner Cabinet,' consisting of Newcastle, Bute, Pitt, and Hardwicke, settled the King's Speech, which was read by the King on opening Parliament a fortnight later, 'with too much studied action, and laying the accent 'on the first syllable of állys and révenues, which is after 'the Scotch pronunciation.' In that case the Scotch fashion has prevailed, if at least modern representatives of the Foreign Office and the Exchequer may be accounted authorities as to the pronunciation of words constantly in their mouths. It is unnecessary to refer to the already sufficiently well-known disagreements and ruptures which soon brought the Newcastle and the Bute Governments to an end.

Fox's comments on his colleagues and contemporaries are biting enough: Pitt only 'attends to that nonsensical 'thing, undeserved popularity with the dregs of the people.' 'The Primate of Ireland is a false, artful, meddling priest.' In March, 1761, Bute became Secretary of State, and Fox, attending at Court, feels how right he has always been in considering a new reign a new world, of which nothing could be known, and as to which no schemes could be laid beforehand. His contemporaries were rapidly sketched. 'Lord Barrington, Chancellor of the Exchequer, a frivolous, 'little-minded man, not honester or abler than his pre- 'decessor.' That predecessor was Legge, who had been remarkable 'for sacrificing every honest consideration to 'selfish cunning.' . . . 'Charles Townshend's transcendant 'parts, his good qualities, and his great failings, will have 'made him sufficiently known before these memoirs are 'read.' Sufficiently known, indeed! For long 'before these 'memoirs were read' Charles Townshend's name had for ever found a place in English history as that of the brilliant statesman who brought about the loss of America and almost wrecked the Empire. . . . 'Lord Holdernesse shows servile 'submission and complaisance.' 'Temple would be the 'most insignificant man in England but for his relation to

'Pitt.' And in Pitt himself Fox is incapable of recognising the greatness of soul which lay behind the vanity and arrogance which he condemned.

When King George III. came to the throne, no doubt the old Whigs 'stood aghast' at the signs immediately appearing of the King's intention to look for friends beyond their charmed circle. The Tories were coming to Court and into office, which in the eyes of the Duke of Devonshire and orthodox Whigs meant sheer 'confusion.' At such a time politicians do not show themselves at their best. There was, however, a great political question about which statesmen differed vehemently—the making of peace or the prolongation of the war. They were not, after all, entirely taken up with sordid considerations of place and profit. Pitt and Temple were, of course, for war; and Fox, like many another dissatisfied statesman before and since, is unable to see any but the lowest motives in those with whom he disagrees, or whose fame he envies. Pitt, he thinks, was trying to escape responsibility for a peace which, however right in itself and beneficial to the country, would be unpopular.

'What can be his meaning, or what can it be resolved into but a desire that a peace may be made without him, which he may say had been better if he had had his way? And is there either honesty or sense in this, if it is his intention? To obstruct and delay a peace that he must approve at the expense of thousands of lives and misery of thousands of families! What must the man be, or can he be a man who will allow this to his vanity and passion? . . . Others say that he knows when a peace comes he must be of no consequence, and scruples nothing to put off the evil hour. What a representation is that of a fiend rather than a human creature! And had it not been more politic to cry up and call this peace, his glorious conclusion of his glorious war, which would, I think, by very many have been allowed him. If he proceeds then the day will come, early in the next session, when he will be treated as he deserves; and I know no man who can so ill bear up against an attack where no Court supports him.'

In the autumn Pitt and Lord Temple left the Government, and Fox's belief that Pitt's power was dependent upon Court support was, he says, further confirmed by his weak resistance to the famous attack upon him in the House of Commons by Colonel Barré. Henry Fox saw in Pitt 'a 'mountebank,' and little more. He had a very low estimate either of his 'intentions or his abilities.' 'It is already 'growing no paradox,' Fox writes in 1761, 'and it will, 'perhaps, by the time these papers are read, be an allowed

'truth, that Mr. Pitt, who has made so great a figure these 'four years, was what Lord Winchelsea four years ago said 'he was, a very silly fellow.'

A few years later (1768) Henry Fox sums up the four great mistakes he attributes to Lord Bute. At the time he had been surprised by the ferocity of the attacks and the violence of the agitation against the Prime Minister. 'The 'fire was fed with great industry and blown by a national pre-'judice which is inveterate and universal. Every man has at 'some time or other found a Scotchman in his way, and every-'body has therefore damned the Scotch; and this hatred their 'excessive nationality has inflamed.' Because Lord Bute thought a peace necessary, a peace on any terms was denounced. 'But the true objections, his being a Scotch-'man and a Favourite, are avowed, and on these articles he is 'most scurrilously accused even in a public paper, with as 'little disguise as ever faction wore boldly attacked, and told 'of his intrigue with the Princess Dowr. of Wales.'

In the spring of 1761 the admiration of the King for Lady Sarah Lennox was matter of common gossip. Lady Sarah as early as 1759, before she was fifteen, used to go to children's parties at the Court of George II., and had there been much noticed by the Prince of Wales. The acquaintance had been kept up, and in March, after his accession, the new King, through Lady Susan Strangways, sent a verbal message to Lady Sarah, which the latter was certainly entitled to think indicated an intention to propose if he met with any encouragement. From Lady Sarah's letter to her friend at the end of February it appears that the former fully expected the King to speak confidentially about her to Lady Susan. As soon as Lady Sarah appeared at Court, a week or two after she had received the King's message, the King approached her and asked her what she thought of the communication he had made to her. The lady, however, far from giving him the encouragement he hoped for, 'made no answer, but looked as cross as she could, and His 'Majesty, affronted and confused, at once left the Drawing 'Room.' Lady Sarah's cold bearing was due to a passing fancy she then entertained for Lord Newbattle, who had proposed to her, but who had not gained the approval of his parents for the match. Accident, however, intervened to help the efforts of those who were doing their best to keep the King and Lady Sarah apart; for a fall, when hunting with her friend Lady Susan in Somersetshire, broke her leg, and forced her to remain for many weeks at Lord Ilchester's

place in that county. It was not till the end of May that she returned to town, cured, by his own indifference, of any sentiment she may have had for Lord Newbattle.

Henry Fox's hopes rose high. He had been hurt to see 'so much ridiculous German pride,' even on the part of 'the sensible English Duke of Cumberland, who had been 'much discomposed' at hearing of the King's intentions. So had the Royal Family in general. 'They may think a 'white Princess of Brunswick, Anspach, or Saxe Gotha 'superior to the daughter of the Duke of Richmond; it 'suits their interest and their understanding;' but he had hoped for better sense from his friend the Duke of Cumberland. Lord Bute, moreover, was not less opposed to the King's marriage to the sister of Lady Caroline, fearing the influence which such a connexion would bring to so ambitious and powerful a statesman as Henry Fox. The ambition of Henry Fox and the charms of Lady Sarah had therefore to contend with formidable opposition. Of the King's own disposition there seems to be no reason to doubt; but he was entirely surrounded by those who had more in view their own ends than the King's happiness. According to Horace Walpole, Fox played the game with much skill, absenting himself in the country whilst Lady Sarah was left at Holland House, 'where she appeared every morning in a 'field close to the great road (where the King passed on 'horseback), in a fancied habit, making hay.' This may be, as suggested by the Editors of the 'Life and Letters,' a bit of fancy on Walpole's part; but it is quite clear from the lady's bright and amusing letter to her friend, of June 19, 1761, that the King would not have been snubbed by her a second time. But, alas! 'to-day is come to nothing, for 'we were so near Lady Susan Stuart and Princess Augusta 'that nothing could be said, and they wacht us as a cat 'does a mouse; but looks and smiles very, very gracious; 'however, I go with the Duchess Thursday. I'll put a 'postscript in this of it. I beg you won't show this to any-'body, so pray burn it, for I can tell you things that I can't 'tell other people you know. Adieu, dear Suke.' The postscript comes—'I went Thursday, but nothing was said; 'I won't go jigetting for ever, if I hear nothing, I can tell 'him.'

But she did hear nothing! Time went on. They met often, but nothing to the purpose was said. At the Birthday Ball the King's attentions had been manifest to everyone, and they were even continued after he had

privately yielded to the pressure of his *entourage*, and contracted himself to Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg, an engagement announced at a meeting of the Privy Council on July 8. The day before, Lady Sarah writes the astounding news to her friend. The King had said nothing definite to her—

'But though nothing was said he always took pains to show me some prefference by talking twice, and mighty kind speeches and looks; even last Thursday, the day after the orders had come out, the hippocrite had the face to come up and speak to me with all the good humour in the world, and seemed to want to speak to me, but was afraid. . . . I shall go Thursday se'nnight; I shall take care to shew I am not mortified to anybody; but if it is true one can vex anybody with a reserved cold manner he shall have it, I promise him.'

Lady Sarah's pride was naturally hurt in finding that latterly, at least, the King had merely been amusing himself at her expense; but it is clear that Henry Fox and Lady Caroline took more deeply to heart the failure of their ambitious plans. The King's feelings would appear, on the whole, to have been more really touched than the lady's; and the latter found much immediate consolation in tending her sick squirrel, whose death, in spite of the most careful nursing, gave her, according to Lord Holland, 'more con-'cern than H.M. ever did.' In spite of the advice of her deeply annoyed elders she consented to be one of the bridesmaids at the King's marriage. They are described by Horace Walpole, writing September 9, 1761, as 'beautiful 'figures, especially Lady Caroline Russell, Lady Sarah 'Lennox, and Lady Elizabeth Keppel. With neither 'features nor air Lady Sarah was by far the chief angel.' Her letters to her friend show her determination to make herself as little as possible the subject of pitying comment and sympathy, and her time passed gaily enough till her girlhood came to an end, in May, 1762, with her marriage to Charles, the eldest son of Sir William Bunbury, whom he succeeded in the baronetcy the following year.

Her husband was devoted to sport. He was the owner of Diomed, the winner of the first Derby; and as his country place was at no great distance from Newmarket it is natural that his wife's letters should show the interest they both took in the racing, coursing, and hunting which occupied so much of their time in the country. For a time her tastes led her to prefer life at Barton and country pursuits to the racket of London or the turmoil of politics. Her

brother-in-law, Henry Fox, who at Lord Bute's request had just undertaken the lead of the House of Commons in order to carry the peace, 'is a goose to prefer the hurry and 'bustle of this new place to his own nonsensical quiet life.' She had been anxious that her husband should get the Irish Secretaryship, but the difficulties in the way disheartened her. 'As to politics,' she writes in another letter, 'I have renounced them and their vanities, for 'tis 'only wishing for what one can't have, and expecting what 'one don't get.' It is natural that she was 'for the peace,' however little her correspondent, Lady Susan, might agree with her.

Lady Susan was a couple of years senior to Lady Sarah, their respective ages being at this time (1764) twenty-one and nineteen; and much good advice did each of them receive from the other, without, so far as appears, any effect whatever being produced on either. At the private theatricals which were a frequent amusement at Holland House, Lady Susan had become acquainted with a good-looking young Irishman, an actor by profession, of the name of O'Brien. Thinking correctly that the Ilchesters and Holland House would absolutely decline to sanction such a *mésalliance*, the two took the matter into their own hands, met by arrangement, drove in a hackney coach to Covent Garden Church, were married there, and went on to his villa at Dunstable, whence she informed her parents of the step she had taken. It was long before her family forgave her. Lord Ilchester would give her no allowance, but Lord Holland, who, whatever his faults, was the kindest of men and much beloved by his relations, gave his niece 400*l.* a year and helped to put her husband in the way of finding employment abroad. Lady Sarah, three days after the marriage, though condemning her conduct, assures her she may still expect great happiness, 'and don't, my dear, give way to low spirits; not 'only yours but your husband's happiness depends so much 'on that that you must get the better of yourself, and if 'you are inclined to be chearful never think it wrong in 'your situation, for, as I told you, your whole business is to 'please him.' As for want of money, Lady Sarah, who up to that time had never known what it was to be poor, felt that she herself could be perfectly happy on 200*l.* a year, and her only uneasiness would be the thought that such poverty might vex Mr. Bunbury and her own vanity. Lady Susan, it is quite clear, did not take kindly to the habits of frugality that her new circumstances required; and she

felt no little indignation at the disinclination of her own justly offended relations to provide her with what she considered a proper income. Her friend was in the unhappy position of seeing faults on both sides, and she spent much eloquence in trying to persuade each to make some allowance for the offended *amour propre* of the other. The O'Briens went to New York in search of a profitable opening in the colony. Their 'necessary expenses' were considerable. They made no money; and the expenditure which they thought indicated a life of economy struck Lady Susan's family as highly extravagant. The points of view were irreconcilable. Strained relations, if not war, were inevitable, and good advice from a neutral, however sympathetic, became exasperating. Lady Sarah bravely did her best.

'It is sad,' she writes to Lady Susan, that 'you found New York so bad, but it's an ill wind that blows nobody good, for the worse the town and the vulgarer the folks the less occasion you have for expense, and what is nothing to you will make you live "en Reine" there, so don't introduce anything finer than you need, for you may yourself set the fashion, and 'tis your own fault if 'tis an extravagant one.'

Keep up your spirits and live cheap is the admirable advice regularly exported from Barton to New York, whilst the advice imported from New York to Barton is to beware of a love of admiration, and to cultivate prudence. Lady Sarah frankly recognises that there is something to be said for a larger home consumption of this valuable article of their commerce.

'It's ridiculous,' she writes (February 7, 1765), 'in you and I giving one another the same advice, tho' upon different subjects; however, I think it plainly proves how much we both want it, and that it's only one's own partiallity to oneself that prevents one saying the very thing to ourselves, not that, but, believe me, I have thought it, and am as much displeased at my giddiness as anybody can be; but I flatter myself that with a little attention I shall have no reason to be angry with myself on this same subject, for I have *thought* very seriously lately, and I don't see why I should behave like a *silly vain fool* when I am not one. You see I commend myself, but really I may say so much when at the same time I own that my sense is of no use to me; I am ashamed to own it, and I think it so wrong that I do firmly intend to be more exact in my behaviour.'

And so the two went on, persisting in their own ways: Lady Susan grumbling over her grievances, and scoffing at advice 'to save money and make an independent fortune 'out of 200*l.* a year'; Lady Sarah conducting herself, we are afraid, in a manner far from 'exact,' till four years

later the crash came, to be followed by years of withdrawal from her old surroundings, and then a second marriage—the starting-point of a new and very different and much nobler life.

Lady Sarah's letters, however, contained, fortunately for her correspondent and for us, much besides advice. Social gossip from London, description of the fashions, accounts of a couple of visits to Paris, allusions to the passing politics of the day, made up great part of her communications to her friend in New York. During the years after the Peace of 1763 there was much social intercourse between Paris and London. In May 1765 Lady Holland took her two eldest sons, Stephen and Charles Fox, and her sisters, Lady Sarah and Lady Louisa, to visit the French capital. Never was anything so beautiful as Lord and Lady Hertford's new house, 'quite a pallace, even here where the 'stile of houses are charming, in general, in my oppinion. 'Tis true they are inconvenient and dirty, but for one's 'own appartments they are delightful. In the first place, 'they are upon the ground floor; and have every one a 'garden (where there are horse-chesnuts for shade); the 'rooms are large, the windows immense and all down to the 'ground, the furniture very fine (if new), for there are 'commodes even in our lodgings, and looking-glasses in every 'part of the room and very large ones. The houses are 'dirty and old, but I own I like the stile of them infinitely.' She was not much struck by the beauties, and she declared the music at the Opera was 'ridiculous,' though the dances and scenery exceeded anything she had ever seen. As for acting, her enthusiasm for Garrick was always so great that she had hardly any admiration left for anyone else. Of him, many years after, she wrote that she grieved for 'the rising generation who will never know what real good 'acting is,' and she looked upon it as a piece of great good luck that she was born in his time. The handsomest woman she met was the Duchesse de la Vallière, aged fifty-two, but still 'beautiful as an angel.' The Princess of Monaco, in Paris reckoned a great beauty, would in London be merely accounted a very pretty woman, though as regards figure she was 'the most perfect made of any woman in the 'world, I believe. She is the only lady who don't wear 'rouge, for all the rest daub themselves so horribly that it's 'shocking.'

The following year she writes that 'French dress is 'coming into fashion, tho' 'tis almost impossible to make

'the ladies understand that heads bigger than one's body 'are ugly.' Frenchmen and Frenchwomen are visiting London, just as Londoners are visiting Paris. There is a certain sense of incongruity in finding Madame de Boufflers at Newmarket and Jean-Jacques Rousseau in London and at the play, where, moreover, he desired to be placed so that he might not see the King, 'which, as Mrs. Greville says, 'is a *pauvreté* worthy a philosopher.' He wore 'a pellise 'and fur cap,' saw very few people, and 'is to go and live 'at a farm in Wales, where he shall see nothing but moun-'tains and wild goats. *Autre pauvreté.*' Lady Sarah was one of the few English much admired in Paris, which pleased her vanity not a little. 'You can't think how 'French I'm grown,' she writes to Lady Susan, who, it is easy to see, has not ceased her warnings. Lady Sarah, deservedly or not, has been blamed; 'but be assured, my 'dear Netty, that my morals are not spoilt by the French,' and so on. She certainly acted on the advice she so plentifully bestowed on her complaining friend whose 'melan-'cholly letters' she found it difficult to understand. 'Being 'chearful is not only one's interest and pleasure, but it's 'a right thing and one's duty toward God who never 'meant to make us miserable; if we make ourselves so, we 'frustrate his intentions.'

The letters in these volumes, written as they are to her most intimate friend, appear to indicate that her life is a happy one, that she delights in her country house, and is sincerely attached to her husband. However, things went very wrong, and we can hardly lay all the blame on 'the 'French'! How it all came about we are not told; but early in 1769 she left her husband's house in London with Lord William Gordon (brother of the notorious Lord George Gordon). They lived together for some months at Carol-side in Berwickshire; but then, at the urgent entreaties of her relations, she withdrew from his protection, and came to stay permanently at Goodwood with her brother, the Duke of Richmond, and the Duchess. Of this period we know only what the Editors tell us—viz., that Lady Sarah lived in complete retirement, occupied with the bringing up of her daughter (Lord William's child). There are no letters given from Lady Sarah to her friend from June 1768 to June 1775, and we are informed that none have been preserved. By this time Lady Susan had long returned from America, and was living with her husband at a house of Lady Ilchester's near Dorchester. Lady Susan's family

had not yet forgiven her. There was much spirit but very little 'meekness' in her disposition, and Lady Sarah's never-failing efforts to bring about hearty reconciliation did not meet with the success they deserved. There was a 'toss of Lady Susan's head' that her relatives seem to have found exceedingly exasperating—a gesture which is 'a great crime in many people's eyes, for it denotes contempt.'

Why Lady Sarah's divorce (a remedy which in those days existed only for the rich and influential) did not take place till 1776 we are not told. She then resumed her maiden name. The Editors inform us, on the authority of her sister's letters, that Sir Charles used to visit her, and was even anxious to remarry her, though her own letters in 1779 and 1780, describing their curious interview and their sentiments towards each other, do not suggest that a remarriage was ever seriously thought of.

The O'Briens, during their stay in New York, had evidently got to think well of our colonists, whilst Lady Sarah's original prejudices against the Americans only yielded slowly to her generally Whig sentiments. 'I suppose you are viollent for your American friends,' she writes in July 1775. 'I hope they are good sort of people; but I don't love Presbyterians, and I love the English soldiers, so that at present I have a horror of those who use them ill beyond the laws of war, which *scalping* certainly is, and I don't believe a word of the soldiers doing more than they ought.' But in November 1776 she is thanking God she is not queen, for long before this she would have quarrelled with the King, 'and her head would have been off probably.' But if she had cared about him, and could not have prevented the war, 'she should certainly go mad to think a person she loved was the cause of so shameful a war.' A year later, again she writes of the 'poor Americans,' and of the horror of *our* employing the Indians; a remarkable change of opinion from August 1775, when she held that the 'Bostonians, being chiefly Presbiterians, and from the North of Ireland, are daily proved to be very very bad people, being quarrelsome, discontented, hippocritical, enthusiastical lying people.' Such men were sure to be rebellious and discontented in any circumstances, she maintained. On December 30, 1777, she holds a very different opinion. Lady Susan is complimented on her *prévoyance* in foreseeing the war many years before. 'Do you remember your rebellious letters to me from America ten years

'ago? . . . Without having any partiality for America, I 'grow a greater rebel every day upon principle, and cannot 'therefore wonder at your being so, who have so much 'cause for partiality.' It was not Lady Sarah only who had come to question the policy or the morality of the war against the Americans. The eyes of Englishmen were slowly opening to the gigantic errors of British statesmanship from the very commencement of our American troubles—errors which had at last involved us in a struggle from which in the end there was no escape but in the dismemberment of the Empire. In the autumn of 1778 very large numbers of her fellow-citizens had got to contemplate the struggle from a new standpoint. 'Though an American in my heart as to 'the *cause*, I cannot bear my poor countrymen should suffer, 'who are to the full as innocent as the Americans.' Her near connexion with Charles Fox and the Whigs naturally drew her more and more to that view of the American War which, owing in large part to the energy, ability, and splendid eloquence of the Whig leaders, was to become the prevailing one. She sighs over Burke's defeat at Bristol in 1780, thinking it little to the honour of his constituents; 'but it is true merchant-like, for they are so selfish, 'they cannot bear his principles of freedom should extend 'to anybody but themselves, and his wishing Ireland had 'free trade is his crime.'

The exchange of letters between the two ladies with which vol. ii. opens affords delightful reading. In the spring of 1781 Lady Sarah is occupied with more serious matter than the disruption of empire and free trade for Ireland. She has made up her mind to marry again; the man of her choice being Captain George Napier, the second son of the fifth Lord Napier, lately invalided home from service in America. Her brother, the Duke of Richmond, and all her relations are in different degrees opposed to the match, but for the most part they bring themselves to accept in good part what Lady Sarah's firmness makes inevitable. Captain Napier had no money but his pay. He was a widower, with a child of five years old to support. Her means were no more than sufficient for herself and her own child, and it is little to be wondered at that the apparent imprudence of the match on both sides called forth all the dissuasive eloquence of which their friends were capable.

Lady Sarah's letter to Lady Susan only suffices to prove to the latter that the contemplated match is a love-match. 'I admire your tough *oak-like* mind,' writes the former,

'but I avail myself of my own weakness, and at least take 'the good of it, since I have suffered by the bad of such a 'bending, pliant turn of mind.' The prudent Lady Susan, who, it will be remembered, made a runaway match the day she came of age, could hardly believe her own eyes when she read that her friend was going to marry for love a man without a shilling! Nothing could be more foolish, or more opposed to the welfare and future happiness of Lady Sarah herself and her daughter. The latter would suffer by her necessary withdrawal from Goodwood, where the fondness for her of the Duke and Duchess of Richmond was of importance, and it was sure to be diminished by her living at a distance, 'for we are all *animaux d'habitudes*.' As for *her* being an oak, she feels much more like a willow, and a weeping one. In truth no two ladies were ever more determined to get their own way. Each recognises with ample fulness the excellent advice constantly tendered by the other—and then completely disregards it! Certainly Lady Sarah had seen enough of the world, good and bad, to know what she was about, to judge for herself, and to take her own fate in her hands. Assuredly, as she had declared in her younger days, 'she was no fool.' The marriage took place at Goodwood in August 1781, and, in spite of all predictions to the contrary, proved a brilliant success. Neither Lady Sarah nor George Napier, however difficult their circumstances at times may have been, ever regretted the step they had taken, and their country has had much reason to congratulate itself on the results of their union, for amongst their children were General Sir Charles Napier, conqueror of Scinde, General Sir George Napier, who with his two brothers served through the Peninsular War, losing his arm at Ciudad Rodrigo, and General Sir William Napier, the historian of the Peninsular War.

The character of the letters now of necessity undergoes a change. Domestic duties and events claim a large share of attention, and, as years advance, the constant illnesses and the inevitable gaps in the circle of friends, and of friends' friends bring home to Lady Sarah more serious thoughts, and call out in her the deep sympathy of her nature. It was now her lot to have to put in practice the advice she had always given to her friends. Far from complaining at the loss of the brilliant life and society of her younger days, she felt herself far happier, she writes in 1793, than

in the thoughtless giddy years that followed her childhood. She with her husband and children lived for some time at her sister's, Lady Louisa Conolly's, place, near Dublin, where they built themselves a small house. They had income enough to clothe and feed themselves and the nine children, and to send the boys to the village school. But the future had its anxieties, the parents had nothing to leave behind them, and when the war broke out her husband, who was devoted to his profession, with the full approval of his wife, eagerly sought employment on active service. The following year, therefore, they are found in cheap lodgings in Southampton, where Major Napier is busily employed in the work of recruiting till he joins Lord Moira's army in the Low Countries as Deputy-Quarter-master-General. She has been converted, she says, to his way of thinking about soldiering, 'and, tho' it must be in 'perpetual sacrifices of my own peace and happiness, I am 'convinced that *a true military man* (of which I see very 'few) will never bring about any pecuniary advantage to 'himself or his family, but in *that* line to which they have 'devoted all their abilities.' He could not, in short, limit his aspirations for himself and his family to seeing them comfortably off; and 'his passion for the army has decided 'that our five sons are to serve their country and to take 'their chance like him for fortune. I confess the perspec-'tive is *dark* to *me*, for, as I fear none of them will equal 'him in talents . . . I have little hope that they will even '*earn their bread*, much less gain a sufficiency.' Happily she lived to see her husband's views justified, by the brilliant services rendered to their country and the distinction won by their sons.

As in the American War, so in the political troubles which followed the fall of Lord North, in the Irish difficulties, and in the French War of 1793 onwards, Lady Sarah was a true 'Foxite.' The references to Charles Fox, her sister's son, are very frequent. He was four or five years her junior, and at Holland House they had played together as children. They had acted together in 'Jane Shore,' and on other occasions. We hear of him at Eton, 'where he had made some Latin verses which were 'sent up for good.' When he was about seventeen Lady Sarah flattered herself she had great influence over him and was 'getting him into order.' That was no easy task, and when, long afterwards, the Coalition Government was

formed in 1783, and Charles Fox became Secretary of State, she admits that—

'nothing short of supernatural power could make Charles *the guide* of administration, in spight of all the pains he takes to *marr* the genius that Providence gave him. I am so far from thinking he seeks greatness, that I am sure greatness pursues him into gaining honour, &c., &c., and since the Fates have decreed him to be Minister, can he avoid it? You will see he will never keep it; but it will always come back to him.'

During their stay in Ireland Lady Sarah and her husband, closely connected as they were with the Duke of Leinster and the Whigs, held the Opposition view that the Government *wished* to drive the Irish into extremes and so pave the way for a Union. In 1793 Charles Fox stands out in her eyes 'more glorious than ever.' She sees in him the vindicator of high political principle, who, in utter disregard of his own interest, sacrifices all prospect of place and power. She, and her husband no less strongly, were enthusiastically in favour of the Catholic claims and of a reform of the very corrupt system of Irish administration. Her vehemence against both the English and the Irish Government became intensified five years later on the imprisonment of her nephew, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, on a charge of high treason. An account of his death in prison, taken from the Holland House MSS., is given in the Appendix; but though the great charm of his character is dwelt upon there is nothing added to our knowledge of that misguided individual, or of the events of that lamentable time. It was natural that she should have seen in Lord Fitzwilliam's policy towards the Catholics in 1795 the best hope for the peace of Ireland, and we can understand from her state of feeling the general despair amongst reformers caused by his recall. It is impossible to blame her when some three years later she writes that, though there is no more loyal subject of the King, 'I do averr, and 'shall never alter my opinion, that it is not the way to save 'a kingdom by corrupting its Parliament.' Pitt, however, had at the end of the eighteenth century, for the immediate safety of the whole kingdom, to keep a firm grip over the supreme executive authority in both countries. The more the Irish Parliament became representative of the Irish people as a whole rather than of the Anglo-Irish section of the community, the more it became necessary to have recourse to influence of all sorts in order that the supreme Government might retain the support of the two Parliaments. Pitt

may have seen, what Lady Sarah and her friends did not see, that the best chance of suppressing the corruption which was eating into the Government of Ireland, as well as of meeting the immediate national danger of the time, lay in the union of the Parliaments of England and Ireland. The continued existence of a separate and democratic Irish Parliament, whose concurrence on matters of national policy with the Parliament at Westminster it would always be essential to secure, might have seemed to far-sighted statesmen of those days to involve as a consequence the employment of all those acts of management for which Lady Sarah had so just a contempt. There was much in the way the Union was brought about that deserves censure. Nevertheless, in the main, the more we contemplate the possibility at the end of last century of any alternative to the Union policy of Pitt, the more we become convinced of its essential wisdom.

Lady Sarah could not stand Lord Castlereagh or Lord Clare; but the humane spirit and firm moderation of Lord Cornwallis at a time when too many loyal men could see no safety but in violence, appealed to her; and Colonel Napier, when it had been ascertained that no 'dirty Ministers' had anything to do with recommending him, accepted a military appointment under the Lord Lieutenant. The last three years of the eighteenth century in Ireland were enough to drive honest and liberal-minded people like the Napiers almost to despair. The state of the country in March 1799 is graphically described by Lady Sarah:—

'Robbers come to the farmers under the name of *United Gentlemen*, ask for food, drink, and horses, and leave word that if he don't send the army after them he shall never be touched; if he *does* give information his corn, hay, and cattle, &c., is destroyed. If he complains to them, they say, "Can't you hold your tongue? We don't want you to fight for us, only be easy." The poor wretch is violent. Then comes the furious Loyalist, who puts the poor farmer in jail because he was robbed. The man remonstrates and says, "Give me soldiers, give me arms, and I won't let the villains rob me." "No, no," says the Loyalist, "you are a d—d rebel, and shall have no protection; sell your land and go out of the kingdom." "With all my heart," says the farmer, "for I lead the life of a dog between you both, but find me a purchaser for my land." "We can't do that, it will soon belong to Government without purchase." What is the poor farmer to do? "Why," he says, "since this is to be the case that my ruin is evident, I had best make friends on the strongest side, and fight for it." Then he unwillingly turns rebel, who would have been *a faithful* subject had Government protected him well. Lord

Cornwallis sees all these evils and endeavours to remedy them, but he must first give honesty, humanity, and sense to the country gentlemen, magistrates, and colonels of militia of the kingdom of Ireland, and that's no easy task.'

Colonel Napier died in 1804, and a year afterwards Lady Sarah received a pension for herself and her daughters from the King, which Mr. Pitt was instrumental in getting for her. For a time she lived in London, to her no small astonishment seeing more of 'Pittites' than 'Foxites,' and laughing in her sleeve at their 'brags.' When Charles Fox returned to office for the last time, in 1806, his remaining months of life must have been rendered burdensome by the solicitations for place of his extremely numerous friends. The many references to Charles Fox in these letters afford fresh evidence of the enthusiastic attachment and admiration which his personal friends felt for him in spite of faults and failings to which they were not blind. An account of his last days, and of his death at Chiswick, is given in the Appendix to vol. ii., taken from the diary kept by his widow, and still preserved at Holland House.

Lady Sarah's later years were darkened by her blindness. But she maintained, till quite near the close of her life, her bright spirits and her keen interest in what was happening around her. She continued to dictate letters to Lady Susan, of which the last given is dated 1817. Unlike her friend, she did not think the new generation much worse than the preceding one, nor, indeed, that there was very much change except in hours and in dress and in the manner in which unmarried women were beginning to 'take a kind 'of lead even in their parents' houses.' She survived King George III. by some half-a-dozen years, dying in London in 1826.

Throughout, these letters are written with a freshness and spontaneity that captivate the reader, and help him to realise the singular charm for which Lady Sarah, in her own day, was famous. They have been admirably edited by Lady Ilchester and Lord Stavordale, who have done much in footnotes to recall to the casual reader the history of the time, and to make intelligible many of the allusions which without them it would have been very hard to interpret. Holland House holds a unique place in the history of England during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as the home of politics and letters and brilliant social life. These volumes are in every way worthy of Holland House.

ART. III.—1. *Modern Abyssinia.* By AUGUSTUS B. WYLDE. London: Methuen. 1901.

2. *An Account of the English Mission to King Johannis of Abyssinia in* 1887. By GERALD H. PORTAL. Privately printed.

3. *With the Mission to Menelik,* 1897. By Count GLEICHEN. London: Arnold. 1898.

4. *Abyssinia: through the Lion-land to the Court of the Lion of Judah.* By HERBERT VIVIAN. London: Pearson. 1901.

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6. *Vers Fachoda: à la Rencontre de la Mission Marchand à travers l'Éthiopie.* Par CHARLES MICHEL, Second de la Mission. Paris: Plon. 1900.

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8. *Survey of the Sobat Region.* By Major H. H. AUSTIN, R.E., D.S.O. 'Geographical Journal,' May 1901.

9. *Surveys on the Proposed Sudan-Abyssinian Frontier.* By Major C. W. GWYNN, R.E., D.S.O. 'Geographical Journal,' December 1901.

ABYSSINIA is to-day one of the most interesting countries in the world for the student either of the past or of the present. On its throne sits an Emperor, who traces his descent, through such a pedigree as commonly makes the glory of half-civilised races, to another Menelik, born of the Queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon. At Axum, the traditional centre of Abyssinian religion, stand monuments, among the least explored in existence, which attest a civilisation perhaps of Balkis's day, and certainly offering resemblances to the Assyrian. A Semitic people keeps there the early Semitic institutions familiar to us from the Old Testament side by side with the most modern inventions—cities of refuge coexist with the telephone. The religion of the country presents the only example outside of Europe of a Christianity which has maintained itself as the national faith from a period too early to be definitely fixed; and it has been little studied. Even less investigation has been bestowed on the ancient speech, the Geez, preserved up to the present for

ceremonial uses. Philologist, archæologist, historian, theologian, all have a field almost virgin to explore. But the interest of the present eclipses the interest of the past. Where fifty years ago the Christian kingdom of Abyssinia lay almost inaccessible—shattered into a group of disconnected feudal states, split into two portions, each ringed about with fierce savages, and continually encroached upon and threatened with entire extinction—there Menelik to-day is absolute monarch of an empire which alone among the darker peoples has defeated a great European Power; with the diplomatic representatives of four great nations rivalling each other in courtesies, and intriguing for his friendship. Abyssinia may yet come to be the Penelope among her suitors, but for the moment the suitors are in the stage of contending with gifts. There is no intention here to attempt prophecy; but nothing can be more certain than that the destiny of Abyssinia will have its important effect on European diplomacy, and the purpose of this review is to give a coherent account (not easily accessible elsewhere) of the events, too little known in their sequence, which have brought about this transformation, and to deduce a few obvious inferences.

The first important factor in the situation had developed itself some centuries before Abyssinia was to Europe more than the fabulous country of some vague Prester John. Its people were no doubt from the earliest times in intercourse with the countries across the Red Sea. Mahomet, early in his career, sent his relatives for protection to the Christian ruler of Axum, which lies some 120 miles south-west of Massowah, the country's natural outlet on the Red Sea. They were well treated, and perhaps traditional gratitude saved Abyssinia from the early rush of Moslem conquest. But gradually the seaboard was taken, and in the fifteenth century only the arrival of adventurous Portuguese allies saved this outlying fragment of Christendom from conquest by Mohammed Grayn. With Portuguese help its people held their mountain passes against the invaders, but the coast remained in other hands, and Abyssinia was through five centuries a country debarred free access to the highway of nations. She is so still; but what Consul Plowden, writing in 1849, called 'the fatal barrier of Turkish domination' interposed between her and the sea only a blank wall. That barrier altered its character when, in 1882, Italy took the first step to establish herself on the Red Sea littoral, when France settled at Djibouti, and, lastly, when Egypt evacuated the Sudan. Abyssinia then came into direct contact

with living forces which she must either repel or submit to, and which in any case she must in some way assimilate and draw into her constitution if she was not to be drawn into theirs. Had the movement of events been a little quicker, Abyssinia must have been annexed almost without a struggle. In 1868 we advanced without difficulty to Magdala. But sixteen years later, when the Egyptian power finally broke up and left the Red Sea coast open to all ambitions, Abyssinia had already been welded into a very considerable power. Moreover, in the fact that this inland kingdom found its outlets to the sea held not by one nation but by three, lay a very great source of strength. Neither France nor Italy was willing to see Abyssinia annexed by a rival, and either of the two would supply Abyssinia with the means of defence against the other. As for England, if she had a policy in regard to Abyssinia, it was to abstain severely from action, whether in breach or in fulfilment of her obligations. Thus Abyssinia overpassed successfully the critical moment when her barbarism first jostled with a civilised Power, and, not having been crushed, has gained in a decade more strength from the contact than she could have done in a century of isolation. It is not too much to say that these last fifteen years have virtually, though not actually, given Abyssinia access to the sea and to the world's markets. She has been able to buy rifles—the material condition of national existence—in what quantity she chooses.

The second factor is the growth of a strong central monarchy, and it is, perhaps, reasonable to trace that also to the breaking down of this same 'fatal barrier.' The English expedition that defeated Theodore furnished the prince whom Lord Napier chose for the vacant throne with a good supply of arms; and, from that day to this, progress has been continuous, and Abyssinia has never looked back. Yet even before that day civilising influences had begun to filter through, and the country had shown itself able to produce a ruler. Abyssinia still offers to us the type of a feudal state, with its king paramount, the Negus Negusti, its lesser kings and Rases, who are to the Negus what the great dukes and counts were to the King of France, and with its hierarchy of lesser nobles. So Bruce saw and described it about 1770. But not long after his visit, the central monarchy, which had its seat at Gondar, was overthrown by Ras Michael of Tigré, the north-eastern province, and there ensued a long period of internecine war such as we find occurring in the

history of all feudal systems. About 1840 Europe began to extend diplomatic feelers towards this little known country, and at that time the King of Shoa, Sahela Selassié (grandfather of Menelik), was the chief potentate. Envoys were sent to him from the Government of India (Major Harris), and from Louis Philippe (M. Rochet d'Héricourt), but no permanent channel of intercourse was established, till in 1848 Mr. Walter Plowden, a traveller who visited Massowah, persuaded Lord Palmerston to appoint him as Consul to Abyssinia, with a residence at Massowah. The circumstance which originally suggested the scheme to Plowden was the presence in Abyssinia of an Englishman, Mr. Bell, who had married a chief's daughter and acquired considerable influence.

The country was then split into three main divisions: Shoa, the southern kingdom, under Sahela Selassié; Tigré and Semien in the north, under Dejajmatch Ubié; and Amhara, the centre of Abyssinia proper, under Ras Ali, to whom Bell was attached, and to whom Plowden also addressed himself. Ubié, though theoretically a vassal of the Ras, as his title Dejajmatch implies, was in reality an independent sovereign, and a neighbour as dangerous as was the Duke of Burgundy to Louis XI. The King of Shoa, though he called himself 'King of the Gallas,' was continually hard set to keep in check these tribes of fierce Mahommedan sworders and spearmen, and a tract of territory wholly occupied by them intervened between his dominions and those of the other Christian rulers in northern and central Abyssinia. In each of the kingdoms or provinces the supreme ruler occupied the position once held throughout the whole realm by the Emperor: 'He was the fountain of 'honour, every great officer of the household had a title, 'and with that title a particular province or district.' But, Plowden added in his first reports, 'since the divisions 'of the kingdom have taken place, the Abyssinians them-'selves have found it impossible to preserve the rules, and 'have neglected or forgotten the scrupulous ceremonies of 'the Court of Gondar. While the lances of the Gallas have 'robbed Abyssinia of its fairest provinces their manners 'and customs are superseding all its ancient institutions.'

Ras Ali himself was the grandson of a Galla adventurer, who in the confusion that followed the overthrow of the Emperor had carved out for himself a principality, and been recognised by the ruler of Gondar, though not until he had accepted Christianity. In 1849 when Plowden wrote

his first long despatch, Ali was recognised as lord paramount throughout northern Abyssinia, even Ubié paying tribute and furnishing his quota of troops on demand. One vassal, however, the chief of Gojam, held out in an impregnable fortress; and, moreover, trouble was brewing in the north-west, in the region bordering on the Egyptian province of Sennaar, where a chief named Kasai was gaining ascendency, and disciplining troops into a force more regular than any of the loose Abyssinian levies. Finally, about 1852, Kasai broke into open revolt, and defeated first the Tigréan troops sent against him under Ubié, and then the whole force of Amhara under Ras Ali in person. Ali was obliged to withdraw to his own territory, evacuating Gojam, and thus liberating the beleaguered chief, whom Kasai shortly afterwards pursued, defeated, and captured, having secured himself against attack from the east by an alliance with Ubié. Once his hands were free, however, he turned on this enemy, and marched into Semien, the southern part of Ubié's territory; by rapid movements surprised and routed the Tigréan army, and captured his rival; proceeded to reduce rapidly all his strongholds; and then, declaring himself monarch, caused himself to be consecrated by the Aboona, or patriarch of Abyssinia, under the style of Theodorus, Negus Negusti (King of Kings) of Ethiopia. It was the revival of the empire, though the man who revived it was an adventurer—a brigand chief of low origin, but a ruler beyond doubt. Hardly a week after his coronation he was on the march, with the Tigréan army added to his own, against some Mahommedan Gallas who, in the confusion of these civil wars, had raided the south-eastern country and burnt churches. He was on this expedition when Plowden, joining him, fell as strongly under the new king's influence as Bell had already done.

There is no space here to go into bygone history, but certain things should be emphasised. First, that Theodore appeared to Plowden no barbarian.

'He has hitherto exercised the utmost clemency towards the vanquished, treating them rather as his friends than his enemies. His faith is signal; without Christ, he says, I am nothing; if He has destined me to purify and reform this distracted kingdom, with His aid who shall stay me? . . . He has begun to reform even the dress of Abyssinia, all about his person wearing loose-flowing trousers and upper and under vests, instead of the half-naked costume introduced by the Gallas. Married himself at the altar and strictly continent, he has ordered and persuaded all who love him to follow his example,

and exacts the greatest decency of manners and conversation. This system he hopes to extend to all classes.*

'"He has suppressed the slave trade in all its phases, save that the slaves already bought may be sold to such Christians as buy them for charity." Setting the example, he pays to "the Mussulman dealers what price they please to ask for the slaves they bring to him, and then baptises them."'

Further, it was Theodore's object to supersede the feudal nobles, 'more proud of their birth than of their monarch,' by officers of his own; to reform the military system by the introduction of regular pay; to organise systematic taxation instead of the vexatious levies in every chief's province or district; and to bring the peasantry back to peaceful agriculture. His dreams of conquest aimed at a restoration of the ancient Abyssinia, reaching from the Red Sea to the Nile and Khartoum; and to carry them out he relied on no external aid. Ignorant as he was, and ignorantly arrogant, he nevertheless had certain sound ideas. 'I know,' he said to M. Lejean, French Consul at Gondar, 'the tactics of 'European Governments. When they wish to take possession 'of an Eastern territory, they first of all send missionaries, 'then Consuls to strengthen the missionaries, and finally 'battalions to back up the Consuls. I am no rajah of 'Hindustan to be bamboozled in that manner. I prefer to 'deal with the battalions first.' Consequently his first act was to expel the Roman Catholic missionaries (after perusing the history of the Jesuit missions in Abyssinia in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries); and Plowden's claim to be regarded as a Consul was entertained with extreme suspicion as introducing a foreign jurisdiction. The King was, however, anxious to send ambassadors to England, and Plowden strongly backed this proposal, though nothing came of it.

In short, the first years of Theodore's reign recall strongly the *quinquennium Neronis*. He made himself paramount over all Abyssinia, and by the consent of European witnesses his influence was in every way for good. Plowden, who remained in an official or semi-official capacity, was devoted to him; and Mr. Bell, once a British naval officer, who had transferred his allegiance from the defeated Ras Ali, held a place among the four personal retainers who dressed like the king in battle, and slept across his door at night. These

* In these matters a comparison of the later accounts of travellers with the earlier will show that a very great advance has been made, if not in morality at least in decency.

two men, but especially Bell, exercised a strong restraining influence on the king's violent temper, which soon began to be tested by the inevitable outbreak of rebellion in various parts of his newly-won kingdom; and by great ill-luck the same mischance removed both advisers. Early in 1860 Plowden, on his way to Massowah with a small escort, was attacked, wounded, and taken prisoner by Gerred, a rebel chief. Theodore instantly ransomed him at a high price, but he died of his wounds. Then the work of vengeance began, and Bell, accompanying Theodore, killed Gerred with his own hand, but was at the same instant cut down by Gerred's brother. The king made a bloody offering of the defeated force, but it could not bring back the dead; and this only inaugurated a period of vindictive and cruel chastisement. The *quinquennium Neronis* was over, and Nero's later days were beginning, though Theodore was at his worst cruel, but never contemptible. Yet mortified vanity, perhaps as much as violent temper, was the cause of the act which led eventually to his ruin.

In 1862 Captain Cameron was sent by Government to take the place of Plowden as Consul, and towards the end of the year Theodore wrote letters to the Emperor of the French and the Queen of Great Britain. His letter to the Queen, received in February 1863, remained unanswered, and the next news from Abyssinia (May 1864) was to the effect that two British missionaries, Messrs. Stern and Rosenthal, had been thrown into chains and beaten. There is no need to go minutely into the detail of a business once familiar enough. Theodore had been induced in 1855 to admit the Basle missionaries because they promised to bring artisans, and various other representatives of Protestant societies had followed in their track without hindrance. Mr. Stern reached Abyssinia in 1860, and travelled through it for three years, receiving nothing but kindness. In September 1863, when Theodore was beginning to chafe because his letter to the Queen received no answer, the consular mail from Gondar to Massowah was seized; and it seems clear that in it were found letters from Stern and Rosenthal criticising Theodore's conduct and position. At all events from this date began their misfortune. When Cameron as Consul attempted to intervene, he was met with an inquiry for proofs of the friendship between Abyssinia and England. Where, in a word, was the answer to Theodore's proffer of alliance? In November 1863 letters came from England, but bringing no acknowledgement to

the Negus. There was merely an official note to the Consul ordering him to Massowah. As Cameron was then virtually a prisoner in Theodore's camp, the packet went straight to the king and filled him with fury. Louis Napoleon's answer, written by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, had contained a lecture which incensed him; but this absolute disregard put him beside himself. The Consul was chained with the others. There followed three years of attempts to recover the captives without recourse to armed force—a delay not creditable, yet, as it proved, not inexpedient, for the usurper's kingdom was falling to pieces; and when an expedition landed there was virtually no opposition. Theodore blew out his brains as our men entered Magdala, and so ended the career of a great adventurer. His conceptions were not only ambitious, they were honourable, and for a time at least he realised his dream of a united Abyssinia. And, it must be noted, his attempt to organise a nation was the less chimerical, because the Abyssinians, however unable to resist the temptation to feudal jealousies and dissensions, had nevertheless the sense that they were a nation, and a great nation. National ambitions appealed readily to their minds. M. Le Roux, the latest and one of the best writers on their country, emphasises the fact that they alone among African races are affected by the conception of a *patrie*.

When the English withdrew from Magdala, taking with them Theodore's son Alamaya to be educated in England, Lord Napier installed on the throne the Prince of Tigré, a revolted vassal of Theodore's, who had furnished our troops with supplies and information. To establish him in his seat we bestowed upon him a good store of rifles and ammunition. His authority, however, was strictly limited by his military power, and in the confusion of our approach Menelik, son of the King of Shoa whom Theodore had deposed, had found means to escape from Magdala, had made his way south, and by 1869 had cut his way to his father's throne. Moreover, though England had gone out of the country without leaving so much as a representative to open a way for our trade, European ambitions were threatening the new ruler. France had thrown an eye on Abyssinia since the days of Louis Philippe, and now Munzinger, an intriguing Swiss, stationed at Massowah as Vice-Consul of England and France, induced a certain Ras Waldenkel, ruler of the Hamasen province (adjoining what was then the neutral ground between Abyssinian territory and the

Egyptian post at Massowah), to invite French protection. In 1869 an expedition was planned, but the events of 1870 gave France other cares, and Munzinger turned his thoughts to Egypt, where Ismail Pasha was then in full career of annexations and territorial extension. Munzinger was made Governor of Massowah, and promptly annexed the Bogos country, a little to the north, which had always paid tribute to Abyssinia, and contained Abyssinian churches. Fortifying the town of Keren, he secured for Egypt in this way a through route from Massowah to the central post of Kassala in the Eastern Sudan.

In the meanwhile, however, Napier's nominee had been improving his position with the strong hand, and, by 1872 having become master of all Northern Abyssinia, caused himself to be crowned and proclaimed King of Kings at Axum, with the name of Johannis. When Munzinger annexed the Bogos country King John was occupied in the South dealing with Menelik, whom he forced to tender submission in due form as a vassal. From his camp he wrote to Ismail Pasha, acquiescing in the annexation, but desiring that a frontier should be fixed on that basis and friendly relations established. Ismail's answer was to claim the Mareb River as a boundary. Terms, he said, could be arranged at Adowa, a town far into Abyssinian territory. Naturally this meant war. In 1875 an Egyptian army advanced to Gundet and was defeated with very heavy loss by Ras Aloula, John's governor in the North. On the same day another part of the same plan miscarried. Harar, on the south of Shoa, was then in Egyptian hands, and Munzinger had intrigued with Menelik and agreed to aid the Shoans in a blow from the south, while the Egyptian army invaded from the north. But on his way from the Bay of Tajurrah Munzinger was attacked by the Somalis, defeated, and killed. None the less the game went on, and in 1876 a second Egyptian army advanced to capture Adowa and secure the Mareb as frontier, and for a second time was defeated, at Gura, and driven back with heavy loss by the Abyssinians under King John. Mr. Wylde, the best, and indeed almost the only, authority on this period of Abyssinian history, estimates the Egyptian loss in the two campaigns at 20,000 men, with the stores, artillery, and equipment of both armies. No peace was made, but substantially King John found his hands free, and immediately turned on Menelik, who had co-operated with Egypt by an attack from the south. Menelik was quickly reduced to submission, and went through the public

ceremony of setting his neck under the foot of his overlord. On these terms he was recognised formally, and crowned by John as King of Shoa; and a diplomatic marriage was celebrated between his daughter and John's son, Ras Areya. Thus from the battle of Gura in 1876 Abyssinia entered on a period of peace which lasted for eight years, disturbed only through frontier incidents. Attempts were made by Gordon, then Governor-General of the Sudan, to conclude a treaty and settle the frontier, and he offered terms in 1877 which were just, and were well received. But while the negotiation was in progress Gordon went to Khartoum, and the Egyptian Government did not abide by his terms, but loosed on the Hamasen its former ruler, Ras Waldenkel, who, having sided with the Egyptians in 1876, was now an exile in the Bogos country. Accordingly, when Gordon attempted to renew negotiations in 1879 with Ras Aloula, then governor and commander-in-chief in the North, he was ill received; the more so as Ras Aloula saw his way to put an end to Waldenkel's raids by seducing his army from him. The frontier, therefore, still remained unsettled, though there was peace until the end of 1883, when the troubles in Egypt and the Sudan were growing to their worst. The governors of Massowah and Keren were again sheltering rebel fugitives from Abyssinia and abetting their raids, and Ras Aloula's attitude was threatening. Mr. Wylde, sent down from Suakin with power, put a stop to this by arrest of the offenders, and in the spring of 1884 a mission under Admiral Hewett was sent up to treat with King John, and was admirably received.

England had put King John on the throne in 1868, had equipped him, and then left him to shift for himself. The position which he held as supreme in Abyssinia he had won for himself. Unhelped he had driven back the Egyptian armies, furnished though they were with modern weapons and officered by experienced European soldiers; and the original gratitude which he may be supposed to have felt to Great Britain had been given sixteen years to evaporate in. England now came to him to ask a service, for the evacuation of the Sudan had been decided, and we proposed that John should get out the garrisons. The dervishes under the Mahdi were his enemy as well as ours, and he was by no means unwilling. A treaty, signed at Adowa in June 1884, provided that King John should relieve the garrisons and give them free passage through Ethiopia, retaining the arms and munitions found in the

garrisoned towns. He was also to be reinstated in possession of the Bogos country. All of this was faithfully done on both sides, so far as was possible. Ras Aloula brought out the garisons of Amedeb, Algeden, and Keren on the northern frontier, and of Ghirra and Gallabat on the north-west. 'These five stations,' adds Mr. Wylde, 'were the 'only ones throughout the length and breadth of the Egyp-'tian Sudan that did not fall into the hands of the Mahdi, 'Ras Aloula accomplishing what England with all her 'resources was unfortunately unable to perform with Singat 'and Toker situated within only a few miles of Suakin.' Kassala was less fortunate. Ras Aloula received instructions to relieve the place, and, according to Mr. Wylde, was anxious to start promptly in 1885, before the June rains began; but the Egyptian authorities delayed over negotiations, and he did not get orders to set out till September, when the place had already fallen. He marched, however, and met Osman Digna's army at Kufit, and after very heavy loss on both sides routed the dervishes completely, but Kassala was deserted when he entered it. The Abyssinians, however, had not spared their blood in fulfilling their compact, and when they failed the fault was not theirs.

It is a pity that the treaty was less well observed on our side. The first article in it ran as follows: 'From the date 'of signing there shall be free transit through Massowah to 'and from Abyssinia for all goods, including arms and 'ammunition, under British protection.' But the scramble for Africa was beginning, and in 1882 Italy had purchased from the Rubattino Company the little harbour of Assab, at the south of the Red Sea, which the company had acquired in 1869. Now, in 1885, with our consent, she replaced Egypt at Massowah, and not a finger was moved by us to secure to Abyssinia the rights guaranteed by our treaty of the preceding year. Thus our ally, King John, found himself menaced by the dervishes, his natural enemies, from the west and north-west, while to the south his old rival Menelik was intriguing with the new neighbour on the north, whose ambitions were unmistakable. Arms were freely supplied by Italy from Assab to Menelik without consulting his acknowledged suzerain. Further, the Italians began in 1887 to push out works into what had always been considered as the neutral ground between Massowah and the nearest Abyssinian frontier post. Ras Aloula, who was fully occupied in checking dervish raids along the northern provinces, protested strongly, and declared that any further

movement of troops towards Sahaati, the point fortified, would be regarded as a hostile action. The Italians replied by increasing the garrison, and Ras Aloula, suddenly moving from his own frontier, attacked and cut to pieces a body of 450 men on their way to Sahaati at a place called Dogali, inside the Italian zone. The Abyssinians, after their horrible custom, mutilated the dead, as Samson mutilated the Philistines, and feeling was fierce in Italy. An army was collected at Massowah, but for a variety of reasons European diplomacy was unwilling that Italy should embark in a transmarine war, and Mr. Gerald Portal was entrusted with a mission from the Queen to attempt to procure from King John an apology and a frontier treaty, involving considerable concessions. Mr. Portal, with great difficulty and no little risk, made his way across the belt of devastated country that divided the forces of the two angry nations, and when he reached Ras Aloula was in some danger of being dealt with as a spy. It is, however, not difficult to see that the feelings of an Abyssinian, and more particularly of Ras Aloula, who had lost a fourth of his men fighting in our quarrel at Kufit, can hardly have been friendly to any representative of England. The substance of the Abyssinian contention is expressed in the letter from King John which Mr. Portal took back to the Queen:

'To say truth I have never done anything and have never committed any offence against you or against the Turks (*i.e.* Egyptians). When the treaty was signed between me and England and Egypt it was laid down that no arms were to pass Massowah except by my permission; but they have not complied with the treaty, but have passed weapons and sold them to the Shahis' (hostile frontier tribes) 'and then have made disturbances in my country. As for the complaints the Italians made that they had been badly treated, the fault was on their side, and they began the quarrel by stopping the Abyssinian merchants and by occupying Sahati and Wia and taking possession of them. Why did they stop the trade, and come into my country? I wrote to them: "If you have come with authority from the Queen, show me her signature, or if not leave the country." And they answered me: "No, we will not."'

The letter ends with a positive refusal to make peace till the Italians should withdraw to their original border. 'The 'Italians desire war, but the strength is in Jesus Christ. 'Let them do as they will. So long as I live I will not 'hide myself from them in a hole.'

The King himself treated the embassy with courtesy, and if the general demeanour of the Abyssinians was far from

friendly is it to be wondered at? England had signed a treaty professing friendship and promising peace, and within twelve months had installed a formidable enemy on the Abyssinian border at a moment of national peril. For the dervishes were pressing hard in the west. In 1887 they attacked the western province of Gojam, defeated John's vassal King Tekla Haimanout, and looted the ancient capital Gondar. But in 1888 John had reinforced Tekla Haimanout with riflemen, so that the next incursion of the dervishes was driven back with loss; and the winter of that year was spent in preparation for carrying the war into their country. In March 1889 was fought the great battle at Metemmeh, when about 70,000 Abyssinians attacked the entrenched dervishes. The Abyssinian rifles made havoc of the packed troops inside, but John himself, annoyed because one small redoubt still held good, went to attack it with his bodyguard and was mortally wounded. The redoubt was rushed and its defenders slaughtered, but the news of the King's wound spread and the battle checked. John was known to be dying, and dying without an heir, for his son had died in the thick of the Italian trouble. In his last moments the King acknowledged Ras Mangesha of Tigré as his son, though illegitimate; but John's death knocked the keystone out of the arch and the army scattered, quarrelling as to the succession and the division of plunder before the day was out. The King's uncle, Ras Areya, a very old man, was left with a troop to bring back the King's body; and this little band two days after the battle was overtaken by the dervishes and destroyed; the old Ras, refusing to fly, died over the coffin. So by a curious irony the head of a really great ruler went from his last victory into the hands of his enemies.

Menelik's opportunity had come. Since 1882, when the Italians had entered into negotiations with him, he had extended and consolidated his power over the Gallas, and in 1886 had defeated the Emir Abdullahi, whom we left after the evacuation to rule in Harar, perhaps the most important town in all the Abyssinian region. On receiving the news of John's death he proclaimed himself Negus Negusti, and Central Abyssinia at once submitted. Count Antonelli, the Italian Envoy, also saw his opportunity, and concluded the Ucciali Treaty, containing a clause which was afterwards interpreted as making Italy the intermediary between Abyssinia and any other Power, thus implying a protectorate. Menelik was crowned at Entotto in November

1889. (Mr. Wylde thinks that many Abyssinians disregard the ceremony unless performed at Axum, the traditional place of the rite.) In the meantime Italy, as the price of her support, had advanced, unopposed, and occupied the Bogos, Hamasen, and Oculu-cussei provinces, which they still hold—all of them provinces guaranteed to Abyssinia by our treaty of 1884. Menelik, however, was too fully occupied to protest; but so soon as the Italians attempted to claim a virtual protectorate and act as his intermediary with other Powers he at once resented the claim, and declared that he had been misled as to the wording of the treaty—in short, that the Italian version did not represent the Amharic. In any case war was inevitable: the Government of Eritrea was in the hands of ambitious soldiers. In 1890 they crossed the Mareb and captured Adowa—which unlucky town was looted three times in four years by the Italians or their native levies. In 1892 General Baratieri became governor of the province, and in 1893–94 successes against the dervishes led to an Italian occupation of Kassala. In 1895 Ras Mangesha's attempt to expel the invaders from Tigré resulted in his defeat at Senafe. Encouraged by this they pushed on, occupying Macalle, where stood King John's palace; and by the end of the year Italy held practically all Tigré, which includes the purest branch of the Abyssinian race. Then, however, the tide turned. Ras Makonnen, Governor of Harar, was sent to reinforce Mangesha, and defeated the Italians at Amba Alagi on December 7, 1895. They fell back on Macalle, and after a siege the garrison, mostly Abyssinian levies, marched out with honour, having given a pledge not to fight again, which, according to Mr. Wylde, was not respected. Menelik's artillery, procured from the French at Djibuti, outranged and outmatched that of the Italians. He himself was now marching north with the levies of the entire kingdom. Public opinion in Italy was excited at the news of these reverses, and the Ministry pressed for a political battle. General Baratieri rashly consented, and attacked on March 1, with about 14,000 troops against 90,000 to 100,000 Abyssinians, in difficult country. The result was the terrible defeat at Adowa. Mr. Wylde, the only English writer who knows anything of Northern Abyssinia, gives very full details of the battle, collected by him on the spot a couple of months later from a great variety of persons, Italian prisoners as well as Abyssinians; and some of his conclusions are noteworthy.

First, the Italians need not have fought. Menelik's army must have disbanded, for want of supplies, within a fortnight. Secondly, the result was by no means to increase the popularity of the conqueror in his own country. The secular enmity between North and South was intensified by the conduct of Menelik's Shoan soldiery, who looted coming and looted going, with the result, says Mr. Wylde, that 'the return 'south was one incessant skirmish between the cultivators 'and the strangers.' And, thirdly, since the policy of Italy has changed, and civil rule been substituted for military, Eritrea is making rapid progress, and the sight of order, prosperity, and moderate taxation across the border has its effect on the Tigréans, Amharans, and eastern tribesmen, who have no love for the southern monarch. Consequently, Italy can, without embarking on actual war, do grave harm to Abyssinia by easily fomenting rebellion. Her position is therefore not so materially weakened by her defeat as might readily be supposed.

There is no question, however, that Abyssinia's position was enormously strengthened by the news of Adowa, and there followed what Mr. Wylde calls 'an undignified rush' to enter into negotiations. The Russian Red Cross mission was already on the spot, and certainly not without a political character; but of the ostensibly political missions, first came the French under M. Lagarde, with a modest offering (as we learn from M. Michel) of 100,000 Lebel rifles and 2,000,000 cartridges. French politicians were already aiming at an access to the Nile, and the apparition of this new ally *in posse* at once suggested a grandiose project. In the end of 1896 it was decided to send the Clochette and Bonvalot de Bonchamps expeditions, and in January 1897 M. Lagarde was on his way to Addis Ababa to pave the way for them. Spain also sent a mission, in the interests of Roman Catholicism; and last of all came the English envoys under Mr. Rennell Rodd, who returned with a treaty, as Count Gleichen describes. A year was allowed to elapse before Captain Harrington was appointed as representative at Menelik's capital, and that interval was fully utilised by the French and Russians acting in close accord. But, as Captain Welby found when he reached Harar in the last days of September 1898, a very striking change was brought about by the news of the fall of Khartoum, carrying as it did the total defeat of the French scheme for trans-African dominion, and the establishment of England in a position which rendered

Abyssinia almost an enclave in British territory. The qualifying word 'almost,' however, is momentous. Even allowing—and it is more than can be safely assumed—that our interests can be reconciled with those of Italy, Djibuti is to Abyssinia what Delagoa Bay was to the Boers, and Djibuti is not in the hands of a power so malleable as Portugal.

A few sentences will summarise all that has actually happened since Adowa. Menelik at first drafted his army on to the south and south-west to continue the work of subjugating the Gallas and of looting the less civilised tribes who lie beyond the Gallas towards Lake Rudolf and towards the Nile valley. The Abyssinians, who for long had lived in terror of their neighbours, have for the last ten years, since France supplied them with rifles, had those neighbours at their mercy, and have dealt with them as the Israelites dealt with an enemy whom the Lord delivered into their hands. The result is that the Gallas have been reduced to the position of helots (in the Greek not the South African sense), while beyond the Gallas all human beings fly at the sight of any body of men who may, perhaps, prove to be the Habesha. The spectacle has excited the horror of all civilised travellers, but it is impossible not to agree with Captain Welby (whose expedition was reduced to great straits by this flight of all inhabitants) that one cannot reasonably blame a barbarous nation for misusing a power so suddenly thrust into their hands. M. Michel, relating his attempt to push down the Sobat and join Marchand, reports that the army of Dedjaz Tessama, ruler in the South-Western province, had received orders from Menelik to put an end to the work of devastation, and two members of his mission, who accompanied Tessama in 1898 to the bank of the White Nile, found that this order was observed. But on the way back a casual ambuscade brought about the death of M. Potter, one of the two Frenchmen, and Tessama laid the whole region waste as a penalty.

This expedition had for its purpose to plant the Abyssinian and French flags on the bank of the Nile, and it was done, but the claim which Menelik originally put forward to a boundary fixed on these lines has no reality. M. Michel admits that the Abyssinians had no serious intention of pushing to the White Nile. Their mountaineers cannot live in the swamps, and Tessama's march only added to their conviction of this fact, which Menelik has fully accepted. In 1899 two expeditions were sent out under English engineer officers, of which one was destined to survey the country

between Rosaires on the Blue Nile and the Sobat, thus skirting the west of the Abyssinian mountain escarpment, and the other the region between the Sobat and Lake Rudolf, thus exploring the southern and south-western borderland through which Captain Welby made his wonderful journey. The former expedition, under Major Gwynn, completed in 1899–1900 and the following winter a survey from Gallabat to Nasr on the Sobat; the other, under Major Austin, met with great difficulties, and the work is only in part accomplished. But each of the two was undertaken with Menelik's full consent, and the difficulties met with were only in countries which the Abyssinians had raided but not occupied. A frontier based on the surveys is now under discussion. On the east, the Italian, French, and British boundaries have all been arranged, at least conventionally.

Practically it seems clear that over all the border tribes the Abyssinians exercise an organised and effective rule as far south as Lake Stefanie, and west to Goré. This rule, no doubt horribly unjust, will probably improve. At present the curse of Abyssinia is by consent of all observers a swarming soldiery, ill paid and ill disciplined, who think it beneath them to work, and who seize any opportunity to loot the cultivator, be he Galla or Abyssinian. On the other hand, Mr. Wylde says that the peasants, especially in the North, since they have got rifles, begin to defend themselves against these drones, and he foresees a day when a trial of strength may come between the peasantry and the feudal chiefs, the King perhaps siding with the people, and probably with the clergy also, to break the power of the barons. This revolution may be hastened in the North, where there is no standing army, by the growing prosperity and boldness of the cultivators, and in the South by the fixing of a frontier which will put a stop to the endless raiding—thus depriving the soldiers of the chance to plunder legitimately. It should, moreover, be observed that in some of the Galla and Shangalla districts Menelik has abstained from interference with the former state, recognising the chiefs and giving them Abyssinian titles.

So much by way of an historical review. Certain observations remain to be made. Practically there is an agreement of conjecture that no change is likely to come while Menelik lives, but that the country will grow in strength and prosperity under him. His death, however, may readily bring about a general break-up, and it is well to remember

that he has been a king for thirty-four years. But in speculating on such a catastrophe we are not influenced by the widely held belief that Menelik is a sort of *lusus naturæ*, on a wholly different plane of civilisation from his subjects. We have tried to show that he is merely the last in a series of three very remarkable rulers, each of whom has governed a united Abyssinia, and each of whom has been open to European ideas. Mr. Wylde evidently thinks that Johannis was a better king than his successor, and his admiration for Ras Aloula was equal to his admiration for Johannis. That general, however, is removed from the scene, killed in a skirmish or brawl over some petty territorial dispute—an incident very characteristic of a feudal state. Since his death the leading northern chief is Ras Mangesha, John's bastard, whom Italy has shown signs of backing, but who is judged to be deficient in character and ability. No such objection lies against Ras Makonnen, the ruler of Harar, who is perhaps marked out as the successor by his recent marriage with a kinswoman of the Negus. There is no reason to suppose that Abyssinia cannot produce a worthy heir to Menelik, but it is certain that the heir can only secure his succession by war or by a show of overpowering force. Let us suppose, as is quite likely, that France backs Makonnen and Italy Mangesha, what will happen?

The European Powers can hardly allow uncontrolled civil war to break out in a country where their subjects have already acquired important interests in the way of concessions, and the result would probably be a partition under protectorates more or less avowed. That result can undoubtedly be avoided if the Powers combine to insist that Menelik shall nominate an heir,* and to guarantee that heir's succession. Now, for Abyssinia itself undoubtedly the main requisite is peace and a stable government. For all commercial interests peace is also essential; but it remains to be seen whether these will be considerable. Up to the present the various merchant adventurers, chiefly French, who have settled in Harar or in Menelik's capital, Addis

* M. Le Roux—whose book has a semi-official character since he went out at the invitation of M. Ilg, Menelik's foreign minister, and his had expenses defrayed by the French Government—asserts boldly that 'a successor has long been designated to the assembly of Rases, and that they have sworn fealty to him'; and that Menelik only keeps the matter secret lest he should lose in personal importance. It is safe to say that this represents what the French colonial party, and possibly Menelik also, would wish us to believe.

Ababa, have found themselves allowed to start a trade, but, once the trade started, have been brought into disastrous competition with a ruler who is himself a merchant. Menelik has the example of Japan close at heart, and is anxious to use the Europeans rather than be used by them. It seems probable also that the commerce of the country may be largely managed by Hindu traders, and that Hindu artisans, rather than French or English, will reap a harvest. There is, of course, the possibility of mining enterprise proving lucrative; but, on the whole, it is a question how far the commercial interest which demands peace and consolidation will prevail by its magnitude against the political, which may find its account in dissensions. The strength of a united Abyssinia has been shown; but it is an easy country to drive wedges into, North and South being ill welded. Italy, possessing a great supply of labourers eager to emigrate, must naturally desire to divert emigration to her own colony, and the northern provinces of Abyssinia have almost an Italian climate, and soil rich both for grain crops and pasturage. Mr. Wylde found the settlers already doing well in Eritrea, and Italy could not be unwilling to extend her border. She gained a province by helping Menelik to the throne; she might gain another by helping Mangesha.

On the other hand, France, by assisting Makonnen, might gain a footing where her unrelinquished ambitions in the Nile valley might some day grow dangerous. France has made great sacrifices (to use a phrase dear to her statesmen) in Abyssinia, and she has got no return from them, except in maintaining a possible means of annoying either Italy or England. If M. Le Roux is right in his suggestion that Abyssinia with the help of modern engineers can control the water supply of Egypt by works on the head waters of the Blue Nile, it is evident that Abyssinia may be a powerful lever in French hands, and still more evident that we cannot let the key of Egypt pass into her keeping. The action of her colonial party in forcing the Government (as it seems clear they have forced it) to prevent a British syndicate from obtaining something like control of the Harar-Djibuti railway shows how resolute the French policy is in that sphere. M. Michel's savage comment on the conduct of M. Lagarde, the French Envoy at Menelik's Court, may explain why France has been so far unsuccessful on the whole; but there is no doubt of her ambitions. One may dismiss the thought of a total annexation by any single Power; but a partition, either with or without

the name of protectorates, is very possible. Either France or Italy stands to gain by that; to England territory is no object. It seems to us, therefore, imperative for our Foreign Office to insist, in the general interest of European commerce and in the interest of Abyssinia itself, that Menelik should consolidate his work by naming a successor. Neither France nor Italy could avow any opposition to such a policy, and our urging it would be the strongest answer to the French intriguers, whose object it is to make the Negus believe that British schemes are directed to a total absorption of his kingdom.

The danger of strengthening an enemy on our border is real, but very much preferable to the alternative of loosing European ambitions in the Nile valley. Abyssinia is, no doubt, a strong military power, and an opinion like that of Mr. Vivian, who thinks that the country could be swept by our existing force of Sudanese and Egyptians, may be compared to the popular forecasts of the South African campaign. The Abyssinians can levy in very short time a large number of men, well armed, experienced in fighting, courageous, yet by no means disposed to advance over open ground like the dervishes to be mown down; lightly equipped infantry, capable of covering long distances at high speed, and with little food. These levies would be assisted by a country of which Mr. Wylde says significantly that he knows many ways into it, but none out. Altogether, a united Abyssinia must be very strong for defence, and any Abyssinian fighting must prove costly and dangerous. But when it comes to assuming the offensive these armies are scarcely formidable. The business of provisioning and keeping together a large body of men is not understood by their generals, and it is doubtful whether they would attack fortified positions held by disciplined troops. The populations whom we rule in the Sudan are the immemorial enemies of a Christian race which knows no tolerance for the Moslem, and proselytises at the sword's point. We say nothing of the old-fashioned and superseded prejudice in favour of maintaining the existence of independent nationalities. We would merely urge that the choice for this country is not between annexing Abyssinia at some future date and guaranteeing its independent existence. The probable alternative to maintaining the country as it is now is a partition which will set us jostling against at least one ambitious and energetic Power, and a partition only arrived at after an interval, longer or shorter, of dis-

agreeable and possibly disastrous civil war. We hold, therefore, that it should be the object of British policy—

(1) To get a frontier fixed, and effectively occupied at once, in order to prevent possible disputes, and to put a stop to the present deplorable condition of the debateable land which may readily extend unrest and disorder to our possessions in Uganda and on the White Nile;

(2) To secure a peaceful succession to a competent successor, and to avoid the unrest of a continued anticipation of civil strife; and

(3) To afford Menelik all possible assistance in the business of consolidating his kingdom by a better regulated system of taxation, and in dealing with the questions that must arise as European interests develope in the country.

In a word, we should do our best, and make it plain that we are doing our best, to help Abyssinia over the transition from barbarism to incipient civilisation. The French tendency to cry up the country and everyone belonging to it breeds in Englishmen an inclination in the opposite direction, and this inclination is increased by a variety of circumstances. The Abyssinians are not truthful, and they are arrogant—or, at least, they have none of the Oriental's submissiveness. Their oppression of the Gallas and their barbarous cruelty to the other tribes alienates all sympathy. Nevertheless, Mr. Wylde, who has really lived in close intercourse with them for many years, and is, we should say, a good observer (though a most ungrammatical writer), repeatedly defends the Abyssinian character. And if M. Le Roux be right in his statement that Menelik will regard with disfavour any attempt of foreigners to exploit minerals, but will welcome those who can take a hand in developing Abyssinia's agricultural resources, there should be an opening for a good many British subjects in a country where almost every kind of culture, from horse-breeding to coffee-planting, can be pursued under excellent conditions. It seems clear, moreover, that neither Italy nor England can look on idly for ever at an arrangement which will give France control of the only access by rail into a land of so much promise. According to M. Le Roux, Menelik signed in March 1894 a concession, running for ninety-nine years, to guarantee that no company should construct railways in Abyssinian territory which should compete with the line undertaken by MM. Ilg and Chefneux. It is obvious that this covenant admits of widely varying construction, and we do not know to what extent the original concessionnaires retain an interest

in the enterprise or a control over it. But it may be assumed that M. Ilg, Menelik's chief adviser, a man whose integrity and judgement are praised on all hands, will be guided by his conception of what will serve his adopted country. He turned to France for help when help was not elsewhere forthcoming. That is no proof that he will desire to give France a perpetual preponderance in Abyssinian counsels, and our representatives unite in testifying to the good will which he has shown them.

For the moment, however, we have to recognise the fact that our prestige in Abyssinia rests mainly on the moral effects of a victory which more recent African warfare has sadly depreciated: whereas France has both by private and public effort really conferred great benefits on the country. Codlin cannot ever allow himself to be wholly eclipsed by Short. The French probably exaggerate the value of their line, which will, after all, merely bring the rail to the eastern base of the Abyssinian escarpment: it will not come within a day's journey of Harar, and Harar is barely in Abyssinia. Still, there is no denying that it will render European wares much more accessible, and will facilitate that export of coffee, which is already a large part of the country's trade. It will bring to Abyssinia new possibilities both of luxury and wealth, and it has virtually been built for Abyssinia by France. *Per contra*, the only British railway of which Menelik and his councillors hear much talk is that famous Cape to Cairo line, which can manifestly have no commercial purpose, nor be anything, if ever it comes to be, but a kind of stalking-horse for territorial annexation. It is one of the penalties inseparable from indulgence in these visionary schemes that we must always appear as probable enemies and aggressors to all those who could by any possibility prove a hindrance to the execution of the design.

ART. IV.—1. *The Wild Rabbit in a New Aspect.* By J. SIMPSON. Second edition. London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1895.

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3. *Rabbits for Prizes and Profit.* By CHARLES RAYSON. London: L. Upcott Gill. N.D.

4. *The Rabbit.* By JAMES EDMUND HARTING. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1898.

5. *The Practical Rabbit Keeper.* By CUNICULUS. London: Cassell & Company, Limited. N.D.

THE proverbial fecundity of the rabbit has long attracted the attention of naturalists and exercised the calculating powers of mathematicians. Pliny the elder, in the first century of the Christian era, remarked on the extraordinary prolificness of the rabbits in the Balearic Islands, which increased so rapidly that they devoured the harvests and produced famine among the human inhabitants. Pennant, the naturalist, eighteen centuries later, reckoned that in so short a period as four years the descendants of a single pair of rabbits would amount to the amazing number of 1,247,840. For the purposes of this calculation he supposed that each female rabbit would bring forth a litter seven times a year, and that each litter would consist on an average of eight young ones. Pennant's figures have been quoted (we imagine without verifying the calculation) by numerous subsequent writers. Any criticisms, though they might reduce the result of the sum by a quarter or half a million, are really trifling; for by increasing the period from four years to five or six, which is a very insignificant time in the history of the world, there is no doubt that a pair of rabbits may quickly increase to several millions. We may therefore accept Pennant's calculation as possibly somewhat, but certainly not very much, exaggerated. A wild rabbit will breed at the age of six months, and in some cases may have six lots of young in the course of a year. Each litter numbers from five to seven, but there are often fewer and very often more. Such is the fruitfulness of the rabbit, which is perhaps its main characteristic. The next is its destructive power, from which mankind has long suffered. Strabo, just before the Christian era, wrote in his

'Geography' that rabbits were abundant in Spain, and that they destroyed seeds and plants by gnawing at their roots. He tells us also that the people of Majorca and Minorca had sent a deputation to the Romans begging that new lands might be given them, as they could no longer resist the vast multitudes of rabbits which were driving them out of their country. Pliny, in his 'Natural History,' confirms the story, and relates how these people of the Balearic Islands begged the Emperor Augustus to let them have the assistance of a number of soldiers to fight the increasing rabbits. Whether the soldiers were sent, and, if so, what success the Roman legionaries had in this unequal combat, we are not informed. Thus in ancient Rome, as well as in New Zealand to-day, the attention of the statesman was engaged in the destruction of rabbits.

We venture to think that no quadruped, so small and apparently so insignificant, has played a more important part in the political and the social history of the Anglo-Saxon race. It has set class against class, and long threatened to promote war between landlord and farmer. It has called forth the greatest severities of the Legislature. In England alone many thousands of men have been hurried, on account of it, to the gaol and the gallows. Governments in the Antipodes have spent vast sums upon its extermination. A far-seeing historian,* who wrote about thirty or forty years ago, observed that in several of our English shires the rabbit was the best ally of the Radical. This awful alliance was well calculated to fill with dismay the breast of the stoutest Tory. Lord Stanhope did not live to see the Session of 1880, but the angry passions which were aroused by the famous Hares and Rabbits Bill are still fresh in all our memories.

It is this importance of the rabbit, as well as its interest to the sportsman, which must be our excuse for devoting a few pages to so apparently uninteresting an animal. To zoologists the rabbit is a small hare, one of the *Leporidæ*, a family of which about thirty members are scattered, mostly over the Northern hemisphere. Excepting the hispid hare of Northern India, it is the only one which burrows; but rabbits occasionally breed above ground in forms like hares. In old days the word 'rabbit' was only applied to the young coney; and in ancient sporting jargon it was correct to

* Earl Stanhope: see 'History of England in the Reign of Queen Anne.'

speak of a nest of rabbits, but a bury of coneys. Another old English word for the rabbit was 'ryote,' whence the hunting expression of hounds 'running riot.' Almost every other European language has derived its name for the rabbit from the Latin *cuniculus*, which also means 'a burrow.' The classic reader may perhaps remember how Martial suggests that rabbits taught men to undermine besieged towns:—

'Gaudet in effossis habitare cuniculus antris;
Monstravit tacitas hostibus ille vias.'

The chisel-edged teeth of rabbits, like those of other rodents, need constant work, and if one should be broken or displaced, as sometimes happens, the opposite one will grow out to an enormous length. It is strange that, with these formidable weapons, a rabbit should so seldom bite. Most persons probably are not aware that rabbits ever use their teeth, yet there are a number of cases recorded where they have inflicted comparatively severe wounds on men and dogs. This commonly happened when they were being taken from nets or traps. The rabbit depends on flight for safety, and the white tail of the first rabbit which perceives the peril acts as a danger signal and a guide to the others. To protect their young they will attack stoats, weasels, and crows with astonishing courage; and in times of danger they may be seen carrying their little ones in their mouths like cats; they swim well when pressed, and can climb trees with rough sloping trunks or ivy.

A wild variety, which is called the 'silver grey,' has long been kept in some warrens. Gervaise Markham (1631) describes them, and values their skins at 2*s.* each, the common rabbits' being then worth 2*d.* or 3*d.* Nowadays, except for making cheap imitations of better furs, rabbits' skins are in no great demand with furriers. For making felt for hats they are of enormous commercial importance. The hair is cut off by a machine with revolving knives, the skins make glue, and the remains serve for manure. There is an increasing trade from Australia. The best skins, however, are English, and the animals should be killed in the winter. Wild rabbits with white fur sometimes appear. There are usually some to be seen in Bosworth Park in Leicestershire, and at Boyles Court in Essex. Black rabbits are commoner, and we have seen great numbers in Lyme Park in Cheshire, some in Albury Park in Surrey, and a few in many other places.

It is generally believed that the first rabbits were intro-

duced into the British Islands by the Romans. They are still making their way northward, and there are many parts of Scotland, where rabbits are now abundant, in which they were unknown some fifty years ago.

The native land of the rabbit is apparently Spain. From that country it has spread naturally, or has been introduced by man into all those parts of the world where it now flourishes. In ancient and even in mediæval days the rabbit was so closely identified with Spain (in which country it is still very abundant) that it appeared as an emblem upon money. There are coins of the Emperor Hadrian, who was a Spaniard by birth, which bear on the reverse side a figure of Hispania with a rabbit beside her. In old Spanish playing-cards clubs were represented by rabbits.

The emigration from Spain has taken place within historic times, and the ancient people of the East had never seen a rabbit. The Jews were unacquainted with it; and although we read in the Book of Proverbs—'The conies are but a 'feeble folk, yet make they their houses in the rocks'—the animal which is referred to in the Hebrew text is, of course, the Syrian hyrax, a small creature with teeth like a rhinoceros and other characters which show it to be allied to the elephant.

It seems clear that in ancient times the rabbit was not found in Greece or in Italy. Strabo mentions it as extending over the whole of Spain and as far along the coast of the Mediterranean as Marseilles. Claudius Ælianus, who wrote his 'De Natura Animalium,' in seventeen books, at the end of the second century, also speaks of the rabbits of Spain. On the other hand, we have read that Confucius names the rabbit among animals which are worthy of being sacrificed to the gods. This, if true, is interesting, for Confucius flourished at least five hundred years B.C. We do not know whether these rabbits were wild or domesticated; nor, let us confess without shame, have we verified the reference in the original language. From Spain the rabbits have naturally spread without difficulty over France, to the sand dunes of the Netherlands, and the forests of Germany. But in that country their increase has been sternly checked by the energy of German foresters, whose example we shall no doubt some day follow. In the North as well as the East of Europe the cold of the winter is too severe, and it is for that reason that they have not established themselves in Scandinavia and Russia. In the South of Europe they have spread eastward, wherever they

can find suitable districts for their burrows and sufficient food. Around Mount Sinai there is a race of rabbits with some slight differences from the ordinary animal, which once led naturalists to think they might be of a different species. On the African coast of the Mediterranean rabbits have crossed from the Iberian Peninsula, or it may be that North-West Africa is the original home of the rabbit, from which it has made its way into Spain.

In the New World rabbits have been introduced by man, but without any remarkable result. Our common rabbit is hardly established in the North, though it is said to be now naturalised in some spots in South America. The grey 'rabbit' of the Americans, which is found more or less all over the United States, is a species of hare (*Lepus sylvaticus*) which does not burrow, though it takes refuge in holes when pursued by enemies. In temperate climates, if domestic rabbits are turned out, they soon revert from their fanciful colours to the original grey, whilst in the tropics, which do not agree with them, they retain their coloured markings. In Jamaica there were rabbits (now, we believe, extinct) of slate colour and white, variously marked, which had been set at liberty long ago by colonists. In the Falkland Islands there are rabbits, descended from a few turned loose by passing ships, which are black and white, with symmetrical markings on the face. The history of the rabbits in the island of Porto Santo, near Madeira, has been made famous by Darwin, who was greatly interested in the peculiarities which they had developed. They are to all appearance a wild breed, but are about one-third smaller than our common rabbit; in colour they are much redder above and greyer below; their ears are also destitute of black tips. They are the descendants of a tame doe and her young who were liberated about A.D. 1418 by Gonzales Zarco. Having no mammalian enemies upon this island, in thirty-seven years they had multiplied beyond belief and made the spot intolerable for human beings. Some years ago a couple were brought to the Zoological Gardens, where the late Mr. Bartlett described them as the wildest animals he had ever known. In habits they were nocturnal, as active as rats, and as wild as hawks to the last. Under the influence of captivity and of the English climate their ears became tipped with black fur.

In Australia the plague of rabbits has assumed a really serious aspect, in spite of every effort of the Governments to suppress it. The whole breed is descended from three

couples of rabbits, which were introduced many years ago by a public-spirited gentleman who wished to provide the colonists with sport and food. A suitable climate and the absence of carnivorous enemies have combined to produce the present appalling condition of affairs. The State-appointed rabbit boards have imported mongooses, stoats, and weasels. But these, by showing a preference for poultry, have not earned the gratitude of the colonists. As a last resort rabbits, infected with terrible contagious illnesses, have been turned loose, but without avail. At present the Governments are engaged in fencing off with wire netting, at enormous expense, those parts into which the rabbits have not yet penetrated. In Victoria one rabbit fence has been erected over 150 miles long. New Zealand, which might have profited by the experience of Australia, is equally afflicted with the rabbit pest. Some idea of the slaughter which goes on may be gathered from the fact that over 15,000,000 rabbit skins have been exported from New South Wales in a year.

Mercifully, in most countries, the persecutions of other animals and mortality from diseases have checked the increase of rabbits. Besides mankind their enemies are numerous. There are stoats who hunt the terrified and paralysed rabbit with equal persistence above and below ground. By imitating the squeals of a rabbit the present writer has repeatedly attracted a stoat—upon one occasion so close to his feet that he was able to knock it over with a stick. Foxes for the most part live on rabbit diet, diversified with field mice and beetles. Badgers will dig out and devour litters of young rabbits. Where rats are big and ferocious they will attack young and old. Poaching cats destroy great numbers, and are sometimes bolted from the burrows by ferrets. Eagles, where they exist, fly at no higher game if they can get rabbits, and buzzards can hold and kill a nearly full-grown one. Very young rabbits, just out of their holes, often fall victims to owls and crows.

But of all enemies the most active is man, who has decided that rabbits are vermin and not game, and who traps and shoots without respect for close times and breeding seasons. Of the various traps for taking rabbits the most used is the common steel trap with cruel interlocking teeth. The humane device of covering the jaws with gutta-percha, or something equally soft, unfortunately allows the rabbit to draw its leg out. Wire snares in runs need great skill in

setting properly, and a spot must be chosen where the rabbit will be travelling at sufficient speed to run unawares into the noose. It is a good trick of old poachers to rub their hands with earth before setting a trap, which appears to disguise the suspicious and offensive smell of a human being. Long nets, into which rabbits are driven by a clever dog, are the favourite implements of rabbit poachers on a large scale. But similar nets, raised up and suddenly dropped when the rabbits are out feeding, are used to cut them off from their burrows before shooting. The ingenious trap fence of wire netting is a simple developement of this, by which many hundred rabbits can easily be caught in an enclosure at one pull of the string. Old warreners used to love the pitfall trap with a cover balanced on pins at each end. This can be fixed with a latch until the suspicions of rabbits frequently passing over are disarmed. Then, in a single night, such numbers may tumble in that half are suffocated and trampled to death. To make rabbits leave their burrows and lie out before a shooting day there seems to be nothing more efficacious than paraffin on paper put into the holes, though a ferret smeared with asafœtida and run in with a string is recommended—we doubt not with truth—as being equally successful.

Rabbit hawking is a form of falcoury which can be practised in countries where trees make it impossible to fly what are called the 'long-winged hawks.' A female goshawk is the proper bird for this venerable and fascinating sport, which requires much leisure and more patience than most of us possess.

Rabbit shooting is a sport which presents many attractions. It has in a great degree two qualities which add a charm to, if indeed they do not constitute the charm of, sport—uncertainty and variety. A rabbit is almost always the first thing which falls to the gun of the youthful sportsman; and there are few men who do not remember the day when they went out armed, for the first time, with a gun (much too big and heavy) to shoot rabbits. Rabbit shooting is often almost the only sport which poor men can afford, and it is the only shooting which farmers in the country and tradesmen from provincial towns ever enjoy. Tastes differ, and, whatever may be thought about the sport of shooting hares, there can be no two opinions about rabbits. For our own part, we have always thought that hare shooting—at least, when many are shot—was the

dullest of amusements. The great animal, cantering away or limping towards you, never excites the same desire to let off the gun as does the smaller scampering rabbit. The speed of the hare when pressed and really extending his legs is much the faster, but the rabbit always starts at his highest pressure and keeps it up for about fifty yards. The full speed of the hare is never appreciated until he is seen in front of greyhounds, harriers, or beagles. For this reason we have always agreed with a certain poet, who urged that hares should only be coursed or hunted :—

> 'And let the courser and the hunter share
> Their just and proper title to the hare.'

But these arguments cannot be applied to the rabbit, and who is there that does not remember his excitement and surprise when, after a deafening report and a painful kick from the gun, he saw his first rabbit turn head over heels and drop dead?

In all sport, surroundings and weather share in adding to the pleasures of the day. The variety of landscape and country in which rabbits may be shot is almost endless. There are days beside the hedgerows of pasture fields and corn fields, and others on gorse-covered commons and sandy heaths, covered with heather and honeycombed with rabbit-holes; there is rabbit shooting in dense oak woods, with muddy rides and rough clearings; there is another sort of sport in parks and neat cultivated plantations; there are rabbit warrens on bleak inland limestone hills and on dry sandy links by the shore; there is rabbit shooting on open downs with short grass, and another sort among the bracken under spreading trees. All these have their merits, and have often been praised by writers on shooting; all can be enjoyed by turn and in their season. A good bag of rabbits may be got upon the sand-hills in the month of August, but one must wait for the month of November before the woodlands can be properly beaten. A very pleasant kind of shooting is to be had in large straggling woods, where rabbits are difficult to get at and beaters are scarce. Then beagles may be used to drive them past the guns, who stand quiet and concealed in the clearings. This agreeable sport combines some of the delights of both hunting and shooting, and the rabbits are killed by the guns to the cheerful music of a pack of hounds. This shooting with beagles is much favoured by farmers in Surrey and Sussex, among whom we have often heard beagles called 'rabbit hounds.' It is on

such days as these that a man learns that he must not shoot where the rabbit is, but where it will be.

There is, lastly, another kind of rabbit shooting which to our thinking surpasses all others. Let the reader imagine a large circular bay on a flat coast, with rows upon rows of sand-hills, covered in parts with close-cropped turf, and in others with long, coarse, grey sea-grass. In the distance are rocky cliffs and a blue sea, with white foaming rollers fresh from the Atlantic, which break upon the shore and flow up to the edge of the dunes. The hills are strewn with seaweed and shells thrown up by the gales, and here and there wooden wreckage and rotten timbers are half buried in the sand. From the top of each succeeding ridge one has a view of the open sea. The sky is blue, the air charged with salt, and the wind smelling of sea-breezes. Overhead, gulls and terns are calling, flocks of oyster-catchers answer from the beach, and now and then a curlew may be heard. Wheatears with white rumps flit in front of us and pink thrift grows at our feet. On a September or October morning the sun is cheerful, and a gentle south-westerly wind blows a few fleecy clouds across the sky. Such a place is a paradise for the rabbits; and who would not enjoy the day amidst such surroundings? The successive ridges of the sand-links break up the country, and as we mount each hill, or turn round a corner, there are always a few rabbits making for their holes. It is often an occasion for long shots, and a charge of $2\frac{3}{4}$ drachms of powder and 1 oz. of shot, which is quite enough for stopping a rabbit in a covert at short range, is hardly sufficient here. No dog is needed, and the only requirement is a man to pick up and carry the rabbits as they are shot, for in such a place there is little chance of their all being found unless this is done at once. Very often a rabbit, trusting to his sandy colour, remains crouching and invisible until you are upon him; but, once started, there is no dodging about as there is in a wood or gorse; and the rabbit knows well that he is not safe until he has reached his hole or crossed the ridge of the sand-hill. Such shots are not difficult—much less difficult than the chances you get in a covert where rabbits only double backwards and forwards among the undergrowth.

Yet, though you may be pretty certain where the rabbit is in a wood when you cannot see him, we do not advise the practice of shooting where you *think* he is, at all events if there are any beaters and dogs. This, however, is the

method recommended by Mr. Watts in a very diverting but little-known poem, 'Remarks on Shooting':—

'More difficult than hares to hit,
They frequently appear to flit
Like shadows past one; good indeed
Is then the aim that bids them bleed.
If you would see them nicely stopped
In the thick wood, you must adopt
Snap-shooting, for you'll seldom there
Have time to take them full and fair;
E'en lost to view, advance your gun
Quickly to where you think they run;
Regard not grass, nor bush, nor briar,
Through each and all that instant fire.
Bang! it is well. You saw him not,
And yet you've killed him on the spot.'

The subject of enormous bags is not a very interesting one, to our mind, for in many cases the rabbits were trapped into enclosures, and the shooting of them was certain as long as the sportsmen had cartridges to fire off and their guns did not become too hot to hold. For many years the record bag of rabbits was that made in December 1861, at Lord Stamford's, at Bradgate Park, in Leicestershire. In one day thirteen guns killed 3,333 rabbits. This was always referred to as the celebrated 'threes' bag. The rabbits inhabited several hundred acres of rough ground covered with rushes, fern, and coarse grass. This was divided from the deer-park by a stone wall, and in the park three walls were built out at right angles, which formed two enclosures of about thirty or forty acres each. Holes were made, with wooden doors at intervals, along the main wall, so that the rabbits could feed in the enclosures in the park. They were never allowed to make burrows, but there was plenty of rough grass to provide covert on shooting days. On the night before shooting, when the rabbits were supposed to be out feeding, the doors in the walls were shut, and the rabbits remained lying out in the enclosures. Occasionally the plan failed when a wet or foggy night kept the rabbits near their burrows.

But this enormous bag has now been surpassed by Mr. Lloyd Price on his estate at Rhiwlas, in North Wales, where everything is devoted to raising a big stock of rabbits and presenting them to the guns. In 1883 a party of nine guns killed 3,684 rabbits, and in 1885 the amazing figure of 5,086 was reached.

In the way of individual bags made by one man, we believe that no shot has ever surpassed Lord de Grey's bag of 920 in a day. The next best was made in the same year, 1885, by the late Sir Victor Brooke, who killed 740 rabbits in a day to his own gun. He fired exactly 1,000 cartridges, and shot half the day from his right and half from his left shoulder.

In a warren, where a great slaughter is not the chief object, a contemplative man may enjoy stalking rabbits with a rifle, or lying out concealed and waiting until one comes within range. It is not a bad plan to climb into a tree, if there happens to be one within a convenient distance of the burrows. Here, among the branches, out of sight, the rifleman may pick off one after another at his leisure. The rabbits, startled by the successive reports, look up; but as they neither see nor smell any perceptible danger, they soon begin to feed again. The disadvantage of a tree is the horrible discomfort if one remains there long, and most people will vastly prefer to be concealed among the fern or rough grass, or to lie behind the crest of a ridge. If there is no covert at all, it is easy to put up a few hurdles or bundles of gorse, and to leave them so that the rabbits may become indifferent to their appearance. In this shooting the proportion of hits to misses at 60 yards will be small compared with the same number of cartridges from a shot-gun at 30. But with a good rifle, well sighted, and a hollow-fronted conical bullet, not many rabbits ought to escape wounded. The horrid spectacle of a rabbit dragging himself slowly to die in his hole will be often avoided by the use of these expanding bullets. In some cases, if the burrow is a short one, such a rabbit may be dragged out by a ferret on a line.

We have often thought that the hunting of rabbits with ferrets was a form of sport which was less appreciated than it ought to be. To those who conquer the natural feeling of repulsion, which it seems generally to arouse, the ferret is a charming little animal. Its graceful form and lively expression, its wonderful intelligence and surprising memory are combined with indefatigable ardour in the chase. Ferrets are, of course, often used as a means of bolting rabbits for shooting purposes, but in that case the ferret is subsidiary to the gun, and the sportsman does not have the pleasure of managing the ferrets and watching them at their work. When he has also bred and trained them himself, the delight which may be derived from this humble

sport is only somewhat removed from the pleasure of hunting a pack of beagles.

The use of ferrets in the pursuit of rabbits is of very venerable antiquity. The Romans, who knew the ferret as *furectus,* delighted in the sport. Pliny describes it, and after mentioning the rabbits in the Balearic Islands, he writes:—'The ferret is greatly esteemed for its skill in 'catching them.' Strabo speaks of wild weasels from Africa, trained for the purpose, which compel the rabbits to fly to the surface, where they are taken by persons standing by. They were used by Genghis Khan, the great Mongol conqueror of the twelfth century. They are mentioned by the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick the Second among a number of animals employed in hunting. It is commonly asserted (we believe without any evidence to support it) that the Romans introduced the ferret into the British Isles at the same time as they imported the rabbit. Be this as it may, ferreting has long been known in Britain, and it was at one time an honoured sport. By a statute of Richard II. (1390) any one who had not land of the annual value of 40*s.* was prohibited from keeping ferrets. The use of nets to stop the rabbit when the ferret bolts him is very ancient. A second method, as he runs for safety, is to catch him with a few lively terriers. This is exciting sport (especially for the terriers), where there is plenty of open ground without covert for the rabbit. Unless the dogs are very well broken, and mute as well, the noise will effectually prevent the rabbits bolting, and often enough, in any case, the whole pack will be coursing a rabbit in one direction, whilst two or three others take the opportunity of bolting unobserved. A third and last method is to shoot the rabbits as they bolt. This is a modern form of rabbiting, for it was not until comparatively modern days that the gun, or the sportsman, was able to knock over with any certainty a running rabbit. In this branch of ferreting the bag depends more upon the skill and eye of the sportsman than upon the activity and training of the ferrets.

The greatest number of rabbits will, we think, be got by the ancient, quiet, and peaceful way of laying a small net over each hole from which a rabbit may be expected. These nets, of which a great number are always required, are called in the Southern counties 'flams,' a word of which we do not know the etymology. It is better that they should not be tightly pegged down, for then the rabbit, when it rushes out, will roll over firmly entangled in the meshes, instead

of pushing against it and retreating into the burrow. In an open warren or a park it is easy to discover and net every bolt-hole, but in a thick hedgerow this is often impossible, and it is amazing from what distant and unexpected holes the rabbits will choose to bolt if they are left unnetted. Experienced warreners and most poachers have a trusted dog, of some mongrel breed, who shows them what burrows are tenanted and saves them much time and trouble.

Experience in ferreting rabbits will teach two invaluable rules. The first is to maintain perfect silence; the second is not to stand to the windward of the burrows. Rabbits have long ears and sensitive noses, and once they are aware of the danger outside they will often allow the ferret to tear them to pieces in their holes rather than face their other enemies. The difficulty of making a rabbit bolt depends also greatly on the weather. A rough wet day is always bad; whilst in still dry autumn frosty weather they come out at once. Sir Francis Bacon has a story of some students who went out rabbiting, and took with them a very simple fellow, upon whom they impressed the need of silence. Upon approaching the warren the simpleton in great delight shouted out: 'Ecce multi cuniculi!' And being scolded, when every rabbit vanished into its hole, he exclaimed: 'Who would have thought that rabbits understood Latin?'

Many writers have said, like Strabo, that the ferret is a native of Africa. This is not so, and, in fact, the ferret is nowhere found wild. It is a domestic breed of polecat. Ferrets will interbreed with polecats, and this cross is excellent for improving the size and working powers of ferrets, which are apt to deteriorate owing to the disgusting and unhealthy way in which they are usually kept. Any old hutch, near a pigsty, full of damp straw and rotten food, is thought good enough. The result is red mange, foot-rot, sweat, and a host of other horrible maladies known to ferret keepers. Ferrets are really very cleanly little animals, who delight in sunshine and warm dry beds. Each is as different in character and merit, it is said, as the different hounds in a pack; and the bad habit of biting the hand which takes them up might have been cured by petting and handling when they were young. Strabo mentions that for rabbiting the Romans used to muzzle their ferrets, and this is still often done with a muzzle of string or brass; but it is difficult to manage effectively.

We need not declaim against the monstrously cruel plan which gamekeepers sometimes have of sewing up the ferret's lips with a needle and thread before letting it loose into the rabbit burrow.

We have dwelt upon the charms and the interest of rabbiting with ferrets. Before leaving the subject it is only right to mention its disadvantages. There are days when the rabbits do not bolt and the ferret does not return, whilst you wait shivering, in driving rain or piercing east wind, above-ground, wondering what is happening below. There are times when the ferret kills a rabbit in the burrow, and not having, of course, been fed in the morning, makes a hearty meal and goes to sleep. This is called 'lying up' in the burrow. You wait, you call, you whistle, you dig, and then wait again, perhaps for an hour. This is despairing, and you vow you will never go out rabbiting again. Some try to avoid this mischance by working the ferret with a long line to its collar; but this rarely does well, and the cord is apt to get caught round roots or stones. When the ferret 'lies up' it may remain twenty-four hours. Sometimes it at last appears at the mouth of a hole. You rush to seize it and it dodges back—that also is despairing. The only thing to do is to leave a boy to watch the hole or to place a baited box-trap at the entrance. If the burrow is small you may dig it out, or you may stop all the holes and return next day, when you will probably find the ferret, hungry and penitent, waiting inside the entrance.

The fiendish ingenuity of man has devised two other means by which rabbits may be driven out. The first is by specially constructed fuses which fill the burrows with a stifling smoke. But they are not (according to some who have tried them) always effective. Much depends on the direction of the wind and the size of the rabbit burrow. The fuse must be put in so that the wind will send the smoke into the hole, and in flat ground or a hole with many galleries this is not easy. Another more primitive method is said to be practised on sand-hills near the sea. A lively crab, of sufficient size, is found upon the beach. A little melted wax is poured on its shell and a small end of candle stuck upon it. The candle is then lighted, and the crab, bearing this torch on its back, is started down the rabbit's hole, in which it is not slow to take refuge. The rabbit is also, it is said, not much slower in bolting, which indeed is not surprising.

Of the many varieties of rabbits which fanciers have

produced, Angoras and Himalayans, lop-eared and Patagonians, silver-creams and Dutch (all equally curious and equally useless), one kind only deserves our notice, and that is the Belgian hare or *leporine*. This curious animal was said to be a cross between a rabbit and a hare. Stories of hybrids are always accepted by the public with willing credulity. An enterprising showman in Paris once advertised an exhibition at which might be seen the offspring of a squirrel and a carp. Visitors were told, with many apologies, that the Emperor had ordered this strange monster to be brought for his inspection to the palace, and that they must be content that day with the sight of the parents. The majority were completely satisfied at being shown a squirrel in a cage and a large carp in an aquarium. The *leporine* is not a hybrid, although that belief is universal. Though very like a hare, it is only a large breed of rabbit which is much reared in hutches in Belgium. Several hundred tons are exported from Ostend to this country in a season.

Profitable rabbit farming is a subject which has fascinated writers on rural economy. We may dismiss at once a Frenchman who promised an income of 800*l.* a year from a capital of 20*l.* invested in rabbits.* Cobbett, whose 'Cottage Economy' is now too seldom read, recommends rabbits to train the good qualities of children and to supply the larder :—

> 'Three does and a buck will give you a rabbit to eat for *every three days in the year*, which is a much larger quantity of food than any man will get by spending half his time in the pursuit of *wild* animals, to say nothing of the toil, the tearing of clothes, and the danger of pursuing the latter.'

In France, as far as one can discover, great numbers of rabbits are reared for the market, and doubtless, on a small scale, the thrifty efforts of the breeder will be rewarded. In Germany, where many people would as soon touch a rabbit as an Englishman would eat a squirrel, a whole library has been published on this subject.† It is only when this sort of business is embarked on upon a large scale that

* See Despouy, 'Le lapin domestique,' Paris, 1838.

† See Duncker, 'Die rationelle Kaninchenzucht'; same author, 'Deutsche Kaninchen'; Schiffmann, 'Das französische Kaninchen'; Rennecke, 'Das zahme Kaninchen'; Redares, 'Die Kaninchenzucht'; Hochstetter, 'Das Kaninchen'; Eckhardt, 'Anleitung zu der rationellen Kaninchenzucht'; Pröper, 'Kaninchenkochbuch,' and many others.

difficulties begin, and the profit is swallowed up by expenditure on labour, rent, rates, and repairs. The best known writer on this kind of rabbit farming is Major Morant, whose experience and advice is quoted in many books on rabbits. He recommends moveable hutches with wire-netting bottoms, through which the rabbits graze. They are moved two or three times a day. The ground is never tainted, the grass is improved, and two lads can move 200 hutches in an hour and a half. The young, after weaning, need a little hay, corn, and bran; and at twelve weeks old, when they are killed, they should weigh 4 lbs. Now as to the profits: 200 does will produce 5,000 young in the year; these, at 6*d.* per lb., with their skins, mean the receipt of 500*l.* to set off against expenses. In the winter, the 200 does must be put into sheds and fed. We leave all this to the consideration of the reader without comment.

More convincing are the experiments of those who have tried to work warrens of wild rabbits on paying principles. Mr. Simpson, the wood agent at Wortley Park, Sheffield, certainly has some remarkable results to show from a warren of over 70 acres and also from an experimental acre devoted to rabbits. His system is to kill off all but breeding stock before the winter, and also to dress the land each year with salt and gas-lime. It stands to reason that an enclosed pasture cannot go on producing tons of rabbit flesh and bone if nothing is ever put back. Many warrens which are called 'rabbit-sick,' or tainted, are really only suffering from an exhausted soil. The young litters will be ready to eat the grass as it grows, and no feeding ground should be wasted by allowing burrows except in defined places. In this way a warren may be made to produce well over fifty rabbits to the acre with tolerable certainty. These, of course, are regularly hand-killed, and fetch a rather better price than shot rabbits. When rabbits are only shot and the warren is left until winter, not more than ten rabbits an acre can be expected. On the other hand, owners of warrens must remember that the shooting is a valuable source of income. Rabbit shooting over a fairly good warren is said to fetch without difficulty 10*l.* a day for each gun. The warren owner retains the rabbits; and many rabbits, we need hardly add, are shot at more than once and yet live to earn an income for their owners by their agility. There is an enormous demand for wild rabbits in large towns, and the price which the warren owner can obtain depends partly on the distance from his

market, if the game dealer pays the carriage. Mr. Simpson reckons 2*s.* 2*d.* a couple, while Mr. Harting surpasses this with 2*s.* 9*d.* We do not know about other districts, but certainly in the South of England the price of rabbits sometimes falls to 1*s.* 4*d.* and 1*s.* a couple. In calculating the profits of warrens this is a serious matter.

It is hardly possible to exaggerate the damage to crops and to woodlands which may be inflicted by rabbits.* There is scarcely any vegetable matter that comes amiss to them as long as it is green; and in a hard winter they will gnaw off the bark of timber trees a hundred years old. Elm, ash, and beech trees are stripped of their bark to the height of a couple of feet or more by rabbits standing on their hind legs. Among farmers' crops, roots, and in particular turnips, suffer the worst. The rabbits always damage more roots than they actually devour, and those which are gnawed become unfit to store. It is said that one can tell whether turnips have been nibbled by hares or rabbits by observing whether the rind is eaten. The rabbit eats skin and all; the hare nibbles off the skin and leaves it in chips. Grain crops are most damaged when they are young and green; the rabbits from any covert adjoining will eat them down from the covert side. Hay fields which are exposed to the incursions of great numbers of rabbits suffer in the same way; and the grass along a covert is sometimes so tainted that it has to be discarded by the haymakers. Even in permanant pasture fields rabbits will do a great deal of damage by eating the grass, and also by their scratchings, their runs, and their droppings. It is estimated that fifty rabbits will eat down the grass nearly as fast as it grows upon one acre of pasture. Every one knows that no turf is closer eaten than that nibbled by rabbits, and the best lawns come from warrens and downs.

The damage to woodlands, if they are commercially farmed, is more serious and more lasting. To underwoods, which are cut and sold every fourteen years, rabbits may in one winter do damage of which traces remain for years, and which seriously affects the price afterwards obtained. This underwood, in the southern counties, generally consists of oak, ash, birch, hazel, and sallow, mixed occasionally with beech, cherry, and hornbeam. It is in the years after the periodic cutting that the rabbits do the greatest damage

* See the evidence given before the Select Committee in 1872, and the Parliamentary Committee on 'Forestry' in 1887.

by eating off the young shoots which spring from the stubbs after the last crop has been cut and cleared off. These shoots are the whole foundation of the next fourteen years' growth, and in a short time, where rabbits are abundant, the destruction which may be done is almost beyond belief. When snow is on the ground the rabbits are obliged to eat bark or die, and they soon turn to the older stems of underwood and gnaw off the bark as far as they can reach. Sometimes, when there has been deep snow, frozen hard, on which the rabbits can move about, one may observe how the bottom of the underwood is protected by the snow, but the bark stripped off some feet above the ground. Some owners of underwood think that they can recoup themselves for such losses by the sale of rabbits shot. But, although they may have their reward from the sport, no number of rabbits sold can make up for the harm done by an overstocked preserve of rabbits which have access to good underwood. *

There is only one method by which such woodlands can be protected from rabbits, and that is by vigorous shooting and ferreting before the cold weather comes. The stock of rabbits can in this way be materially reduced for the winter, and there is no fear that it will not recover next season. The protection of young plantations of any sort, destined to become timber trees, can only be secured by wire fencing. Where woods are farmed with a view to profit this is a serious item. The cost of fencing an absolutely square ten-acre plot of young seedlings at 6*d.* a yard, which is extremely low, would be 22*l.* The expense of wire fencing depends very much upon whether it is intended to be permanent or merely intended to ward off attacks from rabbits while the trees are very small. The cost of the wire is added to by iron bars, and oak or larch stakes to hold it up. Wood posts have to be periodically renewed, but good larch poles will last until young trees are fairly grown.

The great increase of rabbits which rewarded the efforts of game preservers and gamekeepers during the nineteenth century has drawn attention to their depredations. But even in the sixteenth century it was a saying among foresters:—

> 'If cattle and coney may enter to crop,
> Young oak is in danger of losing his top.'

The damage to young conifers takes first the shape of

* See some very sensible observations on rabbits by Mr. George Dewar in 'Wild Life in Hampshire Highlands.'

biting off their leaders, which is fatal to their further value, and, secondly, of gnawing their bark, which allows the resin to run out. There are some shrubs which are less attractive to rabbits than others; but these are not timber nor underwoods for forestry purposes, and in a very hard winter they may even be attacked. Rhododendron, elder, box, dogwood, butcher's broom, and spindletree are often spoken of as 'rabbit proof,' but when rabbits are starving, in a long frost, there is nothing they may not turn to. Hollies are among the first to be barked, laurel and privet suffer as soon as snow comes, and even yew, which is poisonous to most animals (and to pheasants), cannot defy rabbits.

It cannot be wondered that all scientific foresters regard rabbits as the most pestilent vermin on the face of the earth; the only reason why they are tolerated in this country is that the owner of the woodlands is also the owner of the rabbits, and that he prefers sport to profitable forestry undertaken in a commercial spirit. For the protection of young trees every kind of mixture offensive to the rabbits' taste and smell has been tried. Train oil, tar, cow-dung, soot, lime and water mixed in different proportions laid on with a brush, have all been proved by experience to be ineffectual. Paint is successful for a short time, but is apt to injure the timber. Moreover, the labour in large plantations of renewing these applications makes them practically useless. The only protection against the omnivorous rabbits where they exist in any numbers is wire fencing, and if forestry is ever seriously prosecuted in this country the question may arise whether the plantations are to be fenced against rabbits, or all rabbits fenced into defined warrens.

The ravages of rabbits, the outcries of agriculturists, and the report of a Select Committee combined to secure the passing of the Ground Game Act, 1880. The principle of the measure is extremely simple. Every occupier of land has the right to destroy the hares and rabbits, and every agreement which purports to deprive him of that right is void. Sir William Harcourt, in moving the second reading, declared, in his finest style, that the night of June 10 would not be forgotten by farmers. In our view the measure was a just one. The Act is still carped at and abused in exaggerated terms by some persons, though none of the awful results predicted have ensued. It was thought by many opponents of the Bill that in a few years the rabbit would be an extinct animal. The Act, we admit, is open to several obvious criticisms. Farmers still grumble, and the rabbit is not exterminated.

ART. V.—1. *La Légende de la Mort en Basse-Bretagne.* Par LE BRAZ. Paris: 1892.

2. *Les Littératures Populaires de toutes les Nations.* (*a*) *Traditions de la Haute-Bretagne.* Par P. SÉBILLOT. Vol. I. (Première Partie.) 1882. (*b*) *Légendes Chrétiennes de la Basse-Bretagne.* Par F. M. LUZEL. 1881. (*c*) *Contes Populaires de Basse-Bretagne.* (Voyages vers le Soleil.) Vols. I. and II. 1887. (*d*) *Littérature Orale de la Picardie.* Par E. H. CARNOY; *etc.* Paris: 1886.

3. *Essays in the Study of Folk-Songs.* By Countess MARTINENGO-CESARESCO. London: 1886.

'AN awful thing is death and full of terror, but not to 'those who have learnt the true wisdom which is 'above. . . . For he that knows nothing concerning things 'to come, but deems it to be a certain dissolution . . . with 'reason shudders and is afraid. . . . But we deem the *action* 'to be a departure to another place. . . .' So St. Chrysostom* summed up the change of aspect wrought by Christian faith where it had superseded the death-doctrine (according to his interpretation) of the creeds he controverted. And, following in the track of the Fathers, the medieval Church in its requiems, its commemorations and intercessions, presented the idea of Death in the same impersonal fashion. King and peasant alike learnt to view it as the mere separation of soul and body, a separation terminated by the reunion of the Resurrection and Judgement Day. It was to be accepted by the penitent as 'a homage and adoration' from the creature to the Creator. The wicked were to see in it the just punishment of sin, 'as by sin man,' says St. Irenæus, 'was holden of death.' All men equally were to regard it as the arbitrary penalty ['death, which is unnatural 'to the body'] † consequent on Adam's transgression; while to each it might be the gateway of eternal life, the tremendous crisis of transition, where the faint torch of man's vital spark dies out, consumed in that all-embracing flame of immortality whose comparative radiance is as the radiance of the midday sun to the taper's flickering light. Again, to those whose theology was derived from their daily orisons, it would be presented, in the daily memento of the Mass, under the figure of its gentlest synonym—sleep:

* Homilies (LXXXIII).

† Cyril of Alexandria, 'Commentary on St. John.'

'Memento etiam, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum 'qui nos praecesserunt cum signo fidei et dormiunt in somno 'pacis.'* Or, to cite but one more example of the semblances under which Catholicism has clothed the thought of Death, the very name—*viaticum*—bestowed upon the last Sacrament tendered by the Church to her dying children is fraught with suggestive significance. And if Western Christianity had no place in its system for death-rites such as those in use amongst Slav nations, where bread, the water-cup, coin for the expenses of wayfaring, or sharp implements for climbing heaven's steep ascent, are provided for the pilgrimage of death,† in the Church's rite the peasant might still discover a recognition of the need of sustenance suffered by the departing soul.

Thus Christianity has had its say. And for generation after generation the peasant's world of Western Europe listened with docile unquestioning assent to its spiritual interpretation of that rigid physical fact, the ordeal of the final 'market-place where all ways meet.' They listened humbly, assented devoutly, recited as a charitable obligation the prescribed supplications, assisted as piety dictated at the offices of the dying, and observed the ceremonials of the Dead. And listening, assenting, praying, the peasant went straightway from the creed of Church and altar to formulate, with sublime unconsciousness, his own creed of human nature's devising, not only supplemental, but at many points wholly independent of the professed faith. In their Folk-Tales, whether the *conte* fossilised the death-myths of past ages, or whether it exemplified the upgrowing legends of post-Christian years, the peasants recorded conceptions bred in their own hearts and imaginations, which found a natural counterpart in more or less clandestine practices; while both beliefs and practices would seem, in earlier days and in some provinces, to have drawn the very priests, whose duty was to exorcise such misbeliefs, into a conspiracy with their flocks, 'avec son *Agrippa* un prêtre évoque les démons '. . . devine les secrets de l'avenir, et découvre le sort des 'âmes dans l'autre vie, *sans que Dieu lui vienne en aide.*' ‡

The idea of Death as a simple passing from one life to another of the disembodied spirit—'we pass from one life 'to another life, and each life in turn calls that passing

* Canon of the Mass.

† Songs of the Russian People. W. R. S. Ralston. London: 1872.

‡ Légende de la Mort. Introduction de M. Marillier. (The Agrippa is the magic book *par excellence* of Brittany and its legends.)

'death,' as a saint of the fourteenth century taught the doctrine—slipped wholly from sight. With the inveterate tendency to personification inherent to unintellectualised humanity and manifested in countless phases of primitive worship, the peasant divested death of its abstract semblance. To his eye it was not primarily an event, it was not a law (a law of mortality visible only in its effects), nor was it a force, whose fountain-head was a moral delinquency or a material necessity. Death for him was pre-eminently a person; and its personality, though the variants differed both in sex and in seeming, was persistent, resolute, definite. It was, indeed, as distinct as that ascribed—this time with the concurrence of the Christian creeds—to the principle associated with, if not akin to Death, of evil incarnated in the fallen Archangel.

True, early Christian theologians had themselves in many a phrase presented the thought of Death in images suggestive of embodiment or impersonation. The Reaper of the harvest, the Rider of the Apocalypse, have remained as the two popular similitudes under which the Scriptures figured the destroyer of the body. St. Augustine, quoting Psalm xlix., pictures Death as a shepherd: the evil are 'as sheep laid in 'hell, Death is their Shepherd.' But in each and all such instances the image is overtly an image and no more. Behind the Reaper, the Rider, the Shepherd, there is nothing but an abstraction. The Death they symbolise is within and not without a man; the figures are but masks of a thought; Reaper and Rider are, in the true sense of apocryphal writers, 'similitudes.' And though in the Gospel of Nicodemus,* in the great Good Friday dialogue between the Prince of Hell and Satan:—

[*Satan (to the Prince of Hell)*: 'Behold, prepare to receive Jesus of Nazareth; His death is near at hand, and I will bring Him hither.' *Prince*: 'Who is that Jesus of Nazareth? . . . Perhaps it is the same who took from me Lazarus?' *Satan*: 'It is the very same.' *Prince*: 'I adjure thee by the powers that belong to thee and me that thou bring Him not to me.']

Death seems to be identified with the Prince of Hell and to present a counter-personality to Satan, it is a personality more resembling that of the Ministrants of Death, Uriel † amongst the Christians, Mordâd amongst the ancient Persians, Azraël amongst Mahometans; angels who are not

* Ascribed to a writer of the third century.

† Gospel of St. Barnabas, cited by Sale (Koran).

so much figures in whom Death itself is embodied, as they are executors of the Death decrees of the Supreme Deity. 'Is Death either some thing or some power?' St. Augustine asks, anticipating misapprehensions. In his answer to the question he abolishes the possibility of any literal interpretation of metaphor. 'Death is the separation of the soul from 'the body, or a separation of the soul from God.'*

But the Death-legend of the unhampered and unrestricted folk-tale runs far otherwise. Throughout the *contes* and legends of Western Europe recent research has placed within the reach of most readers,† those who will may trace the appearance and re-appearance of that embodied phantom, grotesque, terrible as in the old *Danse Macabre*, irresistible and just, to whom the Breton—with whom death and the dead are a cult in themselves—has given the name of 'L'Ankou,' to whom the Vosges peasant refers with prosaic conviction as he states that, though not always visible, Death's passing is easily detected, if 'on ne l'a pas vue, 'on l'a entendue passer.' ‡ Expressed or unexpressed, the idea of death, even when not directly embodied, is systematically exteriorised. It is something coming to mankind from without. 'Tous les jours vont à la mort, le 'dernier y arrive,' the dictum of Montaigne, is reversed. Man does not go to death: it is death seeks out man. Not, indeed, of its own will, for it may neither retard nor anticipate the hour fixed by destiny or God, it may neither choose nor reject its elect victim; but when, at the decreed hour, it comes, according to the circumstances, it is as an active, personal reality. Moreover, it can enter into relationships even with those living, whose hour-glass has still long to run. And thus, the result was inevitable, around the most uncompromising, iron-wrought actuality of earth, series upon series of the most fantastic imaginations ever devised by the brain of man have arisen, and whether the person of Death be conceived of as single or multiple, as one Death or many Deaths, the legends encircling it are numerous enough to form a deeply rooted tradition.

True, the world, the mental and moral world, whose hearts and minds evolved the Death-legend, is a world alien to our experience. It is a world where the earth visible is alive with super-material significancies. Leaf,

* Sermon II. on Psalm xlix.

† See the series of Les Littératures Populaires, Paris, Maisonneuve et Cie., éditeurs.

‡ 'Folk-Lore des Hautes-Vosges.' F. L. Sauvé. Paris: 1889.

stone, water, are replete with dormant or active efficacies to work good or to work ill to the human race. And whether, as some beliefs would seem to imply, matter is regarded only as a magnet attracting certain forms of sickness or health, of prosperity or misfortune, or whether, in the alternative view of occult properties, matter in its own essence is held as the direct source of favourable or unfavourable influences, the result in one respect is identical, and, either way, matter remains, in the creed of the peasant, of supreme and vital importance. For us winds blow the flame and the ashes this way or that, buds leaf into quatrefoils, birds of this or that species fly about our windows or alight upon our roofs, beasts of one or another kind cross our morning path, and the blown ashes, the bend of the flame, the fourfold blossom, the flight of birds, the beast of passage, is nothing in our sight, nothing but a trivial incident in our semi-conscious perception of what Nature is doing around and about us. But for the peasant such events are no meaningless accidents of chance. The occurrences of nature, animate or inanimate (if inanimate nature for him exists), are not occurrences. Either they are omens, portents of life and of death, of birth or marriage, of felicity, of sorrow; or they are in themselves instinct with virtue, they are *les porte-bonheur*, *les porte-malheur*, and to them are due poverty or plenty, healing or malady. Vitality is everywhere, a vitality sometimes resentful of uninvited intrusions upon its privacy, sometimes actively beneficent in its manifestation, rewarding those who enter into communion with its secret forces. The creed may be a last survival of the cult of tree, rock, and fountain denounced by priests and councils from the fifth century onwards,* or it may be an evergreen creed of the uneducated human mind. But whatever its origin, for the peasant there were trees no axe might fell unscathed; there were stones, rugged and grim, sullen and silent granites, in which life slept to waken betimes and assert its strength. There were menhirs which in their frozen winter drought would descend from their abiding-place of untold centuries to slake their thirst, on the night of God's nativity, at river or fountain, crushing with their pitiless weight any man who made essay to witness their passage. There were grey streams which at certain hours ran as red as in the Lithuanian *conte*: 'Come 'to us, Onùte; come and bathe. We have a river flowing

* Sébillot, 'Traditions de la Haute-Bretagne,' tome 1.

'with milk; its brim is all red wine,' calls the fairy woman whom the little maid Onùte sees bathing. But 'little brother Hare' shrills out his warning. 'Onùte, 'Onùte, go not. The river is all tears and the bank all 'blood.'* There were magic fountains and springs innumerable. They bear truly in many places the names of saints to whose merits the pious may, if so pleased, ascribe the potency of the waters, but draw aside the saint's cloak and the older faith will reveal itself, and the water will stand possessed in its own right of its occult powers, and the saint will discover himself as a mere accessory after the fact.

It is only in the realisation of those thickly intertangled undercurrents of peasant beliefs, upgrowths, or reminiscences —for if the memory of the peasant in matters historical is of the shortest, in matters of faith it reaches far into the fabulous past†—that any special phase of folk-lore is seen in its due proportion. So viewed the Death-legend is no precipitous offshoot into the marvellous. It is only one more developement of the widespread instinct which endows all things around with the attributes of life, with the faculties of action, possibly with capacities of sensation; an instinct which, passing beyond even these limits, adds personality to the objects so endowed, giving to matter, spirit—the wood-spirit to the tree, the water-spirit to the river—and to abstract forces, bodies, or, what is slightly different and allows of many bewildering metamorphoses, embodiments.

Death is but one of many such figures. In the Russian popular tales the personification of Misery is common. The man who in his great wretchedness sings as he goes to support his courage does not walk alone. He hears another voice singing in unison with his own: it is '*Gore*,' his Misery, who companions him.‡ In a Polish *conte*,§ Misery, as a pale white girl, with long thin-fingered hands, weeps by the oven in the poor man's cottage, and when the owner escapes, leaving her imprisoned in the forsaken home, she prevails on a passing stranger to release her, and forthwith it is with him she abides. In another Slav tale, 'I am thine '*Ungelücke*,' a voice cries to the poor knight resting beneath

* Latham, 'Nationalities of Europe.' London: 1863.

† 'La mémoire historique du peuple est toujours très courte; le peuple ne se souvient que des fables,' says Renan, quoted by Luzel.

‡ Ralston, 'Songs of the Russian People.'

§ Leger, 'Contes Slaves.' Paris: 1882.

the forest tree, and Misery—unlike that Misery to whom the hero of a French *conte* addressed the strange reproach, 'Misère, tu me sembles bien joyeuse'*—clothed in monster form of sadness, looks down upon her victim. Fate, a man's individual fate, is again a frequent embodiment from the earliest ages onwards, as in the Sanscrit tale of Viravara, where the king's faithful servant, demanding of a weeping woman why she laments, hears she is 'the king's Fortune.' While not only in many Southern tales we find a survival of the old Roman goddess Fortuna, but in Norse and Teutonic folk-literature the same conception of a personal destiny is of constant recurrence. And in the beautiful Sicilian legend of Caterina, not only we see Caterina's Fate, the tall, fair woman proffering her alternative joys, the joy of youth or the joy of age, but likewise the 'stately lady,' the Fate of Caterina's mistress, who, as the two Fates meet, intercedes on Caterina's behalf with her 'dear sister,' and obtains the hastening of her long deferred happiness. Or, to quote one other such embodiment, Calamity, rendered here by the word Sorrow, is something more than a mere metaphor in the song—one of the most tragic of folk-songs—whose root suggestion is the pursuing companionship of an ill-destiny :—

'Whither shall I, the fair maiden, flee from Sorrow?
If I fly from Sorrow into the dark forest,
After me runs Sorrow with an axe.
"I will fell, I will fell the green oaks,
I will seek, I will find the fair maiden."

If I fly from Sorrow into the open field,
After me runs Sorrow with a scythe.
"I will mow, I will mow the open field,
I will seek, I will find the fair maiden."

If I take to my bed to escape from Sorrow,
Sorrow sits beside my pillow.
And when I shall have fled from Sorrow into the damp earth,
Sorrow will come after me with a spade.
Then will Sorrow stand over me and cry triumphant,
"I have driven, I have driven the maiden into the damp earth."

It may well be urged that neither *conte* nor folk-song belong to the section of legend-lore which claims acceptation as literal truth. Yet both tales and songs may still be fairly regarded as enclosing, in a palpably fictitious framework, what were once floating but actual beliefs. Nor is it strange that such abstractions as sorrow and fate should

* Littérature orale de la Picardie.

be embodied when it is remembered that life itself was, though unembodied, constantly externalised. In perhaps the oldest existing folk-tale *—'The Two Brothers of Egypt'—we find a type of what afterwards constituted a special group of incidents illustrating the possible detachment of the vital principle from the body of the living person. Here the hero places his heart—that is, his life—upon the blossom of the acacia tree. Or, to give a more modern instance in the widely disseminated story of mythical origin,† 'Koshchei 'without Death' leaves that portion of his life which can be subjected to death in an egg,‡ an egg being itself, as reddened at Easter according to Russian custom, a symbol of the sun and of life.

What are the links connecting, what is the relationship, if any, subsisting between, the survivals of those ancient personifications and the embodiments current in popular literatures of comparatively recent date, is a question—a riddle maybe—for the scientific investigator to solve. In the matter of the Death-legend, the apparently older death-myths of Eastern Europe seem somewhat remote in nature and character from those which have travelled westwards. In Russian myths it is the grim figure of the Death-woman who confronts us, 'she who gives the dead to '"Baba Yaga,"' the mysterious and evil witch of Slav fable. Death's effigy—confused with that of winter—fashioned of straw or tree-trunk, dressed in rags or shrouded in white, bearing in some localities the sickle of a death-deity—is destroyed by fire or sunk in water during the carnival ('Butter week') or after Paschal week, in course of what is curiously denominated the festival of the 'Red 'Little Hill.' It is a ceremony, one may observe, which seems to bear the same significance as that 'burning of the 'old witch'§ amongst the Twelfth Night fires which in England occasionally formed one feature of rejoicings more appropriate to the ancient commemoration of the mid-winter solstice than to the celebration of the Three Kings.‖ In Finland, where we find the traditions of a non-Slavonic

* Cosquin, Introduction to 'Contes Populaires de Lorraine.' Paris: 1897.

† Myths and Folk-tales, Curtin. London: 1890.

‡ See also Le Corps sans Ame, Luzel, B.-Bretagne, and innumerable other *contes*.

§ See also the same rite at Brescia.

‖ Hone's 'Every-day Book,' vol. i.

race, in the Magic Songs recently translated into English,* there were, we are told, three personifications of death, or three several names by which one personification was known. And death is further provided with child and grandchild, 'a 'hideous brood,' in the magic song of the origin of the Snake, in whom the blood of Death and the sharpness of the wind's breath are intermingled. 'The Daughter of Pain, 'the girl of Death on a meadow fell asleep, threw herself 'down upon a slope against the side of a speckled stone; 'there came a mighty wind from the east and there was 'her offspring born. . . .' And although here and elsewhere it is difficult to discriminate between figures of speech and figures of realities, and equally difficult to define which amongst those intended for realities stand for divinities of Death—such as Scandinavian Hela or Egyptian Osiris—and which must be interpreted as embodiments of Death itself, one may conjecture that both have passed under various disguises into the popular tales of later years. But, so far as our knowledge goes, no complete collection has yet been compiled which would indicate with any approach to certainty the origins, growths, developements and modifications, the migrations, re-localisations, and transmissions from one race to another of the death-myths as a special section of folk-lore. And till this task has been accomplished, outside the pale of the professional scientist, few who have ever attempted to master the history of the branchings, intersections, ejectments, and successions of the races whose descendants people Western Europe, would be so hardy as to venture upon any technical criticism of the single series of death-legends collected by M. Le Braz from the lips of the Breton peasants.

Amongst the 'Littératures Populaires' of other provinces and districts there are many sections under the heading of *Contes des Revenants*, where Death personified plays his accustomed part. Indeed, opening almost any volume, a brief search will bring to light fragmentary traditions analogous in character to those of Brittany. 'Toutes les 'superstitions se retrouvent partout, et si on ne les retrouve 'pas en quelque endroit, c'est qu'on ne les a pas assez 'cherchées,' is an axiom M. Sébillot quotes. The story of 'La Messe des Morts,' when (the circumstances differ in different localities) a man or a woman, rising unawares before daybreak to attend the first Mass, finds a crowded

* Pre- and Proto-historic Finns, J. Abercromby. London: 1898.

church of unfamiliar worshippers, and a dead priest says the office for a congregation arisen from their graves, is found more or less in widely scattered provinces throughout France; while on All Souls' Eve, in November, the month of the dead, the same ghostly procession walks between midnight and cockcrow, in the cemeteries throughout countless villages. In Picardy kindred tales of death are innumerable. In the Vosges equally death-superstitions abound, and Death's personality is accepted as an act of creation. ('Votre vie aura une fin,' God said to Adam, 'et la Mort fut 'créée.') But while each country may boast its own especial legends and practices, it is in Brittany, the home of men of Celtic race, that Death and the Dead reign paramount in the imaginations of the living.

The close connexion of the *légende* in La Basse Bretagne to the *conte*, in the strict meaning of the term, is more or less repudiated by M. Marillier in his introductory essay. The *légende*, indeed, is always to be distinguished from the *conte* pure and simple. Another eminent folk-lorist, M. Cosquin, has pointed out the gulf dividing the *conte* and the *superstition* in the comparative facility with which they are adopted, or adapted, by alien races.

'Il existe une grande différence entre les superstitions et les contes. Les premières, *on y croit*, et pour qu'un peuple en devienne imprégné, si elles arrivent du dehors il faut . . . un contact prolongé, une propagande opiniâtre. . Mais les contes est-il besoin d'y croire pour y prendre plaisir ?'

Now the Breton Death-legend is a legend sprung from a superstition—superstition being defined as an irrational belief. It shares the nature of the superstition. It would seem to be accordingly either deep-rooted in the race as its native soil, or to have become so by prolonged contact. It represents essentially an instinctive creed—'on y croit.' Moreover, it springs—or, more accurately, was some few years ago springing—from superstitions still active enough to transform real events into legends, or, where the germ of a story belonged to older times, perhaps to other nations, to remould it according to the temperament of the day and the atmosphere of its new surroundings.

Thus, at the very outset, the *légende* as told by M. Le Braz stands outside the debate concerning the birthplace of the European *conte*, of which the issues are undetermined. And whether the mythological gospel of origins preached by the brothers Grimm be true scripture, or whether, as M. Cosquin expounds the system he adopts, the *conte* is a mere vagabond,

travelling east, west, north, south from its Indian cradle, or the theory, decisively rejected by the French scientist, of Mr. Lang, 'qui voit dans les contes l'incarnation 'd'idées communes aux sauvages de toutes les races,' be entertained by his fellow-countrymen, so far as the stories here told are concerned, matters little. Their interest lies in themselves. They represent primarily not the typical folk-tale of supernaturalism, mythical, romantic, or heroic, but are a series of stories, some older, some newer, which, taken as they stand, show us in a cycle of pictures Death as it was conceived of by the Breton peasant of the end of the eighteenth and through part of the nineteenth century; Death under the semblance with which the peasant clothed the fact, or, to put it otherwise, embodied the idea; and in a second section we have his conception, in stories as hauntingly impressive as they are unconsciously realistic, of the World of the Dead, of their affections, griefs, loves, and hates, of the conditions of existence which encompass them, and by which their relationship to the world of the living is regulated and controlled.

It is the quality of realism, realism of conception, realism of presentment, and, above all, that which alone makes realism other than a spurious trick of a doubled artificiality, realism of conviction, that gives to the Breton legend its singular strength and its characteristic severity of outline. Dual in its aspect as the Legend of Death and the Legend of the Dead, the figure dominating one and all of these brief narratives is that of L'Ankou=Death himself, visible, audible, tangible. It is a figure consistent enough in moral if not in bodily attributes, although it is yet undecided if it should be considered as one and a single, or as many resembling but successive embodiments of death. Originally, M. Marillier conjectures, L'Ankou was but one of the common herd of the dead—the last dead of the last day of the year—upon whom the office of Death perennially descended. Moreover, each parish may have had its own, but 'on distingue 'mal les uns des autres, et il semble qu'ils soient à la veille 'de se confondre dans l'imagination populaire en une seule 'divinité unique, la Mort.' The form of L'Ankou may vary, but whether he wear the semblance of a man, tall, haggard, white-haired, his face, as Mercury's amongst the gods, shadowed by the broad-brimmed hat, or whether he appears as the traditional human skeleton draped in a shroud, rarely grotesque, always formidable, the identity

of the result of his coming conduces to the impression of unity in his personality.

He does not come, for the most part, alone. He has often —the coincidence suggests a curious antithesis—like the ancient symbol of the Trees of Life, an acolyte on either side. One attendant leads the foremost of the horses, their number varies, harnessed to the Death-car [Karic ann Ankou], the other throws open all gates and removes all barriers, and, in due time, lades the car with its burden for the grave. Thus, with white horses, with black-robed servers, the 'Chevalier de la Mort,' as a Slav tale introduces him, comes with befitting ceremony. In La Haute Bretagne the Death-car legend sometimes takes a wilder aspect. It drives furiously, 'as the wind of the tempest,' it has been seen crowded with musicians, and passes with sparks of fire, crushing all who have not time to fly. And if it be true, as M. Marillier would have us believe, that the origin of L'Ankou may be traced to older cults of dead ancestral chiefs, it would seem that, though divested of the attributes of a primitive deity, he has retained some characteristics of the ancient nobles of the feudal ages.

And as he does not come unattended, neither does he come unannounced. Once, it is a belief extending from Esthonia to the Pyrenees, every man born into the world foreknew the hour of his death. Then it happened that Christ, walking upon earth, saw a man fencing his field with a hedge of straw. 'That hedge will last but a short 'time,' said the Christ. 'It will last my time,' answered the man. Such knowledge was of ill service to the world, thought Christ, and henceforth He withdrew it. But in Brittany, nevertheless, men do not die wholly unprepared. Recognised or not (for while some men are born seers others are blind), L'Ankou sends a warning, *l'intersigne*, or *l'avision* as it is called in different districts, to tell of his approach. Some common omen of bird or beast may predict the catastrophe at hand. It may be by some chill breath of wind in the windless night, by the ringing of bells, by tears heard where no man weeps, by footprints in the strewn ashes,* by the creaking of wheels—the death-wheel superstition, so widely spread, seems possibly derived from the car of L'Ankou—by the whispering of voices, where

* See also the 'prints in ashes.' Celtic Folk-lore, J. Rhys, Oxford.

no voices are; by the sound of oars, where no boat nears the shore:—

'Nous dormions déjà à moitié,' a Bretonne of Port-Blanc tells the story, 'lorsque la voix de ma mère nous réveilla. "Hé, les enfants, est-ce que vous n'entendez pas?" Je me levai, et je tendis l'oreille. "Oui," dis-je, "j'entends le bruit de quatre rames qui frappent l'eau en cadence."'

Marie-Cinthe goes to the window; only the road lies between the cottage and the sea. She hears the beat of oars, and voices speaking in strange languages, but the wind drowns the voices. It is some boat in distress, says the mother, who was 'une femme secourable,' and Marie-Cinthe is bidden to set a light in the window that the seamen when they land may divine a hospitable dwelling. But no seamen come that way; and not a boat, so the coastguardman on duty assures them next day, had been in sight of land. Next night

'Le vent s'était apaisé. La nuit était silencieuse . . . nous n'entendîmes rien. . . . Le troisième soir ma mère venait d'éteindre la chandelle, quand de nouveau arriva jusqu'à nous le *plic-ploc* de quatre rames frappant l'eau, deux à deux. Cette fois je voulais voir. Je me rhabillai et je sortis. La mer miroitait sous la lune. Je fouillai des yeux toute l'étendue claire des eaux. Je ne vis que les rochers de Saint-Gildas qui semblaient des spectres, et très loin, les bêtes mauvaises, les Sept-Iles. De barque point. Et cependant le plic-ploc continuait de résonner dans la nuit, comme un tic-tac régulier d'horloge. "Eh bien?" demanda la vieille, quand nous eûmes repassé le seuil. Mon frère répondit: "Ça doit être un intersigne de marin." Ma mère, de son lit, commença aussitôt le *De profundis*.'

In another story * *l'intersigne* takes a stranger form. Youenn—master-farmer in Briec—read many books and knew all languages. He had studied for the priesthood. One day he returns from the fair, his oxen unsold. 'Les 'bœufs l'escortaient, l'un à droit, l'autre à gauche, avec une sorte de solennité,' says the woman whose duty it was to herd the cows. 'To-morrow,' the master tells her, 'I shall be buried.' *Foi de Dieu*, the beasts knew it and were sad. The ox who is black and grey had foretold it. 'Youenn,' the black and grey ox, had said as they stood at the fair, 'return 'quickly to the farm, you to put your soul in order, and we to prepare for to-morrow's work, to carry you to the grave.' 'Un autre,' the story goes on, 'se serait mis en colère contre 'le bœuf, mais lui, qui était un homme de sens, il a suivi 'son conseil.'

* No. vi.

Many indeed are the variations of *l'intersigne*: an apparition of phantom priests hastening to perform the last offices at the bedside of the dying; a spectral funeral, anticipating the true; and perhaps most singular of all is *l'avision* of the lighted candle. It wanders through the night, barring the road to the living wayfarer, and woe to him who rashly strives with it.

'Un soir des jeunes gens aperçoivent un cierge sans chandelier. Ils veulent passer à côté, mais le cierge leur barre le chemin. L'un d'eux frappe le cierge de son bâton et l'envoie dans un champ voisin, où il s'éteint. En se retournant il vit une forme blanche couronnée de roses et portant à la main un cierge brisé. On lui dit qu'il lui arriverait malheur, et de fait il entendait une plainte continue. Il pria un ami de venir le veiller. . . . Celui-ci s'endormit . . le lendemain il trouva son camerade mort, à côté de lui le cierge brisé.' *

But through all changes of scene and circumstance one keenly penetrating impression is left stamped upon the mind of the reader. It is that of the intense realisation of Death as an active existence. L'Ankou is no lifeless spectral abstraction. He comes and goes, near at hand or far off, as the next-door neighbour comes and goes. The land of Brittany knows his feet. The beasts know him, and the birds. The silent dolmens, with their strange appellations, Maison des Follets, Château des Poulpiquets, Table Margot, Maison des Corrigans † have seen him pass. The ancient monoliths, the sullen menhirs, Pierre qui chôme, Fuseau de Margot, the fairy rocks of to-day, the altars, maybe, of past sacrifices, all know him well. The disused tracks, the *garennes*, chemins de la mort, the trodden high-roads across the vast *landes*, the wayside Calvaries, the reed-green stretches of waste marsh or heather plains of rose-colour, know his footfall, know his features; know, perhaps—who can say?—his secret. He is everywhere. He has crept into the very fairy tales of the 'veillées,' into the old familiar story of Blue Beard,‡ into the pagan *conte* of the bride who married Death, and while the farm-dwellers speak of him round the blazing kitchen fire, he may be passing, in snow or rain, the solitary windows where the lamplight streams forth into the darkness. He has his favourite paths, he has his homely needs. His horses must be shod, his reaping-hook must be sharpened, as any reaper's

* Traditions de la Haute-Bretagne.

† 'Margot' is a generic Breton term for 'fairy.'

‡ See Voyages vers le Soleil series. Luzel, 'Contes populaires de B.-Bretagne.'

in the field of corn or rye, 'mais le forgeron qui a travaillé 'pour l'Ankou ne travaille plus ensuite pour personne.' His wheel-pins break, and must, like the wheels of common carts, be repaired; and his horses, this time three in number, white of hue, walking in single file, are drawn up, close by the hazel thicket where a lad of Trézélan hides, eager and fearful to see what ensues. Then a branch is cut by one of the dark-clad attendants, and the damage repaired, and through the warm summer night—for it is June, when the moon is full and the air very still—the white horses go on their way down the road, out of sight, and the creak of the ill-oiled wheels dies away in the distance. L'Ankou has passed.*

And if the outward seeming of L'Ankou is fairly consistent of report, he has general moral qualities no less clearly decipherable. He is just. His justice is a proverb in the folk-tales of all countries. In Venice a story of many variants is found told at length. A husbandman, his newborn child in his arms, set out to seek a sponsor. The husbandman is ambitious; he would have a 'just man.' On the highway he meets Christ. To Him the husbandman turns: 'Art thou just?' he asks. 'I do not know,' Christ answers. The father goes further. Presently he meets Madonna. 'Are you just?' again he inquires of her. 'I 'do not know,' answers Madonna, 'but soon you will meet 'one who is.' A few steps more and Death comes down the road. 'Are you just?' he questions her (Death here, as in Slav fable, is feminine). 'I am just,' Death replies. 'Christen the child.'

He is also patient. He will not anticipate by one moment man's predestined hour. 'Je vis un homme qui allait et 'venait, les bras derrière le dos, du pas nonchalant de 'quelqu'un qui attend,' Pierre Le Rûn, travelling tailor, records—nineteen years ago—in one of the most realistic scenes of the book [No. xix]. For some half-hour or more a shadow passes and repasses the window of the room where in the *lit clos* of the Breton kitchen old Marco Hamon, master of the farm, lies dying. Then the hour has come and L'Ankou enters, and the story ends with its sentence of brief, uninsistent sincerity of belief: 'et maintenant vous pouvez m'en croire, moi qui ai vu 'l'Ankou comme je vous vois: c'est une chose terrible que 'de mourir.' Yet, patient as he is, he is also punctual.

* No. xvi.

'Où est-il, l'homme dont l'heure arrive?' a farmer passing by a riverside hears a voice ask. Once and once again the question is repeated. And while he wonders—like the unconverted apostle—hearing a voice and seeing no one, a man comes running speechless with haste. And the runner crosses the stream, and crossing falls, and the water closes over him, and the bubbles rise and the runner is dead *—every man comes, though it be with haste, in time for his death. And just, patient, punctual, sometimes even pitiful—'Pauvre pécheur, je te viens appeler,' is the gentle summons the folk *ballade* puts into his mouth—L'Ankou is inexorable. God, says Mahometan tradition, when He was about to make man, sent one by one His throne-angels to bring clay from the earth for the fashioning of the human image. But Gabriel, Michael, Israfil, each in turn, listened to the earth's prayer, and forbore to take of her substance, lest man should bring the curse of his evil deeds upon his mother. Azraël alone, last sent, was deaf to her entreaties, and because he had done the bidding of God without remorse, Azraël was appointed the Angel of Death. L'Ankou is no less remorseless. He may warn those who have befriended him, but he spares none. 'Ni à Jésus, ni à la Vierge, je n'ai fait grâce '. . . Ne t'y trompe point, l'ami! Je suis ton plus proche 'compagnon, celui qui est à ton côté, nuit et jour, 'n'attendant que l'ordre de Dieu.' And, to those who mock, his coming is in truth terrible. 'Qui plaisante 'avec la Mort trouve à qui parler.' A strangely savage tinge colours the two legends of those who ventured on that grim pleasantry; a dim reminiscence, too, permeates them of the old doctrine, underlying equally mediæval medicine and mediæval witchcraft, that affirms the vital affinity of all similitudes. The young seminarist stretched beneath the counterfeit shroud between the death tapers, in the story 'Qui plaisante avec la Mort'; gay Liza, of Faouet, feigning death as a yet untried jest, beneath the eyes of the lover who loves her with a too serious affection—for these, for the girl as for the boy, the assumed semblance becomes the unsought actuality. Charles Glaouier will never attain the priesthood: he lies, where all play-acting has an end, in the cemetery at Tréguier; and Liza's jests are over—a coffin in the parish of Faouet holds the bride of the over-grave lover.

* See also a curiously similar story told by Prof. Rhys, pp. 243–4 in Celtic Folk-lore, where he attributes the voice to a water-spirit possibly demanding a human sacrifice.

And when we pass from the Legends of Death—L'Ankou—to the Legends of the Dead—L'Anaon—there is no change of atmosphere or treatment. Here again the peasant has created his own creed, although in this instance a creed somewhat in consonance with the purgatorial doctrines of the Church concerning a future life. Yet not by any means wholly so, for 'we ought not to believe,' writes Cyril of Alexandria, possibly with the spirit-tenanted tombs of Egypt in his mind, 'as do some infidels, that souls haunt 'their sepulchres.' But that 'les âmes en peine' do haunt not only their sepulchres, but the homes, the fields, the scenes of their former condition of life, is emphatically the Breton peasant's faith. The soul, in his estimation, is not easily banished either from its tenure of the body or from its tenure of the earth. It may be that the very formula of Catholic intercession, a formula as often on the lips as the *Paternoster* or the *Ave*—'May the souls of the faithful, 'through the mercy of God, rest in peace'—has done much, with its veiled suggestion of possible *un*rest, to infuse new doubts and stimulate old ones concerning the soundness of that unfathomed slumber. Possibly, too, the belief inculcated in the bodily revisits to earth of the beatified saints of Paradise was not calculated to eradicate belief in the revisitings in material semblance of the unsainted souls of Purgatory. And, indeed, it is expressly stated in the great Book of Saints of the Middle Ages that St. Gregory himself asserted that souls of sinners do penance in the scenes of their former crimes.* But whether the teaching of St. Cyril or of St. Gregory be accepted, the Breton race—the Celt being of all races the most devoutly Catholic in Christian worship and the most indelibly conservative in its clandestine maintenance of ancient pagan cults—has professed its ineradicable faith in what one may define as the earth-life of the dead.

In countries more immediately subjected to Eastern influence the cult of the dead can, one may guess, be traced to nearer relationship with primitive beliefs. Mr. Abercromby † tells us that amongst the Finns ancient customs and rites involve a belief in what may be called the gradual 'dying of the dead.' They would seem to conceive of the departed soul as lingering near at hand; it might be for but a brief space of days, until the body was

* Légende d'Or, Voragine.

† Abercromby, 'Pre- and Proto-historic Finns.' London.

interred; it might be for a space of years, till all that remained of a man had mouldered to dust in the grave. They imagined it susceptible to pain of cold, to comfort of heat, suffering hunger and thirst and the unsatisfied pangs of lost desires. Thus 'something of the man lived on, but not for ever.' And while that something lived the dead were but semi-dead, and the life beyond this life resolved itself into a life in and about the grave, or into a life occasionally emergent from that underground region called, with a dreary significance of synonyme, 'Tuonela'—the place of the dead, the place of the miserable. In Russia, again, Slav tradition conveys, with modified materialism of faith, an analogous impression of a secondary earth-life of the soul. Mr. Ralston's descriptions of Slav funeral rites and customs recall the 'Banquet at the Tomb' of ancient Egypt, where 'singers sing and dancers dance; the harper 'plays on his harp, bidding the dead man to take his cheer.'* So the Russian mourners, too, invite the dead to share their repast, and when those unseen guests may be supposed to have eaten their fill they are escorted out with reverence by the living. Nor are hunger and thirst the only recognised needs of the dead. In Russia (and in Servia there are traces of the same rite) the girl or youth who dies unmarried is not left in a chill eternity unprovided with what time denied, and the funeral ceremony embraces a post-mortem marriage, ensuring, in that phantom union, wedded companionship in the world of souls.

And the ideas of continued terrestrial vitality perpetuated in such rites and customs, permeate the folk-tales of all times and countries. Innumerable *contes* illustrate the extreme reluctance of the peasant wholly to dissociate the soul from the body. In a large group of stories the continued connexion of one with another is shown in the endowment with vitality of any single relic. The hair, the bone, the blood-drop, remain possessed by life, impregnated with consciousness, and capable of speech.

'They made her arms into a harp,' says a tale of the Faroe Isles, where a girl bride is drowned by a jealous sister, 'and of her yellow hair they—two wandering pilgrims—wove harp-strings—and on their harp they played at the wedding feast of the false sister. And the first string said "The Bride is my sister," and the second said "The Bride slew me," and the third said "The Bridegroom is my betrothed."'†

* Ancient Ideals. Henry O. Taylor. New York: 1900.

† See also Le Sifflet qui chante, La Mère Cruelle. Littérature Orale, Picardie.

Nor is the same root-idea far to seek in scores of *märchen* where the life of the dead body is transmuted into the life of tree or bird—as in the familiar almond-tree story of the brothers Grimm. Sang the bird on the almond-branch:—

> 'My mother killed me;
> My father grieved for me;
> My little sister Martine
> Wept under the almond-tree.
> Kywitt, Kywitt,
> What a beautiful bird am I!'

What that 'something of a man' was which, severable from the body yet appertaining to the body, survived death it is impossible to define. The ancient Egyptians, who in their cult of the dead occupy something of the same place assigned amongst modern races to the Breton, 'elaborated 'in unparalleled detail their notion of a future life.'

'. . . Their earliest conception was the *Ka* or double, the body's strengthless equivalent in form. As a basis for its existence the body, or images of the body, must be preserved and the *Ka* had to be fed and lodged. Yet the double was but a poor impotency. So human elements surviving death were given more active powers and grouped together in the conception of a voracious and hawk-like soul, the *Bi*. Finally was added the conception of the *Khou*, according to which the soul was as a pale bluish flame. . . .'*

But it is impossible to detect any such multiplication of personality in the Breton legend where, so far as research has provided the general reader with material for criticism, the modern belief in some such survival has found its clearest and most concentrated expression. For the Breton the dead, 'les âmes en peine,' constitute a world, or rather a nation apart. His conception of l'Anaon ('le peuple immense des 'âmes s'appelle l'Anaon') is as definite as his conception of any other neighbouring people—of the peoples of Spain, of Germany, of England. It is a nation with its own laws, its own strictly circumscribed conditions of action and knowledge. Its physical state seems literally that of the unrest the intercessions of the Church appear to deprecate in vain. For whatever may be the lot of those who have finally entered Paradise, for the residue the churchyards of Brittany are no abodes of sleep, or, if of sleep, it is but the troubled repose of the somnambulist. The populace of the dead in truth—save those on whom the gates of hell or heaven have closed—wander at large above-ground. Some there are amongst them who wander with a special purpose.

* Ancient Ideals.

They linger upon earth for the accomplishment of unfulfilled vows, or the reparation of crimes too late repented. Their wandering is in itself a sign of hope. 'Puisque tu 'reviens, c'est que tu n'est pas damnée,' so the mother of the suicide, Marie Kerfant, greets her ghostly visitant. There are other souls who, by their own deed or from some other cause, have anticipated the hour of destiny. These must needs wait, in an intermediate condition of existence, neither belonging to the dead nor yet to the living, until the time appointed has arrived. 'Priez mon 'homme,' is the dead wife's request, 'de ne point se 'remarier avant six ans. *D'ici là il ne sera pas entièrement 'veuf.*' But over and above these exceptionally circumstanced spirits, for the majority their stay upon earth would seem to be a perfectly natural sequence of a perpetuated existence. And the majority is large. The souls who abide in the meadows and woods and copses are 'aussi 'pressées que les brins d'herbe dans les champs, ou que les 'gouttes d'eau dans l'averse.' They are, in truth, everywhere and on every side. By day they lie amongst the bushes of gorse and thorn and broom. They people the fields of clover and corn, they linger on the deserted tracks. The passer-by should bethink him before he enter any coppice where the undergrowth shields him from view, he should be heedful to make some sound, to advertise in some manner his approach, lest coming on them unawares he trouble those poor souls in their retreat. He who goes to cut the corn should likewise not be unmindful of their presence. It is incumbent on him to preface his reaping with the prayer, 'Si l'Anaon est là, paix à son âme.' The night is theirs. Hence the impressive menace of Breton mothers to their children, 'La Nuit va t'emporter,'* 'Leave the night to those to whom it belongs,' a voice cries to the reaper who set forth to reap his field when the day was done. 'Faut laisser la nuit à qui elle appartient,' the warning is urgently reiterated, and this time not in vain. The hours of the night are definitely fixed. The cock is watchman. After the last cock's crow the dead have freedom of the earth, until again, with the crowing of the first cock, the dawn exiles them into their invisibility. But it is not with the crowing of the white nor yet of the grey cock that the true dawn comes:—

'Pour le coup,' says the faithful servant, travelling on a dying master's errand, to his mysterious road-companion, 'l'aube va poindre.'

* Haute-Bretagne, Sébillot.

Pas encore,' replies the other; 'le coq qui a chanté c'est le coq blanc.' A little further and another cock crows. Again ineffectually. It is 'le coq gris!' At length a third makes its voice heard. 'Ah,' fit Ludo, 'cette fois c'est le bon.' 'Oui,' répondit le jeune homme, 'cette fois c'est le coq rouge.' (No. xxix.)

Not only may the dead, between sunset and sunrise, revisit the earth, but during those night hours they may re-enter their old homes. It is not well when evening darkens to sweep the floor, lest with the dust those homeless spiritual vagabonds be cast back into the cold. 'Have 'joy of the earth!' was the burial *requiescat*, at once courageous and hopeful, of the old Norse poet, but no such joy did the Breton domicile in the grave. 'Les morts ont 'toujours froid.' Even in the summer nights they crave the warmth of the fireside, and they cluster round the red ashes of St. John's Night fires. 'Ar maro ién,' cold death, is the common phrase. The living do well to leave the embers burning on the hearth, for when all are asleep on the farm the dead crowd near the kindling glow; and on All Souls' Night—it is now a dying custom—the 'Repas des 'Morts' is laid ready upon the table for the silent guests. And if such customs are becoming things of the past, thoughts, sympathies, beliefs, outstay customs, and the dead still live in the minds of the peasants, appealing for pity, demanding succour, help, compassion; they are even more than the traditional beggars, the *chères pauvres* of the race, and the Breton recognises in death nothing but the forfeiture of joy. For the peasant, those whom the gods love death spares.

Yet pity itself may add to their distress. 'Il ne faut 'point trop pleurer l'Anaon' is the text of one most pathetic legend of the cycle. It is a legend in which the mortal sadness of human loss is thrust aside while a stronger hand writes, as it were with iron, upon the wall of life that sorrow is a passion of the soul, and, like all passion, is as dross to gold, unmastered and unrestrained. The story—it is one of many upon the same theme—opens with the simplicity of a nursery tale. 'En ce temps-là, il 'y avait à Coray une fille dont la mère venait de mourir, et 'qui ne pouvait se consoler de cette perte. Elle ne faisait 'que pleurer nuit et jour.' 'Can I bring him back again?' For thousands of years Death has negatived the king's question—but 'Je voudrais revoir ma mère' is still the Breton girl's cry to a God who, in Brittany, has methods of procedure with which we men of little faith are un-

acquainted. Moreover, in Brittany the dead are very near at hand. So it fell out that at midnight, kneeling in the silent church, the girl's wish was granted. In the full unwisdom of her grief she sees the procession of the dead as they pace up the nave towards the high altar. Their feet on the pavement make no more sound than do mists crossing the sky. One—a woman—lags behind, the last of the train. She carries a heavy pitcher and bends beneath her load. The girl goes homeward weeping yet more bitterly. It is her mother who is thus burdened. Next night she seeks again the midnight church, to witness the same sight. But this time the water-bearer is bowed to the very ground. She carries not one but two pitchers, and both are full, and her face is dark with anger. 'Qu'avez-vous?' cries the girl. 'Qu'avez-vous que vous 'paraissez si sombre?' Fiercely the woman turns on her. The burden she bears is a burden of tears. The tears of the living trouble the blessed in their joy, delay the penitent in their expiation, and add a torture to the pains of the damned. The girl goes home. Love dries love's tears, and for love love's sorrow is set aside. 'Avez-vous pleuré, mon 'enfant?' asks the priest. 'Certes, non; et dorénavant 'point ne le ferai.' One more vision. A woman, her face shining with celestial felicity, walks burdenless at the head of the souls who mount upwards to the altar of the church of Coray.

In this, in all these stories, between the living and the dead there is but a veil of mist—an illusion of invisibility. And through the mist hand touches hand, and voices, if hushed, are not silenced. And hand and voice are hand and voice familiar and unchanged. For the dead are human as the living are, sometimes kindly, sometimes rancorous and vindictive, capricious, fanciful; somewhat childish too in their doings and in their inability to compass unaided their aims. Their old affections are strong in them. Old Fanchi and his wife, loving their former home of many years, return from their graves—he to guide the plough with a straight hand in the fields where the earth once knew his feet, she tranquilly to tend the house which it had been her pride to order. Side by side in the field, side by side in the farm-kitchen, the living dwell in peace with the dead, and Fanchi, who lies between-whiles in the cemetery, can believe that it is he who in his 'champs d'autrefois' makes the grain spring, and his old wife may no less imagine—a dream of the dead—that it is she, not her living successor,

who conducts the *ménage*. 'Et cela dura ce que Dieu voulut,' ended Marie-Anne Offret as she told the story fifteen years ago.

So one legend follows the other, grim, tragic, pitiful, kindly, or realistically comic, and out of Brittany fantastically gay, as when a vine-dresser of Auvergne is literally assaulted by the flock of unbaptized babies—

'Tous habillés de blanc ils étaient plus petits que les enfants qui venaient de naître, et ils se pressaient autour de lui, en criant de leurs petites voix, "Quoui pas le tien—quoui pas ton pouïre, quoui le mien!" ("Ce n'est pas ton parrain, c'est le mien").'

The vine-dresser at once understands their need; scattering water over them he answers, 'Je suis votre parrain à tous, 'mes enfants.' Wherewith, with cries of 'Grand merci, 'parrain! grand merci!' the flock disappears. And every story has its distinguishing touch. Now a brief sentence contains an epitome of a belief; when life recedes from Jozon du Guern (No. xxxviii), the robber of a dead girl's *coiffe*, we are only told he dies because 'la mort l'avait 'regardé de trop près.' Sometimes it is the vivid painting of the scene that stamps itself upon the memory; the interior of a silent room where men watch the dead till dawn, where the candles are extinguished by the bed, where the only light is that of burning resin and the glimmer of the hearth, while the hurricane rages without, and the door, in spite of lock and bolt, stands wide open into the night. Or it may be the distinctness of a landscape effect when under the moon the 'Lavandières de Nuit' bend over the running stream to wash the white linen of their shrouds, or when in the desolate cemetery the cypress trees, planted upon the graves of 'les nobles,' take strange forms like to the shadows of dancing phantoms; or where amongst the shrub-grown hillocks fringing the *landes* the 'Crieur de Nuit,' with his small white hands, repeats between pause and pause his lamentable wail, 'Ma Mère! Ma Mère!' till the belated journeyman, pitiful of heart, is betrayed into response, 'Comment, enfant de la nuit, tu as donc une mère, aussi 'toi!' At other times the characteristic of the story is some accidental phrase, accentuating the actuality of the whole conception. 'M. Dollo, recteur de Saint-Michel-en-'Grève, fut un des prêtres les mieux renseignés sur tout ce 'qui touche à l'Anaon. Il savait en quelles directions 's'étaient dispersées les âmes de tous les morts qu'il 'avaient enterrés, *sauf deux*.' The touch—it is only a touch, for no explanation is offered concerning those solitary

exceptions—is graphically significant, it is one of those details which brand imagination with reality.

So the narratives remain, in the mind of the reader, clear and emphatic. There is no monotony. The souls are not phantoms, ghosts, spectres, pale neutralities whom death has swept into a featureless routine of existence. They are, we repeat, men, women, children, changed, it may be, in form (the East echoes itself in transformations to semblances of bird, butterfly, mouse, and flower), but persistent in individuality, in affections, in the simplicity of the peasant, in the childishness, with a superadded helplessness, of human life at large. Death has only changed life's *venue*. And the attitude of sentiment in the living is equally consistent. It is an attitude of reverence—'la mort est sainte'—and, for the most part, of fear. And over and above fear and reverence, the note dominating both is one of a passionate pity, in which hope finds little place. Never has grief merged in compassion found more acute expression than in 'la poignante et sauvage tristesse des hymnes de la mort en 'Basse-Bretagne,' says M. Marillier, and amongst the 'cris 'd'enterrement' of another province* are two laments which, as embodying that sorrow of two faces—the sorrow of the living for their loss, the sorrow *for* the dead as being dead—stand, amongst folk-songs, almost alone in the extremity of their pathos :—

Pour un Mari.

Pauvre Jean !
Pauvre Jean, pauvre Jean.
Mon Dieu !
Tu es mort,
Tu es mort ! Tu es mort !
Mon Dieu !
Tu m'as laissée toute seule,
Pauvre Jean.
Ah !

Tu le savais pourtant que je t'aimais,
Pauvre Jean !
Jamais je ne t'ai dit 'Non,'
Jamais, jamais.
Jamais je ne t'ai fait d'affront,
Ni toi non plus à moi,
Jamais, jamais.
Ah !

Quand j'étais jeune fille,
Beau temps il y a,
Mon Dieu !
Je n'ai jamais voulu que toi.
Mon Dieu, mon Dieu !
. . . . .

Ah !
Mon beau temps est fini,
Pauvre,
Pauvre Jean !
Je te ferai dire des Messes,
Pauvre,
Pauvre Jean !

* See 'Poésies Populaires de la Gascogne.' Bladé. Paris : 1881.

Pour un Enfant.

Ah !
Mon Dieu !
Pauvret.
Mon Dieu, mon Dieu !
Pauvret,
Ah !

Pauvret,
Tu étais bien jeunet,
Pourtant tu gagnais déjà ta vie.
Pauvret,
Ah,
Mon Dieu !

Pauvret,
Tu es mort.
Ils t'emportent au cimetière,
La croix devant,
Ils t'emportent en terre.
Mon Dieu !

Pauvret,
Je ne te reverrai
Jamais, jamais,
Jamais.
Te t'en vas
Et je demeure.
Mon Dieu !

Pauvret,
Ah !
Tu seras bien seulet
Au cimetière
Cette nuit.
Et moi
Je te pleurerai
A la maison.
Mon Dieu,
Ah !

Reading these, it is but small wonder the warning should be so often reiterated throughout popular literatures—'Il 'ne faut point trop pleurer l'Anaon.'

Seen from one point of view, such is, so far as anything but the perusal of the legends themselves can give it, the conception of Death and the Dead of the Celtic peasant, as recorded by M. Le Braz, and faintly shadowed in the miscellaneous *contes* of other provinces of France. How much the continual preoccupation with death is stimulated by the image, always before the eyes of the Catholic peasant, of the dead Christ, how far the wayside Calvary and the altar crucifix, how far Christianity, by its perpetual presentation of a God who dies, has affected 'l'âme chantante et triste de la Bretagne,' can only be conjectured. Whether such constant preoccupation be well for a race, seeing that for all his days save one the business of a man is to live and not to die, is a question again which each will answer according to his own temperament and creed. One example of a group of *contes* might be interpreted as an indication that even in the opinion of the peasant the engrossing contemplation of that mystery might result in the suspension of all human effort. At Saint-Cast there is a building by name 'La Tour 'de Cesson.' It was christened in the following legend :—

'Un jour la Fée qui faisait construire la tour aperçut sur sa route une pie morte. "Pourquoi cet oiseau ne bouge-t-il pas ?" demanda la Fée. "C'est qu'il est mort," lui répondit-on. "Ah," dit la Fée, "puisqu'on meurt dans ce pays-ci, cessons."'

Was there a question in the minds of those amongst whom such legends rose that, were the moral of the dead magpie too logically pursued, all the edifices, spiritual or substantial, that men's ambitions, loves, and hates have ever reared from Babel onwards, might, like the tower of Saint-Cast, remain incomplete, 'puisqu'on meurt dans ce 'pays-ci'? However this may be, the significant fact remains that it is to the abstract mystery of Death that the human instinct of folk-tales has given both embodiment and personality, and that Birth is passed by, as a visitant whose comings and goings are unseen and unheard in the homes of men, whose mystery of existence is as remote from man's imaginative realisation as that of an unincarnate god.

ART. VI.—1. *The Nearer East.* By D. G. HOGARTH, M.A. London: Heinemann. 1902.

2. *Khurassan and Sistan.* By Lieut.-Colonel C. E. YATE, C.S.I., C.M.G. Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London: 1900.

3. *Turkey: Diplomatic and Consular Reports,* 1901. 'Suggestions for British Traders.'

4. *Turkey: Diplomatic and Consular Reports,* 1899–1900. 'Trade of Constantinople for the Years.'

5. *Persia: Diplomatic and Consular Reports,* 1900. 'Trade of the Persian Gulf for the Year.'

6. *Persia: Diplomatic and Consular Reports,* 1899–1900. 'Trade of Khorassan.'

7. *Persia: Diplomatic and Consular Reports,* 1900. 'Trade of Azerbaijan.'

'OUR policy is the integrity of Persia. . . . We are 'anxious for the integrity of Persia, but we are 'anxious far more for the balance of power; and it would 'be impossible for us, *whatever the cause,* to abandon what 'we look upon as our rightful position in Persia. . . . That 'is true not only of the Persian Gulf, but of the Southern 'provinces of Persia, and especially of those provinces 'which border on our Indian Empire. Our rights there 'and our position of ascendency we cannot abandon.'*

Such an announcement, made with evident deliberation by the official spokesman of the Foreign Office in the House of Commons, is highly significant, and may involve important consequences. It does not indicate any new departure in policy; on the contrary, it reaffirms in explicit language as the basis of future action the principles which have always been understood to govern British statesmanship in the past. It will be welcomed as a guarantee of continuity by all who, with Lord Rosebery, recognise such continuity to be the first and most indispensable condition of effective diplomacy, though one not easily reconciled with democratic forms of government. It will be noted as an emphatic warning by Continental Powers, who might otherwise be tempted to interpret the irresponsible utterances of a section of the press as an indication of public apathy, or

* Lord Cranborne, Debates of House of Commons, January 22, 1902.

even as a quasi-official invitation to them to seize the opportunity of realising, by a *coup d'état*, the objects of a long-cherished but hitherto impracticable ambition.

The spasmodic character of such attention as the general public at home is pleased to bestow upon questions affecting their interests in the East is nowhere better illustrated than in the case of Persia. Until Lord Curzon published his monumental book, which, as a mine of information and an exhaustive survey of trade and international relations, will long remain, as its author hoped, the standard work on the subject, few possessed or could without infinite labour acquire any substantial or reliable knowledge of the country or its problems. A casual visit of the Shah with his pink-tailed horses might evoke a passing curiosity, and revive in the cultured mind recollections of the mythical exploits and wild adventures of Hajji Baba or Sir Henry Layard; but we should search the records of Parliament and the columns of the press in vain for any adequate recognition of the vital issues involved in the policy and sympathies of our illustrious guest. To leading journals like the 'Times,' for which Lord Curzon acted as special correspondent, and to recent travellers, among whom may be mentioned General Gordon and Colonel Yate, we are indebted for much subsequent information and criticism, which has served to stimulate and enlighten public opinion; and the admirable reports drawn up by the consuls in the principal commercial centres of Persia have placed within the reach of all who care to study them ample materials for forming a competent judgement on the trade aspects of the problem. It is, therefore, a surprising and, to the vast majority of those who have an intimate and personal acquaintance with the political and strategic questions involved, a melancholy circumstance that during the last few months a chorus of contributors to the daily papers and periodicals should have gravely advocated a complete revision or repudiation of the policy which has hitherto been accepted without question or challenge by every Administration, Liberal as well as Conservative.

The discussion which took place in the House of Commons on January 22 shows, at all events, that such views are not reflected or countenanced by any material section of opinion in that assembly. One Liberal member only was bold enough to dispute the interpretation which his colleague put upon the terms of the motion he introduced, and Lord Cranborne's assurance that his Majesty's Government is

desirous to maintain the *status quo* in Persia and the Persian Gulf, amplified by the categorical assertion, in answer to a question on January 24, that its maintenance was incompatible with the occupation by any Power of a port in the Southern waters, was accepted without a division or even a verbal protest. We may assume, therefore, and the Government have a right to claim, that any steps which may become necessary in the future to enforce that policy will receive the patriotic assent and support of both political parties.

It may, indeed, be urged that the Under-Secretary's statement is susceptible of two interpretations, and that while it leaves us in no doubt as to the meaning which the Government attach to the term 'the *status quo*,' it does not pledge them to resist action on the part of other Powers which may be founded on a different reading. Russia and Germany might still put in a claim for certain concessions which might be made the subject of compromise by any British Government without modifying even the letter of Lord Cranborne's declaration. We are familiar with the diplomatic distinction between the terms 'occupation,' 'lease,' and 'usufruct'; and in spite of all the incidents which have occurred in China since 1898—the 'leasing' of 'Port Arthur to Russia, of Kiaochau to Germany, and of Wei-hai-Wei to ourselves—his Majesty's Government would, no doubt, again adopt, with perfect sincerity and an unshaken belief in the consistency and continuity of their policy, the identical terms of Sir Ellis Ashmead Bartlett's resolution in the spring of that year, by which the House pledged itself to maintain the integrity of the Chinese Empire.

We may admit at once that no Government who have determined upon a change of policy will be deterred from putting their views into execution by expressions, however definite, employed by their predecessors in office. The utmost we can expect is that those who are at the moment responsible for the conduct of affairs should take every reasonable precaution to make their intentions clear to the foreign nations most directly concerned, and to the public, upon whose intelligent support they must ultimately rely in the event of a crisis. But the conduct of Lord Salisbury's Administration in regard to China, though it may naturally awaken misgivings, does not present any real analogy or ground of inference as to their probable conduct in regard to Persia. In the former case, Mr. Balfour's invitation to Russia during the autumn of 1897 to come down to an ice-free port

on the Yellow Sea might, not unreasonably, be cited as a proof that they never regarded such an eventuality as incompatible with the maintenance of Chinese integrity. In the present case they have spontaneously announced that the intrusion of any Power upon the Persian Gulf would be regarded by them as an infringement, not of Persian independence, but of British interests—or, in other words, as an 'unfriendly' act. To volunteer such a statement unless they were prepared to face the possible consequences, as they faced them in the parallel case of Fashoda, would be an act of unpardonable and almost incredible folly. If the conduct of our diplomacy in relation to questions of a delicate character pending between ourselves and the Russian Government has been open to criticism in the past, its errors have consisted, not in receding from positions deliberately adopted, but in postponing the necessity for disagreeable decisions by taking refuge in a non-committal attitude and a studiously vague phraseology. Such a method may justly be deprecated, on the ground that it provokes our Continental rivals to presume upon a forbearance of which they cannot gauge the limits; but it has at least this negative merit, that it avoids arousing expectations at home which, once excited, are not easily allayed. To issue, on the other hand, a warning against trespassers which you have not the means or the intention of enforcing is to destroy all respect for your authority abroad, while it may at the same time compel you to seek compensations, in themselves undesirable, as the only means of rehabilitating your credit and prestige in the eyes of a jealous and disappointed electorate.

Whatever differences of opinion there may be upon other points between those who advocate a compromise with Russia and those who desire to preserve the *status quo*, all are agreed that a general scramble for Persian territory would be in the highest degree deplorable. We have no desire to burden ourselves with new proprietary rights or administrative duties in that quarter, and the possession of a naval base, which would be forced upon us as a precautionary measure by the creation of European ownership in a sphere where we have hitherto enjoyed a monopoly of influence, would entail upon the British and Indian taxpayers an additional financial burden without in any way increasing the security which we possess under present conditions.

We assume, therefore, that Lord Cranborne's words are to be taken not as a pious opinion, but as a pledge by which

the Government will hold themselves bound. It is evident that their ability to redeem that pledge will depend on the preparations they make in the meantime, and on the attitude they adopt towards the Persian Government and the Continental Powers. We shall find it convenient to examine the last, involving, as it does, considerations of a general character, before we proceed to investigate the narrower field of Persian diplomacy.

The only two Powers whose position and designs render them factors in the situation of which we are obliged to take account are at present Russia and Germany. Neither has any vested interests of appreciable magnitude in the regions bordering on the Persian Gulf, but both are supposed to be desirous of creating them. Russia, although nearer to the scene of operations, has taken no overt steps as yet to gratify her desire; Germany, as the temporary leaseholder of a small line in the North-West of Anatolia, has already obtained a concession enabling her to lay her rails across the intervening tract of more than one thousand miles which lies between her present terminus at Konia and some, as yet undetermined, point upon the Eastern seaboard. It is with her, therefore, that we are most immediately concerned, and whatever attitude we may assume towards her will naturally form a precedent in determining our attitude towards her Northern competitor. No distinction is drawn between the two cases in the official statement we have quoted, nor would it be rational to relax, in favour of that claimant which possesses the advantage in naval resources, a prohibition justified only by the imperative necessity of preserving the balance of power.

If, as some have suspected, an agreement or tacit understanding exists between the Cabinets of London and Berlin, it cannot rest upon any compromise of this nature, and the sudden abandonment of the proposed Koweit terminus by the German promoters is a symptom of which it is easy to appreciate the significance. The question whether such an agreement is or is not desirable must be argued on wider grounds, affecting the international relations of Europe and the interests of the Turkish Empire.

It can hardly be denied that from the latter point of view, at all events, the construction of the Euphrates Valley Railway would be of immense advantage. Whether the traffic or passenger receipts would repay the cost of construction or management, whatever may be the route finally agreed upon, is, indeed, highly problematical. Should the

path of least resistance be followed, *viâ* Adana and Aleppo and across the desert from Urfa to Mosul, it will not tap the largest centres of population and industry; while the alternative mountainous line by Marash, Birejik, Diarbekr, and Mardin will require engineering of a formidable and costly character. From Mosul southward it would probably keep to the right bank of the Tigris, in order to avoid the necessity of bridging the successive tributaries of the Greater and Lesser Zab, the Diyala and the smaller streams north of Bagdad. Even so, however, it would be exposed to constant attacks from predatory roving bands of Shammar Arabs, and its prolongation southward or eastward would be attended with difficulties of no mean order. The country between the right bank and the Euphrates, which contains the relics of all the famous sites of Chaldean history, is but little cultivated, and inhabited by an unruly and nomad population; while the transference of the line to the left bank, with a view to its extension to the Persian frontier at Khannikin, would entail the spanning of the Tigris in its broader reaches. Moreover, it is to be expected, and certainly to be hoped, that the opening up of railway communication will be accompanied or followed by the concession of larger facilities for inland navigation between the southern capitals of Bussorah and Bagdad and the populous centres of Mosul and Diarbekr. Such concessions would do much to develope trade and encourage cultivation in the vast and neglected tracts of Mesopotamia, but their effect could hardly be otherwise than prejudicial to the interests of the railway. Experience has shown conclusively that land transport cannot, under equal conditions, compete successfully with carriage by water, and the disappointing results of the Nisch-Salonika and of the Dedeagatch-Salonika railways are not likely to be ignored by the promoters of the new Asiatic line. An additional and convincing proof that they do not feel any confidence in the financial prospects of their scheme is their insistence upon a heavy kilometric guarantee which will render them independent of traffic receipts.

At the same time, the acceptance of such a burdensome liability by an exchequer already on the verge of bankruptcy affords a suggestive clue to the motives which have actuated the Turkish Government in sanctioning the plans which have been laid before them. We have said that the extension of the railway system through the heart of their Asiatic dominions will eventually benefit the country and

its inhabitants, even if it does not prove remunerative to the company or to the Treasury. At first, no doubt, it will operate as a tax upon the population, necessitating increased severity in the collection of tithes, upon which the guarantees are secured. Moreover, as Mr. Hogarth points out, in one of the most comprehensive and suggestive treatises ever published upon the Near East as a whole, the effect even of roads in ill-governed lands is to encourage a predatory spirit in the rural districts, and the primary result of an extension of railways in Anatolia has always been an extension of brigandage. Ultimately, however, it will give an impetus to agriculture and industry, it will facilitate the exploitation of valuable mineral resources, and enable the police and the military to deal more promptly and decisively than is now possible with organised sedition or disorder. These considerations have probably been present to the minds of the authorities, but they are not the only or even the principal ones which have influenced their decision. They must be painfully conscious of the fact that the amounts paid by them on the guaranteed railways in Anatolia have risen from 315,716*l.* in 1897 to 815,399*l.* in 1899, while the receipts have steadily declined in proportion. Had they consulted their pecuniary interests, they would assuredly have entrusted the execution of their new project to the English company which works the line between Smyrna and Aidin, the only one which not only pays its way without any subvention, but is actually their creditor to the extent of 650,000*l.* Instead of doing so, they have entrusted it to a syndicate which, in order to prevent competition and to divert traffic from its natural course, has severed its connexion with the Smyrna-Cassaba line at Afium-Kara Hissar, and is about to invade the districts already supplied by the Adana-Messina Railway. The truth is that, for the Turkish Government, the question of railways is, and must be, mainly a question of military strategy and self-defence. The events of the Greek war of 1897, and the incalculable service performed by the Adrianople-Salonica line in conveying the Anatolian levies to the front within an incredibly short interval after the rupture of negotiations, at once opened the eyes of the Sultan and of even the most reactionary Turks to the paramount importance of such facilities as a condition of rapid and effective mobilisation.

In an article contributed to the 'Journal of the Royal 'United Service Institution' in September, 1899, Colonel Mark Bell, whose authority on military matters is undoubted,

has drawn an elaborate and masterly survey of the strategic deficiencies and requirements of Turkey's Asiatic frontier. It is unnecessary to examine his plan of operations in detail; we will content ourselves with stating concisely the conclusions at which he arrives, and the grounds upon which they are based. He points out that the natural line of defence, from the Black Sea to the Persian Gulf, runs in a south-easterly direction, partly on Turkish and partly on Persian territory, between the towns Samsun, Sivas, Kharput, Mosul, Kirind, Dizful, and Bushire on the west, and the parallel towns Trebizond, Erzerum, Bitlis, Suj Bulak, Hamadan, Gulpaigan, and Shiraz on the east. This zone he divides roughly into two sections, by an imaginary line drawn through Bitlis, Kharput, and Van. The northern belt, forming the 'offensive' zone, to which he assigns three-fourths of the fighting strength of Turkey-in-Asia, and having for its base the lines connecting Mardin with the Black Sea and the Mediterranean,* is 'a region of grassy 'mountains and hills, fertile undulations and rich agricul-'tural valleys, generally difficult for military operations, 'with a climate for four months of the year of a severity to 'almost prohibit them, and traversed by few and difficult 'roads,' but, nevertheless, including in its area the rich corn-growing districts of Erzerum, Passin, Khanis, Bulanik, Mush, and Alashgerd.

The southern, or 'defensive' zone, in which the remaining fourth of the army would operate, and for which the Mardin-Bagdad line would supply the necessary base, consists of the main watershed of Armenia and Persia, 'a mountainous 'country, difficult to traverse except by hill-paths, suited to 'pack-transport only, and closed by snow for four or five 'months in the year; inhabited by unruly tribes, practically 'free of control, chiefly nomads, and subservient only in 'name to either Turkey or Persia.'

The Russian attack may be delivered either from the side of Kars and Erivan upon Erzerum and Bayazid, which command the passes to Van; or upon Van itself, the key to the Mesopotamian lowlands, from Khoi, Tabriz, Suj Bulak,

* A. Offensive zone.

Primary bases, Mediterranean and Black Seas.

Secondary bases, Samsun, Tokat, Sivas, Mardin.

B. Defensive zone.

Primary bases, Mediterranean and Persian Gulf.

Secondary bases, Iskanderun, Sowaidiya, Tripoli, Urfa, Mardin, Mosul, Bagdad, Kermanshah, and Burujird.

or Sahna. In the former case the invaders would be acting from a base within their own territory, and the Turks, except in the highly improbable event of a Turco-Persian alliance, would be compelled to rely upon their own resources. In order, therefore, to enable them to occupy effectively the Samsun-Bagdad position, Colonel Bell proposes the construction of two main lines: (1) starting from Iskanderun or some neighbouring port on the Mediterranean, and proceeding *viâ* Aleppo, Birejik and Urfa, (2) running from the northern port of Samsun through Tokat, Sivas, Kharput, and Diarbekr so as to join the western line at Mardin. In order to complete the chain, branch lines would also be required from Sivas *viâ* Erzingian to Erzerum (a point already connected by an admirable military road with Trebizond and Baiburt), and from Kharput *viâ* Mush and Bitlis to Van.

There is, however, a possibility, and even a probability, that the Russians would make a simultaneous advance upon the Tigris or Karun plains from the regions in the vicinity of Lake Urmi. In this case Persian territory would be violated, and the arena of conflict immeasurably extended. The defensive force would be deployed along the Kermanshah-Burujird-Hamadan line, so as to protect the passes westward through Kurdistan and southward through the Lur, Bakhtiari, and Kashgai hills; and its base would extend from the Tigris at Bagdad to the Karun ports, Shuster and Mohammerah. In view of such a contingency, Colonel Bell recommends three precautionary measures: (1) the prolongation of the Mediterranean-Black Sea line from Mardin through Jezireh to the right bank of the Tigris at Mosul, and thence across the river *viâ* Arbil Kirkuk, Kifri, Bagdad, Khanikin, Kermanshah, Burujird, Gulpaigan, and Khonsar to Isfahan; (2) the opening of the Karun to navigation as far as Shuster; (3) the construction of a railway from Shuster to the foot of the hills north of Dizful, and a cart road through Khoremmabad to Kermanshah and Burujird.

Now, in the light of such a scheme as this, the recent actions of Germany, Russia, and Turkey become easily intelligible. Germany, anxious to find new markets and outlets for her rapidly increasing trade and population, demands the concession for a railway which will open out to commerce, and perhaps to colonisation, the vast alluvial basins of the Tigris and Euphrates. Turkey, not greatly solicitous for the well-being of that congeries of races over which she rules, but keenly desirous of preserving intact the

remains of her imperial heritage and prestige, sanctions the construction of that very Mediterranean line—not the most ideal from a commercial standpoint, but having an outlet on the bay of Alexandretta, as well as at Haidar Pasha—which Colonel Bell describes as essential to the protection of the northern frontier zone. At once Russia steps forward, and extorts from the Sultan a pledge that in no circumstances will he concede to any foreign Power, other than herself, a priority of right for the construction of railways in the provinces bordering on the southern shores of the Black Sea. The effect of this pledge is obviously to render impossible the completion of the general scheme of defence by preventing the connection by rail at Mardin of the Mediterranean with the Black Sea base of Samsun. In the event of war, even if the Russian navy lost control of its waters, the shores of the Euxine would be rendered useless to Turkey for the purpose of sending up reinforcements, and the only alternative still left open to her would be to prolong the Haidar Pasha-Angora line to Sivas, and thence eastward *viâ* Erzingian to Erzerum, and southward through Malatia, Kharput and Diarbekr to Mardin.

Lastly, Russia has prepared the way for an advance from the Persian side by pushing forward the Kars-Batum Railway in the direction of Erivan, as a preliminary step to the construction of a further section to Julfa or Shahtakti, and thence to Tabriz, Kasvin, and Teheran, for which plans and maps have already been made by Russian engineers within the last three years. Meantime, by the agreement of 1889, renewed for a further period of ten years in 1900 (an agreement similar to that which she imposed upon the Sultan), she has obtained from the Shah a practical power of vetoing the construction by foreign lessees of any new railways in Persia during that interval. Consequently she has succeeded by sheer diplomacy in not only maiming the strategical scheme of Turkey in the 'offensive' zone, but also in altogether destroying the possibility of preparation and co-operation by Persia in the southern, or 'defensive,' zone.

The very success of her policy, therefore, and the scarcely veiled designs which have inspired it, render doubly imperative in the interests of Turkey the rapid completion of the Euphrates Valley line. As soon as that line reaches Bagdad we are brought face to face with the question of its prolongation to some point upon the Persian Gulf, where we are anxious that no foreign Power should obtain a foothold. To prohibit such an extension is clearly impossible,

and we certainly can derive nothing but advantage from an enterprise which will give fresh impetus to the import and export trade, whereof we hold the preponderating share. Besides, however remote may be the probability that we shall ever again place an army in the field for the sake of Turkish independence, it cannot be denied that in certain contingencies we might find it very convenient to possess a readier means of access to Bagdad than is at present afforded by the weekly service of Messrs. Lynch's steamboats. The simplest and most obvious solution of the difficulty is surely to be found in an arrangement between ourselves, the Turkish Government, and the German contractors, by the terms of which the responsibility for the construction and management of the Bagdad-Gulf section would be assigned to Great Britain. In order to raise the money required for the guarantee the Turkish Government would doubtless find it convenient to alter the scale of the Customs tariff, and our consent to its revision ought certainly not to be accorded except on the basis of a friendly and generous reciprocity.

We are under no delusion as to the sentiments which Germany entertains towards us. She is, with the single exception of the United States, our most formidable commercial competitor. She desires, not unnaturally, to supplant us and to seize what we have come to regard as our birthright. However friendly to us at heart, her statesmen are always ready, for the sake of obtaining the sanction of the Reichstag for their increased naval expenditure, to conciliate the opposition of both the Socialist and Agrarian factions by playing on the popular feelings of jealousy and animosity to Great Britain; and her diplomatists still fondly imagine that they divert attention from their own schemes by fomenting the mutual suspicions of London and St. Petersburg. All this may be an excellent reason for declining anything in the nature of a treaty with Germany or the Triple Alliance; but it is wholly irrelevant to the question of our co-operation with her in the neutral field of commercial or industrial developement. If we countenance or assist the construction of the Euphrates Valley Railway, we do so partly in the interests of our own trade, and partly in the interests of the native population, over whose well-being we, as one of the signatories of the Berlin and Cyprus Conventions, have pledged ourselves to watch. The very fact emphasised by Mr. Hogarth, that Ottoman nervousness on the score of an inferior strategic position about the head waters of the Euphrates is largely responsible for the policy

pursued towards the peoples of the highlands, indicates the direction in which our policy may be shaped with the greatest advantage to them. Russia has no reason or right to infer that such action on our part implies hostility to herself, and she will share equally with ourselves in any opportunities for trade which may result from the new conditions. On the other hand, as Germany increases the volume of her trade on the Shat el Arab and Tigris, she will have greater incentives to combine her influence with ours at Constantinople in order to secure the removal of innumerable obstacles which at present hopelessly impede the free circulation of traffic. The absurd restrictions upon the number of river-steamers plying between Bussorah and Bagdad already result in a normal accumulation at the lower port of several thousand tons of merchandise annually; the Custom-house accommodation is, to quote Mr. Wratislaw, 'ludicrously inadequate,' and the quarantine regulations against India and Persia, which 'considerably increase the 'expenses of steamers, and render the operations of loading 'and unloading cargo tedious and difficult,' are imposed without corresponding or simultaneous precautions against the entry of either passengers or goods along the entire line of land frontier. When these vexatious and unnecessary hindrances have been withdrawn, it may be possible at last to press for the tardy realisation of the dreams of Chesney and Ainsworth, to throw open to navigation the Euphrates as far as Birejik, and the Tigris as far as Mosul or Diarbekr, and to arrest the perpetual subsidence of the river banks, and the overflow and filtration of the fertilising floods into the marshes.

We now turn to consider the alternative policy, which has lately found so many ardent advocates—the policy of an understanding with Russia.

It is, perhaps, worth our while to observe that, whereas the question of our relations with Germany is one which mainly concerns the future of Turkey, that of our relations with Russia concerns mainly, though, as we have shown, not exclusively, the future of Persia. The first, moreover, is determined by considerations of a purely commercial character; the issues involved in the second are to a great extent, if not entirely, political. Germany's objects are those of the trader and emigrant; Russia's are notoriously concentrated on the acquisition of territory, or at least of a port upon the Persian Gulf. It follows, then, that the policy enunciated by Lord Cranborne, while it need be no bar to our cordial

co-operation with Germany, is wholly incompatible with the realisation of Muscovite ambitions. In other words, our interests, or what we have always considered to be our interests, if not identical, at least do not conflict with those of Germany; they are confessedly irreconcileable with those of Russia.

It is, of course, conceivable (and this is the hypothesis upon which writers like 'A. B. C.' in the 'National Review' rest their case) that a friendly understanding with the Slavonic Power would ensure for us such substantial advantages, and such an additional sense of security, that for the sake of securing it we ought to revise our traditional interpretation of British interests. Before we can pronounce upon a bargain of this kind it is necessary to inquire what are the precise terms suggested, the relative advantages supposed to accrue to the parties concerned, and the practical prospects of their ever being realised. The last question, which is of vital importance, cannot be answered with any certainty unless we first ascertain the real views and aims of the Russian Government. If, as Lord Cranborne says, 'it does not become us to go, cap in hand, to other Powers 'begging for alliances,' still less is it incumbent upon us to volunteer concessions which have never been asked for, and for which we should naturally expect a substantial return.

In the absence, therefore, of any reliable information upon this point, we can only argue the problem upon general grounds. One fact, however, is patent—that we cannot, even if we wished to do so, use an Anglo-Russian *entente* for the purpose of checkmating Germany in the East. To our present policy of maintaining the *status quo*, and crying 'Hands off!' to every other Power in the Persian Gulf, there is only one possible alternative, and that is to throw its shores open to all. We cannot concede to Russia a port or naval base separated by nearly a thousand miles from her territory, and refuse it to a German company which is bringing its railway to the sea. The Persian Gulf must be either a British lake, as the Black Sea and the Caspian are Russian lakes, or, like the Mediterranean, the base and manœuvring-ground of international fleets. If, therefore, as we shall attempt to prove, Russia's objects are political and strategic rather than commercial, the effect of their gratification upon British and Indian interests will be intensified by the effects of corresponding advantages secured in the same quarter by all the European Powers.

We do not ourselves attach much intrinsic importance to

the controversy whether the outlet which Russia desires is a commercial emporium or a naval arsenal. The possession of a harbour and coaling-station necessarily implies a right on the part of the owner to fortify and enlarge it for the protection of trade, or for the repair of cruisers which convoy its merchant shipping in time of war. Under whatever pretext, therefore, the occupation took place, it would certainly be accompanied by the occupation of a similar post of 'vantage by Great Britain. The consequences to ourselves are not difficult to foresee. Our position would be no stronger, and might be weaker than it is now; it would entail large defence works, and a material addition to our fleet in those waters; and the cost would be acutely felt and justly resented by the taxpayers both in India and at home. At the same time, our action would be attributed by the native populations under our rule, and by the friendly tribes of Southern Persia, to timidity and fear of Russia; and the loss of our prestige would be followed by a general unrest and disturbance throughout the hinterland, which would provoke, and might necessitate, active intervention by Russia and ourselves.

Nor is it possible to separate the question of a port on the Gulf from the question of a railway connecting it with Russian territory. If, as is alleged, the dominant object of the Czar's advisers, and especially of De Witte, is to obtain uninterrupted passage and egress for their trade, a port without a railway would clearly be useless. Now the only line which has been lately discussed in this connexion is one from the Trans-Caspian border at Askhabad, *viâ* Meshed and Kerman, to Bunder Abbas. We agree with the able writer in the January number of the 'Quarterly Review,' that 'it is not likely that this idea has yet been seriously 'entertained,' for the reason, given by Major Yate,* that such a line would encounter the 'endless succession of 'mountain terraces that run east and west between Meshed 'and Bunder Abbas.' In any case, its construction would admittedly affect the whole problem of Indian defence, and entail new and expensive precautions on the south-west frontier. From her present base at Kushk, although within fifty miles of Herat, Russia has still to surmount obstacles which, in the opinion of many military experts, are almost prohibitive before she can deliver an effective attack upon India. Established in the great corn-growing plains of

* Empire Review, January 1902.

Khorassan, with an uninterrupted line of communications as far as the Caspian behind her, she would be able to strike either at Herat or at Kandahar from the Meshed and Sistan bases, while British Beluchistan and Quetta would lie open to a flank attack by the Kuh Malek Siah-Nushki caravan road, without the necessity for any violation of Afghan territory.

The only other through lines which might be contemplated are those connecting Isfahan with the Tiflis Railway, *viâ* Teheran and Tabriz, on the one hand, and with the Trans-Caspian railway, *viâ* Teheran and Meshed, on the other. They would not be open to the same objections, and there is, so far as we can see, no reason why they should not be built, subject to the same conditions in regard to the sections south of Isfahan as we have discussed in the case of the German railway south of Bagdad. Their natural termini would be either at Bunder Abbas or Mohammerah, and the difference in proximity of the latter port to India would not materially affect the strategic and financial considerations which we have already urged against a Russian occupation of the former. Whether the motive for desiring such an occupation be commercial or political is, we repeat, or ought to be, a question immaterial to our own decision. That it has, however, an essential bearing on the possibility and value of a general Anglo-Russian agreement cannot be denied. The demand of a stranger for a right of way which leads direct to your own front door is naturally suspect, and all the more so if in order to facilitate his claim he has begun by appropriating the property of your intimate friend. Every argument, therefore, which tends to show that the ultimate absorption of Persia by Russia is inevitable is *pro tanto* a demonstration of the uselessness of an Anglo-Russian *entente*. Our approval of this wholesale plunder of our neighbour might, no doubt, render the process easier and more agreeable, but with or without our assent the result would be the same. What motive, then, have we to connive at an operation which is certainly of doubtful morality, and may involve danger to ourselves? Is it merely that we may purchase the general good will of Russia in various parts of the world, or is there some tangible *quid pro quo* for which it is worth our while to pay such a price?

We agree with Sir Edward Grey that, of the three possible policies—inveterate and unyielding hostility to Russian expansion, opposition followed by graceful concessions, and compromise founded on mutual interests in Asia as a

whole—the last is decidedly the most preferable. But is it also practicable? No statesman worthy of the name would think of reshaping our entire Imperial policy merely for the sake of establishing a platonic affection which might or might not be permanent, and we know of no disputes between the two Powers in any quarter which are susceptible of settlement on general principles. In Egypt our position is not seriously challenged, and the small advantage to be gained by conciliating a single member of the Debt Commission in Cairo would certainly be more than counterbalanced by the menace to communications between the Nile and India entailed by the presence of a Russian war fleet in the Persian Gulf. Or, again, if we transfer our investigations to Northern China, the interests of our own trade at Newchwang are already secured by treaty, and the political future of Manchuria or Korea is not a subject about which we could barter, even if we were willing to do so, without alienating the respect and valuable friendship of our new ally, Japan.

It does not, however, follow that, because we have nothing to gain from a general agreement, we should therefore oppose the legitimate and commercial instincts of Russia. She has a right to demand access for her goods by the shortest and most convenient route through the territories which lie between her and the open sea; nor should we do otherwise than welcome the introduction into Persia, by Russia or any other Power, of facilities which would bring our own goods nearer to the markets of the interior. In point of fact, the difficulty is not that she wishes to construct railways of which we disapprove, but that she refuses to allow the construction of any railways at all. Even the territory south of the Caucasus, which she won from Turkey during the last war, remains largely undeveloped; and while money and colonists are poured into Siberia or Central Asia, the soil is hardly better cultivated, the villages are almost as few and poor in the tracts round Kars and Erivan as on the Turkish side of the frontier. In Trans-Caspia she has, indeed, made strenuous efforts to push her export trade with Persia by means of bounties, and a railway to the Gulf might conceivably increase her sale of petroleum oil, cotton, and sugar at distant ports, by enabling her to save a portion of the heavy cost of canal dues by the Suez route. But as regards the import trade—and the goods entered at the Gulf ports are almost entirely British and Indian—so far from encouraging it on her own

frontier, she has displayed the most persevering ingenuity in strangling it altogether.

Her first efforts were directed, in 1883, against British goods in transit for Persia *viâ* the Caucasus. By abolishing the privileges formerly conceded to this traffic, and placing it on the same footing as the direct trade with Russian consumers, she secured a practical monopoly in the neighbouring markets of Persia for her own goods. Encouraged by this success, she next turned her attention to the British import trade from Khorassan into her Trans-Caspian possessions. In 1895–6 she substituted, for the previous uniform charge of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. extra on all such goods, a direct prohibition of all British and Indian merchandise, including cotton, with the two exceptions of indigo and tea, upon the black and green varieties of which she levied the formidable duties of 9*d.* and 1*s.* 4*d.* per lb. At the same time special facilities were given by the Black Sea route, with the single object of diverting the trade from Meshed, and thus incidentally occasioning a loss of, it is said, no less than 8,000*l.* to the Persian Customs.

We adduce these facts, not as evidence of Russia's hostility to ourselves—for we cannot expect her to allow considerations of policy to affect her fiscal arrangements—but as proofs that anxiety to share the benefits of Persia's import trade, at all events, is not one of her motives for desiring a railway and a port. Or are we to infer that she contemplates using them as a weapon for suffocating more effectually, by means of preferential rates and prohibitive tariffs, a British trade in the Gulf amounting to close upon two millions sterling annually? On any other hypothesis, as we have pointed out, they would merely afford facilities to ourselves which Russia has been at such special pains to withhold.

Consequently, if we wish to put as favourable a construction upon her policy as possible, we are compelled to assume that it is solely dictated by the desire to stimulate and protect her export trade. But the possession of a port and railway is not necessary for this purpose; nor could they possibly secure it unless the further acquisition by Russia be implied of all the territory through which the railway passes. Otherwise it would still be in the power of Persia at any moment to put in force an exorbitant or prohibitive tariff along the whole of the Khorassan frontier. We find ourselves, therefore, in the following dilemma. If Russia's object is political, it is hostile to Great Britain; if it is commercial, it can only be satisfied by the absorption or

partition of Persia. The first supposition, though not necessarily discreditable to Russia, clearly does not form a promising basis for any friendly understanding; the second involves a suspicion of treachery on her part to written engagements which are certainly as binding on her as would be any future contract to which we could obtain her assent. On March 29, 1888, M. de Giers read to Lord Salisbury a despatch from the Russian Foreign Minister in which the Czar's Government explicitly reaffirmed and renewed their engagement to respect and promote the integrity and independence of Persia, and Lord Cranborne stated in the debate on January 22 that 'he had official reason to believe 'that on both sides that assurance is maintained.'

We may now leave the topic of European alliances, and examine the more practical and pressing problem of our relations with the Persian and Turkish Governments themselves. Without clearly defined ideas on this subject it is idle to discuss the larger issues of policy. Our right to be consulted, and to exercise a determining influence in regard to any proposal for altering the *status quo*, depends not only on the magnitude of our share in the interests at stake, but on our power and the efforts we make to increase it. Uncertainty and vacillation in our dealings with Governments peculiarly weak and fickle means proportionate discouragement to British enterprise, distrust of our friendship and sincerity by the natives, and an increasing disposition on the part of their rulers to succumb to the pressure of more resolute and powerful neighbours. There is but one method of averting these evils, and that is to seize every opportunity, however apparently small, of promoting the expansion of our commerce and securing the removal of existing impediments by the exertion, if necessary, of diplomatic pressure at Constantinople and Teheran.

We are confronted at the threshold of such an inquiry with the familiar controversy as to the proper limits of State interference and support. Foreign Governments have always differed widely from our own in assuming a direct responsibility for trade interests, which we are content to relegate to private enterprise, and this is a factor which must be taken into account in estimating our own prospects and the results of international rivalry. It will be useful to examine, in the first place, the effects upon our trade of foreign methods which we cannot in any circumstances imitate, and, in the second, the value of such as we might partially or wholly adopt without any lapse from the

principles of orthodox finance. Let us take as an illustration of the first the figures of British and Russian trade with Persia in the north-east province of Khorassan for the year 1899–1900, when trade was not affected by any unusual cause:—

	£		£
Imports from India .	142,099	Exports to India .	42,466
„ „ Russia .	178,708	„ „ Russia	147,075

It will be observed that in the case of imports Russian trade is slightly, in the case of exports enormously, in excess of our own. Notwithstanding, however, the heavy bounties and drawbacks granted to the sugar, cotton, and other goods imported by our rivals, the increased value of their trade over that of the preceding year was only 15,386*l.*, as compared with an increase on our own of 18,771*l.* Putting aside, therefore, the natural advantages which the proximity of the railway gives them for carrying oil from Baku and supplying the requirements of the large military cantonment at Askhabad, and the markets of Trans-Caspia and Russia itself, it does not seem that we have much cause for alarm at the results of their fiscal policy. It is true that if we take a broader survey the figures appear less satisfactory to ourselves; for whereas Russian imports have steadily risen in value from 86,929*l.* in 1895–6, the imports from India have declined from 199,165*l.* to their present figure. A closer examination reveals the significant and reassuring fact that, while this decline was directly due to the tariff charges which Russia adopted in 1896–7, and which we have already described, our trade has successfully faced and overcome those difficulties, and is already on the up grade. In that year Indian imports dropped in value at one bound to 89,547*l.*, and since then have nearly recovered their old level. Even the importation of green and black tea, upon which such prohibitive duties were fixed, has so steadily increased that its value now amounts to 61,806*l.*, or almost equivalent in value to three-fourths of our whole import trade in the black year to which we have referred.

We now turn to the case of Turkey, where our most formidable rivals are the Germans. It must be remembered, as Mr. Sarell observes, that 'Germany is a new competitor 'in this field, and that her progress will naturally appear to 'be rapid until she finally finds her level.' Since the Emperor's visit to the Sultan in 1890 she has spared no effort to push her enterprise in every direction, and the absence of any corresponding effort on our part renders more

remarkable the fact that 'in the main British goods hold 'their own.' Owing to the absence of reliable Customs returns at Bussorah, we cannot ascertain the comparative figures of British and German imports on the Shat el Arab, and must content ourselves with the general statistics of commerce between the two countries and Turkey:—

Exports to Turkey.

	Germany.	United Kingdom.
	£	£
1895 . .	2,138,661	5,632,932
1896 . .	1,340,204	5,303,421
1897 . .	1,546,050	6,968,089
1898 . .	1,853,750	6,607,953
1899* . .	1,628,400	5,613,715

From these figures it appears that our trade has remained, on the whole, stationary, while that of Germany has sensibly declined; and that while hers has never equalled one-half of ours, it has quite recently fallen to less than one-fourth. Whatever, therefore, we may have to fear from German competition in the future, and whatever lessons we may have to learn from her present methods, they are not to be inferred from any actual experience in the past. We doubt whether anyone, who impartially examines the causes affecting British trade in Turkey, will discover much reason to blame the British Government for neglecting opportunities for action which it was possible or desirable for them to take. Such causes are attributable chiefly to the policy, wise or unwise, of our merchants and financiers, and will continue so long as that policy is adhered to. Foremost among these is the unwillingness to invest capital in Turkish undertakings, owing to the distrust inspired by the repudiation of the debt in 1876, which occasioned the loss of much British capital. A somewhat similar phenomenon presented itself recently in the case of the proposed British loan to Persia in 1898, when the demand in the City for securities which the Persian Government was willing but unable to concede was, no doubt, largely motived by recollection of the disaster which attended the Tobacco Régie and Lottery Concessions in 1890. In this case we think that the British Government committed a grave mistake in not

* It is interesting to observe the distribution of the exports from the United Kingdom as given in the Board of Trade returns for 1900. Out of a total of 5,432,011*l.*, Asiatic Turkey took 2,980,633*l.*, European Turkey 2,362,220*l.*, Cyprus 59,055*l.*, and Crete 30,103*l.*

giving a Treasury guarantee for the money, for which the Persian Customs afforded an ample security, and one which the Russian Government accepted unhesitatingly, without insisting on the appointment of special receivers at the Custom-houses. It is another thing, however, to suggest that the national credit should be pledged to investments in Turkish railways, which are not likely to be remunerative, and are built with a different object in view. Whether British capitalists are justified in their suspicions is a matter for them to decide. According to Mr. Sarell—

'Turkish credit, even from a financial point of view, has been good ever since the cession of the six revenues to the foreign bondholders in 1881, and all the Turkish engagements then undertaken have been fulfilled. Where money has been lost in Turkey, it has been either through reckless speculation in Turkish stock prior to 1876, or to the default of the importing houses in Constantinople, which accounts for a relatively small portion of the sum of British capital engulfed in this country.'

It is, however, not in financial operations on a large scale, but in the revision of our commercial methods, that those most intimately acquainted with the problem perceive an opportunity for increasing our assets in Turkey. We start, says Mr. Sarell, with an advantage over our competitors in the natural affinity, testified to by many travellers, which exists between Turks and Englishmen. This advantage is at present deliberately thrown away by the employment of native or foreign agents, by a want of flexibility in our credit arrangements, and a disinclination to study the requirements of customers. In their criticisms and recommendations under each of these three heads Mr. Sarell and Colonel Massy are at one. They point out that trade with Turkey has in the main been profitable, and that a market in which we already possess a stake of more than twelve millions is at least worthy of attention. Unlike ourselves, our Continental rivals are willing to accept small orders, or even to sell a limited quantity of goods as a speculation, in order to obtain a hold upon new markets. They send out invoices with bills of lading direct to the merchants, allowing eight days for payment; whereas we insist upon payment on shipment and delivery of bill of lading, and so entail upon the importer an extra charge by way of commission, and the loss while the goods are in transit of a month's interest on money for which, if he invested it, he might obtain interest at 9 per cent. Finally, our unique practice of employing foreigners, who are often acting at the same

time for foreign firms, as commercial travellers and agents on the score of economy severely handicaps our trade, and most of the money lost in the country by British houses has been swallowed up by the middleman, and not by the Turkish consumer.

The remedy suggested is the establishment at Constantinople, by a syndicate of home merchants, of an agency under the management of an Englishman forbidden to trade on his own account. Such an agency, costing between 1,500*l.* and 2,000*l.* a year, would facilitate the granting of credit on good guarantees and place the exporter in direct relation with local merchants, besides undertaking the collection of bad debts, the issue of advertisements and prospectuses in vernacular rates and idioms—for each district has often its own language and rate of exchange—and the duty of reporting on local requirements and the solvency of particular merchants. At present these functions are relegated entirely to our consuls and the Chamber of Commerce at Constantinople. The former have numerous other duties to perform; and the constant and most reprehensible tendency of the Treasury at home to effect small economies, by inducing the Foreign Office to reduce the staff and withdraw its representatives from important centres, as in the recent instance at Konia, makes it impossible for British merchants to depend upon them as a permanent source of information. The Chamber of Commerce is an even less reliable body, for its powers and opportunities of usefulness are completely paralysed by the absence of any adequate financial support, as the following figures will show:—

	Annual income.		Government subvention.	Total trade with Turkey.
	£	s.	£	Piastres.
French Chamber of Commerce .	800	0	280	670,758,215*
Italian Chamber of Commerce .	500	0	140	116,799,248
British Chamber of Commerce .	144	18	—	1,488,089,772

Germany has no chamber of commerce, but Government assistance takes another and even more effective form—viz., the subsidising of a weekly trade journal in Constantinople,

* The figures are those for 1896–7, the last available for comparison. Reckoning the piastre at 2·16*d.*, the figures would approximately read as follows: Italy, 1,051,193*l.*; France, 6,036,840*l.*; Great Britain, 15,192,808*l.*

the employment of a special staff at the Consulate to collect and tabulate statistics, and the maintenance at the Embassy of a commercial *attaché*, who communicates directly to the chief manufacturing centres in Germany the information which he acquires in the course of personal visits to the interior of Turkey. Americans are showing a similar solicitude for their interests by promoting direct steamer communication with the Levant and Black Sea ports, and by establishing exhibition warehouses and advertising agencies, under the control of exporting syndicates, with a working capital of 25,000*l.*, and a banking department which allows thirty to sixty days' credit to purchasers.

In view of these facts, it may be worth while for the British Government to consider the possibility of offering some financial assistance to the British Chamber of Commerce, on the understanding that more substantial contributions are forthcoming from mercantile houses and shipowners. The latter, although apparently less directly interested, subscribe at present more than three times as much as the former, and the patriotism of both would certainly be stimulated if an example were set them by the authorities at home. Even the Treasury could surely afford to acquiesce in an expenditure of, say, from five to seven hundred pounds per annum, which, even if it were only granted for a short term of years, would materially assist to swell the volume of our trade.

It might be supposed that, if the justification and scope for intervention or assistance to trade by the British Government are small in the case of Turkey, they are still smaller in the case of Persia. Indian exporters have proved, as we have said, their capacity to compete unaided in the markets of Khorassan, despite the hostile tariff policy of Russia; and the statistics of our trade in the Gulf ports, where it enjoys a 'fair field,' present a very encouraging contrast to the conditions of stagnation, or even decline, which characterise our commercial relations with Turkey. For purposes of comparison we take the returns for the same period, adding also the figures relating to shipping.*

* The comparative figures of British shipping at Constantinople and the Persian Gulf are even more significant than those relating to trade, for while in the Gulf both the increase of our tonnage and its percentage of the total entered and cleared are satisfactorily maintained, at Constantinople our percentage of the carrying trade has dwindled from 75 per cent. in 1893 to 53 per cent. in 1900.

Year	Imports		Exports		Shipping	
	Total	From United Kingdom and India	Total	To United Kingdom and India	Total tonnage entered and cleared	From India
	£	£	£	£	£	£
1895 .	1,954,483	—	1,409,173	—	1,002,984	886,273
1896 .	1,721,002	1,259,563	1,185,731	624,575	937,099	771,938
1897 .	2,230,770	1,711,990	1,213,385	596,589	769,532	680,365
1898 .	2,091,224	1,534,574	1,273,770	630,762	765,888	666,533
1899 .	2,276,157	1,655,550	1,342,849	582,020	1,122,551	923,453
1900 .	2,873,485	1,822,930	2,087,714	908,858	—	—

It will be seen that the growth of our trade, under the head both of imports and of exports, has been fairly steady and continuous, and, but for exceptional circumstances, the totals in 1900 would have been considerably large. At Bushire our imports and exports rose from 840,363*l.* in 1899 to 1,284,127*l.* in 1900, and at Mohammerah and the Karun ports from 233,027*l.* to 332,729*l.* On the other hand, there was a substantial falling-off at Lingah, owing to a partial failure of the pearl fishery on the Arab coast; and at Bunder Abbas trade was brought to a standstill for some months by an unsuccessful attempt on the part of the merchants to boycott the Customs, which had recently been placed under Belgian control. Of the value of this control to the Persian Government and to ourselves, apart from the incidental advantage of preventing theft of goods and fraudulent evasions of duty at the ports, we gain a startling revelation by comparing the trade returns for recent years in the remote and, for us, least accessible province of Azerbaijan.

Year	Total imports	Imports from Great Britain.	Total exports	Exports to Great Britain
	£	£	£	£
1897–8 .	649,200	282,920	210,700	12,500
1898–9 .	682,330	297,300	219,930	18,000
1899–1900	723,174	—	316,304	—
1900–1 .	1,204,069	—	649,415	—

The figures of British imports and exports for the last two years are not specified in the Consular Reports. Assuming, however, that the relative proportions of 1898–9 were maintained in 1901, we may assign as our share of the imports 401,356*l.*, and of the exports 54,119*l.*—in other words, a gain in two years of no less than 140,175*l.* on a total of 315,300*l.*

In view of such conclusive testimony from the north-eastern and north-western, as well as from the southern, provinces, it is evident that so long, at all events, as Persia retains her independence we need not be greatly disturbed by the pessimistic and alarmist forecasts which are periodically hazarded about our trade. The maintenance of territorial integrity and the maintenance of the 'open door' are, we believe, synonymous and interdependent policies; and a transference of sovereignty would mean a curtailment of the facilities for trade and travel which we now enjoy in Persia, precisely analogous to that which has accompanied the occupation of Madagascar by the French and of Manchuria by the Russians. But the extension of foreign, even of non-British, influence at Teheran may be, as experience has proved in the case of the Belgians, actually beneficial to ourselves as well as to the Persian Government. It will only be harmful in so far as it is directed against the developement of the country and the opening and extension of its great trade arteries.

Against such influences we are bound to guard by every legitimate means in our power. We cannot, indeed, dictate to the Shah the terms upon which he may accept foreign loans; but we can refuse our assent to any mortgage which diminishes the value and security of our own interests in the property. For the next eight years he has surrendered his right to develope his own estates as he pleases, but the prospective injury which is thus inflicted on ourselves is *pro tanto* shared by all foreign clients, including the Russian creditors. Nor have we anybody to blame but ourselves for that result. We have shown an unmerited distrust of Persia ourselves, and, although our popularity with the natives was worth more to us than any trade monopoly, we took no steps to discourage concessions, in 1890, which we ought to have known would be distasteful to religious sentiment in Persia; and having entailed upon her, as compensation for the withdrawal of those concessions, a debt of half a million, at 6 per cent. interest, the instalments of which were punctually paid, we refused in 1898 to afford her the facilities for paying off her liabilities, which Russia at once hastened to volunteer. Before long even this temporary relief will have been exhausted; Persia will be obliged to apply for a new loan, and Russia will then be able to insist upon guarantees of a more onerous character, as the direct and inevitable result of the exclusion, in deference to our representations, of the Customs of Fars and the Persian

Gulf from the securities hypothecated to the service of the debt.

There is a great danger that the population may come to believe that British selfishness is causing the loss of their national independence; and it is a danger akin to one which is already staring us in the face in China, where the terrific burden imposed by the European indemnities will fall in great measure on the central and southern provinces, which had no part in the anti-foreign rising. We should keep this fact in mind whenever the question arises, as it probably will, of our consenting to a mortgage of the revenues of Southern Persia, or to a revision of the general Customs tariff. Our complaisance might fairly be made conditional on the grant of further facilities to European trade in general, without infringing Russia's monopoly of credit transactions, or her right to veto the construction of railways.

The most pressing requirements of our traders in Persia at the present moment may be summed up under two heads—the removal of natural and artificial obstacles to traffic and transport, and the establishment of competent courts of jurisdiction to settle debts and disputes without the irritating delay and expense at present involved in their constant reference to Teheran. Of the artificial impediments we need not say much. The extraordinary attempt made by the Russian Cossack officers in 1897, as related by Colonel Yate, to employ the quarantine regulations as a weapon for strangling the trade, by the Beluchistan route, between Persia and India will, we hope, not be repeated; for it would force to the front the question of the impartial employment in such posts of Europeans belonging to other nationalities. The only other grievance of which complaint has been made in the past, the irregular imposition of duties at the inland towns over and above the recognised 5 per cent. at the port of entry, has already been removed by the new Belgian administration. Natives have been put on the same footing as foreigners, a small road tax is the only extra impost levied, and all internal Customs and octrois have been abolished. The natural hindrances to traffic, however, remain unabated. It matters not, to quote Mr. Hogarth, that Yeza and Kerman may be starving, while surplus grain is rotting at Kermanshah. No attempt is made to open up new roads between important trade centres; the existing ones are left in hopeless disrepair; merchandise is exposed to the expense, uncertainty, and delay arising from the heavy and fluctuating

cost of transport, and the lawlessness of predatory tribes. Especially is this the case on the Bunder Abbas-Yezd-Kerman-Meshed road, by which India carries on an import and export trade with Persia to the amount of 180,445*l.* per annum. Since the close of the Sefavi dynasty, when the Bunder Abbas-Isfahan caravan route was abandoned for the new road from Bushire and Shiraz, by far the larger proportion of the Indian import trade which enters at Bunder Abbas passes to Meshed through Kerman.* The remaining 38,356*l.* which India sends to North-Western Persia follows the new road through Beluchistan, which is capable of almost indefinite developement, though it is doubtful whether it can ever compete on terms of equality with the more westerly route.† True, it has the advantage of securing through transport, and of avoiding the expenses of shipment at Karachi and change of hands in transit, and it passes for more than half the total distance through British territory. But the distance is considerably longer—1,092 miles, or fifty-four marches, as against 966 miles, or forty-six marches, from Bunder Abbas to Meshed—and the extra cost of railway carriage from Karachi to Quetta will always incline the balance in favour of the sea route. The chief value to ourselves of the Nushki route, or of any railway which may be built between Quetta and the Perso-Baluch border, would consist, partly in the opportunity which it would afford for military operations, and partly in its proximity to the markets, not of Khorassan, but of Sistan. At Kuh Malek Siah we should be already in touch with those markets from which Russia at her nearest point, Zulfikar, is separated by a distance of 300 miles; and although at present the resources of the country are small, their developement would be of very material importance to India. The supply of good and cheap remounts for native cavalry is a case in point. The fiscal policy of the late Amir and the rapacity

*142,099*l.* out of 204,305*l.* in 1900. The following is the relative order of importance, as regards import trade with the interior, in which the three southern ports stand to India: Bushire, 277,542*l.*; Bunder Abbas, 204,305*l.*; Mohammerah, 132,494*l.*

† The following are the figures of the trade (imports and exports) by the Nushki route for the last four years:—

	Lakhs.	Rupees.
April 1897 . . .	5	89,929
„ 1898 . . .	7	28,082
„ 1899 . . .	12	35,412
„ 1900 . . .	15	34,452

of Afghan chiefs have practically killed the trade in Persian horses between Meshed and Chaman, and Turkey has lately closed the great breeding-ground of the Tigris plains by prohibitive duties on the export of Arabs.* In these circumstances it is interesting to read Colonel Yate's testimony to the abatement of horse-sickness and fly-pest, and the consequent increase of breeding in Sistan. Furthermore, the fertility of the soil and its capacities under a more scientific system of drainage and irrigation in the basin of the Helmund are unquestionable; and with the improvement in climatic conditions which is already observable, there is no reason why Sistan should not provide the famine-stricken population of India with a granary as copious and as easily accessible as that which Russia already finds in the neighbouring province of Khorassan.

The extent to which we avail ourselves of these opportunities depends solely upon ourselves, since we do not require the permission of any other Power. But for the protection and improvement of the Bunder Abbas-Kerman and the Kuh Malek Siah-Birjand roads to Meshed we rely entirely on the good will or compliance of the Shah. Hitherto we have made no demands upon him at all comparable with those exacted by Russia. Two illustrations will suffice to mark the contrast between our respective policies. Whereas we pay a substantial subsidy on account of the telegraph lines, Russia makes no contribution whatever towards the upkeep of the Sarakhs-Meshed wire, which is of great service to her and entails heavy expense upon the Persian Government. Again, while Russia has compelled her neighbour to spend 30,000*l.* on the construction and maintenance of a road, which can be of service to none but herself, from Meshed *viâ* Kuchan in connection with her own road from the frontier to Askhabad, we have allowed traffic to be constantly impeded or stopped on the southern roads, which serve as avenues for Russian, quite as much as for British, trade to the markets of Yezd, Birjand, and Kerman. It is earnestly to be hoped that the Persian Government, if unable or unwilling itself to undertake the responsibility of improving and adequately policeing these roads, will be pressed to allow us a free hand in making

* Perhaps, as Mr. Hogarth ingeniously suggests, it is feared that the attempt now being made to restrict the migratory movements of the Kurdish nomads may diminish the supply of horses for military purposes, just as the conversion of the Bedawin into fellahin will diminish the supply of camels for transport.

arrangements, if we can, with the tribes of the South-East similar to those which have been made by Messrs. Lynch with the Bakhtiari tribes between Ahwaz and Isfahan. At the same time there is urgent need for the appointment of a large number of British agents in this quarter. Before 1889 Russia displayed no activity in South-Eastern Persia, but almost immediately after the establishment of her first Consul-General at Meshed in that year, she sent her emissaries to Birjand, Turbat i Haidari, and Kain, and even to Nasratabad, the capital of Sistan, subsidising native officials, and bidding for the political affections of a people whose Sunnite creed places them out of sympathy with their present rulers.

As a check upon this propaganda, and upon more overt acts of hostility to our trade-rights, it would be well if we had native agents and newswriters scattered throughout South-Eastern Persia, Sistan, and Khorassan, as well as duly accredited representatives permanently stationed at such centres as Yezd, Bunder Abbas, and Kerman. It is surely an example of parsimony, most discreditable to a rich nation like ours, that for eight years we should have consented to accept the services of a consul in Sistan without any salary at all!

When we contrast this attitude of neutrality, which can hardly be described as even 'benevolent,' with the hearty co-operation of political and individual effort exhibited in the cases of Germany and Russia, the marvel is that our own traders should be so little disheartened and display as much public spirit as they do. While the Germans in Anatolia, aided by diplomatic support, use their railway concessions to push, by means of a special staff, the import trade in agricultural goods and machinery, and to establish commercial agents in every district; while the Russians found banks in Azerbaijan with the special object of stimulating their export trade and obtaining mining and other rights, and in Ghilan construct a high-road to the capital, towards the cost of which the State subscribes more than twice as much as the merchants,* the British Government is content to be officially represented by unpaid volunteers, and, without any corresponding sacrifice, to profit by a liberality on the part of individual traders which is justified by political quite as much as by commercial considerations.

The enterprising firm of Messrs. Lynch, who conduct the steamer service of the Tigris and Karun in the face of con-

* 240,000*l.*, as against 100,000*l.*

tinuous and vexatious opposition, and without any assistance from the Government beyond a trifling postal subsidy, have during the last few years laboured, with some success and at considerable expense, to open out, by arrangements with the Bakhtiari tribes, a new land route of 266 miles between Isfahan and the upper waters of the Karun at Ahwaz. This already enables goods to be carried in fifteen days to Mohammerah, a saving of ten days on the old route of 458 miles across the rocky 'kotals' which lie between Shiraz and Bushire. From Ahwaz they can be taken by river to Shellalieh, near Shuster, and thence conveyed in six days by road to Khoremmabad, the Government headquarters of Luristan. Another three days would bring them to Burujird, within easy distance of Sultanabad, where they would strike the existing road, made by the Imperial Bank, to Kum and Teheran.

This would give us an easier and shorter alternative to the present routes, which run through Turkish territory *viâ* Erzerum or Van in the north, and between Bagdad and Kermanshah in the south. Traffic passed along the Dizful-Khoremmabad section for a few months in 1900, but was subsequently suspended owing to tribal raids; and unless a bargain can be made with the Lur chiefs, like that which has worked so well in the case of the Bakhtiaris, a most promising opening for trade will be lost. The cost of mule transport in the Dizful district is cheaper by one-third than in the eastern provinces, and both imports and exports are susceptible of great expansion. Already there is a marked increase in the cultivation of gum tragacanth and tobacco in the central and north-western districts, and the improved standard of comfort among the population of the Urmi and Salmas plains, including over 100,000 Nestorian and Armenian Christians, must enlarge the demand for Manchester and Sheffield wares, and for the sugar, which is now supplied almost exclusively by France, but may in future claim a larger degree of attention from the Indian planters.

We believe that if these results are to be secured the British Government must take a more active part than they have hitherto done. In the days when Great Britain and Turkey were on more cordial terms than they are now, it was our policy to rely on the Sultan's good offices for the protection of our trade with Persia. At our suggestion he constructed the road between Trebizond, Erzerum, and Bayazid, and it was partly in order to protect the frontier traffic that we interposed at San Stefano to compel the

restitution of the latter fortress by Russia. The result has not justified our expectations. The trade with Tabriz, valuable as it is, amounting to 700,000*l.* per annum, is nevertheless a diminishing one; the Van-Khoi route, which affords the readiest access to the Urmi plain from the central highlands of Armenia, is permanently blocked by the depredations of the Persian Shikkak Kurds; and the Black Sea route is liable to sudden and complete interruption in the event of hostilities. If, therefore, we are to maintain or strengthen our hold on Northern Persia, it must be by providing ourselves with a secure line of communication from the south; by bringing the hardy fighting tribes into relation not only with private firms, but with the British Government itself, and convincing them that in keeping faith with us they have the surest guarantee against any injustice which the Persian Government may be induced by foreign suggestion or pressure to attempt. The game which we have to play—the defensive policy of maintaining the *status quo*—is necessarily a difficult one, because the methods and direction of the attack are constantly varying. We can only hope to win it by opposing to the craven spirit and corruption of her statesmen the resolute pride and patriotism of Persia's natural defenders. Time will, no doubt, be required for such a task, infinite patience and toleration of native prejudice, loyal co-operation with every foreign agency which labours in the same cause as we. But the awakening of Persia, like the awakening of Japan, may be more sudden than we think. 'History,' says Lord Curzon, 'suggests that the Persians will insist upon surviving themselves: present indications that they will gradually absorb the accomplishments of others.' In any case our duty is plain. Self-reliance and self-respect, not the apathy and dependence of serfs; progress to a higher, not acquiescence in a degraded, ideal, are the results which we, of all other nations, are bound by our historic traditions to strive for and expect from that most wonderful event of the age in which we live—the blowing of the winds of Christendom over the dry bones of the East.

ART. VII.—1. *Letters of John Richard Green.* Edited by LESLIE STEPHEN. London: Macmillan & Co. 1901.

2. *A Short History of the English People.* London: Macmillan & Co. 1874.

3. *History of the English People.* 4 vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877–80.

4. *The Making of England.* London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

5. *The Conquest of England.* London: Macmillan & Co. 1883.

6. *Stray Studies from England and Italy.* London: Macmillan & Co. 1876.

7. *Studies in Oxford History.* By the Rev. JOHN RD. GREEN, M.A., and the Rev. GEO. ROBERSON, M.A. Oxford: 1901.

THE publication of John Richard Green's letters after nearly twenty years does not come too late to awaken the recollection of his remarkable personality. The writer of the 'Short History of the English People' had a considerable influence in directing and educating the thought of the English people during the last quarter of the nineteenth century; and though modern memories are short, and even the work of history is often only less ephemeral than the monthly or weekly article on the subject, the 'Short History' sells by thousands yearly, and is not likely to be superseded soon. And in Green's case, when we take into account the facts of the writer's struggle in the race with the short time allotted to him for giving his knowledge to the world, the book has been the man, as the saying goes, and the man the book, in a special manner, the one helping us to know the other. Now, the portrait drawn by Mr. Stephen in the inter-chapters published with the letters, presents him vividly before our minds. The letters are accompanied by an interesting comment on the literary and religious history of the day; and it is hardly necessary to add that Mr. Stephen has done both portrait and comment as well as it was possible to do them.

Johnny Green—the familiar name is an indication of the man; we could not 'frame to pronounce' 'Ned Freeman' or 'Will Stubbs'—is one of those letter-writers who wrote without any thought of personal dignity or historical pose. He wrote as a friend to friends, a comrade to comrades. The letters are written from day to day, with no thought of a possible public, no reserve, no modelling of style, no self-consciousness; they contain jokes, puns, trivialities,

even bits of childishness and immature taste. But as they have been given us by Mr. Stephen they are a truthful picture of the whole man; and we believe no one will read them without feeling admiration for the genius and affection for the character of the writer. Green, as we see him here, was a warm and constant friend, a lover of men and women, a philanthropist and socialist, a devout Christian, besides being a scholar and a man of genius. His letters may not be so rich and individual as Edward FitzGerald's, nor so witty and delicious as Charles Lamb's, nor so universal as Byron's; as letters, they take a second rank, but as a personal portraiture they satisfy all ideals. His talk must have been like these letters; vivid (Tennyson's epithet), tender, audacious, paradoxical, combative, playing with high subjects without bringing them down to a lower level, and as versatile as serious: just what we should expect from a man who was as alive with humour as he was convinced of the grave reality of life. Green was not a genius of the first order: but in all that he said and wrote is the *quality* of genius, which differs, as he knew, from the quality of talent or of ability.* Peel was a man of ability, Pitt a man of talent, Gladstone and Disraeli men of genius: what differences these words denote! The quality of genius may be discerned in men so different from each other in nature and scale as Scott, Leigh Hunt, Stevenson, and Thackeray; there is something which separates them from other men; and though this quality tempers Green's clay in a different proportion from that of Byron, it marks him off no less from other men, even from men whom he reverenced as his superiors, such as Stubbs and Freeman. Froude, whom he detested, and Kingsley, whom he undervalued, had it too.

It was a misfortune to Green that, being the son of a robe-maker at Oxford and connected with tradespeople in the town, he was brought up, first at Magdalen School, and then at a college which suited him so ill as Jesus. It made him feel his plebeian origin, and set up in him an antagonism to his surroundings. He would have been better off at Balliol, as regards his University life, or better still at Cambridge, where he would have had a clear start, and would not have been teased with self-consciousness, the bane of sensitive

* 'You defined "genius" when here as a peculiar aptitude for a certain branch of study. Pardon me, that is talent. Genius is a much higher thing: the power of bending circumstances to our will. . . . Suppose we go in then for genius, not talent?' (P. 113.)

natures. He loved Oxford as a town, not as a University. He rebelled against University methods, and would not read for honours; he felt himself unappreciated and despised; and though he rose above such feelings, they stunted him and inclined him to misanthropy. He wrote to Dean Stanley in 1863:—

'I came up to Oxford a hard reader and a passionate High Churchman. Two years of residence left me idle and irreligious. Partly from ill-health, partly from disgust at my college, I had cut myself off from society within or without it. I rebelled doggedly against the system around me. I would not work, because work was the Oxford virtue. I tore myself from history, which I loved, and plunged into the trifles of archæology, because they had no place in the University course.' (P. 17.)

The 'Sermon on Work' which he found in Stanley's lectures converted him—*mutatus Polemo*. 'I took up my old 'boy-dreams—history—I think I have been a steady worker 'ever since.'

He did not, however, forgive his college, in which he found but one like-minded friend, Boyd Dawkins, the sharer of his most intimate thoughts: he found friendship and appreciation outside its walls, and was saved from bitterness by Freeman, Boyd Dawkins, Bryce, and Stubbs, who revealed to him his large capacity for friendship. When his choice of a profession brought him into contact with the realities of squalid life, when he had to do with drink, penury, prostitution, and crime, he became a lover of his kind and learnt the meaning of the Christian life. He felt from his earliest years that history was his final vocation, but turned from books to life; and the heroism which was a characteristic element in his nature was developed by the dull drudgery of everyday duty in a London parish, which taught him the *nil alienum* of humanity.

Here, too, the love of family life and the society of friends, which his domestic circumstances at Oxford had not done enough to develope, found its opportunity in the welcome given him by the family of Mr. Ward, his vicar, and the Von Glehns, at Sydenham. How much his life was cheered and encouraged and his intellectual sympathies answered by the friendship of Mr. and Mrs. Ward, their son Humphrey and his wife, Mrs. Creighton and her sister, Miss von Glehn, and the friends he met at their houses, the correspondence gives abundant and happy evidence. Henceforward he was 'rich in friends,' as those only can be who know the value of such riches. Busy as his life always was, parish duty and historical study did not make him forgetful

of the large public questions of the day. Among these, as we have seen, social problems occupied much of his thoughts; but he also took an active interest, though no very active part, in politics generally. He was an insatiable reader of newspapers. He uttered his first warning note against war in some rather impatient verses written against the Volunteer movement. He was 'German to the core' in the war of 1870, but thought the claim to Alsace 'revolting'; on which subject he wrote to Freeman (with astonishing freedom), 'The truth is, you care a good deal for freedom in the 'past, but in the present you hate France more than you 'love liberty.' Bismarck and himself, he said, were the only pro-Germans who wished to leave Alsace alone.

In 1868 he writes eagerly about the General Election of that year. In 1876 he joined the 'Eastern Question Asso-'ciation,' founded 'to oppose the warlike tendencies of the 'Conservative Ministry.' 'He was the first Home Ruler I 'every saw,' says Mr. Bryce; sympathising warmly with the sentiment of Irish nationality. 'A nation is something 'real, which can be neither made nor destroyed.'

It is an insoluble question whether the world loses or gains more by the diversion of such writers as Stubbs, Lightfoot, and Creighton from the path of history into the absorbing duties of a bishopric. Gardiner would not be even a professor, nor Erasmus a cardinal; and Gibbon and Macaulay preferred learned leisure—that is to say, ceaseless labour—to the prizes of a political life. One would be tempted to think Green, too, thrown away on the details of parochial life; but there is no reason to believe that Green himself thought so. He plunged into parish life with the eagerness which distinguished everything he did, 'doing it with his might.' He never was tempted to think himself too good for his work. The schools and the house-to-house visiting interested him, it may be, more than the Sunday work, but all the parish organisation was valuable in his eyes. He looked upon a parish as a piece of English life with a unity and life of its own, and, though he complained that the parson could never get to the real life of the poor—'their 'life is not his life, nor their ways his ways' (p. 68)—he gave them the best of his time and care, and nearly all the 300*l.* a year which his living was worth. Above all, he was always happy with the children.

'They laugh with me, romp with me, steal my watch, run away with my sixpences, absorb my time, tyrannise over all my old bachelor habits, bid me "put down my book," and it is put down;

"talk," and I abandon my loved silences; "play," and I play. . . . And out of all this comes a happy, most happy, Christmas.' (P. 116.)

Mr. Stephen quotes the following from a review of Edward Denison's letters: *—

'A vicar's Monday morning is never the pleasantest of awakenings, but the Monday morning of an East end vicar brings worries that far eclipse the mere headache and dyspepsia of his rural brother. It is the "parish morning." All the complicated machinery of a great ecclesiastical, charitable, and educational organisation has got to be wound up afresh, and set going for another week. The superintendent of the Women's Mission is waiting with a bundle of accounts, complicated as only ladies' accounts can be. The churchwarden has come with a face full of gloom to consult on the falling-off of the offertory. . . . The organist drops in to report something wrong with the pedals. . . . The nurse brings her sick-list and her little bill for the sick-kitchen. . . . There is the interest on the penny bank to be calculated, a squabble in the choir to be adjusted, a district visitor to be replaced, reports to be drawn up for the Bishop's Fund and a great charitable society, the curates' sick-list to be inspected, and a preacher to be found for the next church festival.' (P. 57.)

This is one side of the picture; but when we read that 'his preaching and his earnest and reverent reading of the 'Church Service left a permanent impression upon many 'hearers' (p. 58), and that he filled the empty church of St. Philip's, Stepney, with a congregation of eight hundred; that he anticipated in his own sphere of action the principles soon afterwards accepted by the Charity Organisation Society (p. 56), and worked hand-in-hand with Edward Denison in carrying them out; that he set up a literary society in his parish, and gave much pains to annotating and rewriting the essays of working men; that he found 'the most polished gentleman here in a pork-butcher's shop, 'and the most learned scholar' in the parish clerk; that he was beloved by children and young people—it is impossible to wish that his life had been spent between the Bodleian and his college rooms. He would have written more history, but his moral nature might have been starved. He himself says:—

'Something, which I know I must resist like grim death, is constantly bidding me isolate myself among my books, and leave the world to drift as it will.' (P. 153.)

'His labours in the East-end,' says the Editor,

'as he often himself remarked, had an important bearing upon his literary work. His sympathies with human beings were strengthened;

* See 'A Brother of the Poor' in 'Stray Studies,' p. 11.

and the history might have been written in a very different tone had the writer passed his days in academical seclusion. His interest in the welfare of the masses, and his conviction that due importance should be given to their social condition, determined a very important peculiarity of the work.' (P. 59.)

No part of Green's life is more admirable than his clerical work in London. Besides the ordinary duty of a London clergyman, which gave him scant time for work at the British Museum, work not only congenial and desirable, but necessary for the 'Saturday Review' articles by which he made his living, he set going or supported various schemes for clerical union, a Clerical Liberal Association, an organ of Liberal religious opinions, and a Curates' Clerical Club ('C.C.C.'), at the meetings of which Maurice, Stanley, and other leaders 'occasionally looked in' (p. 70). But his character came out most finely in an outbreak of cholera at Stepney in 1866. 'Within an hour of the first seizure in 'his parish, Green himself,' says Mr. Gell, 'met the dying 'patients in the London Hospital, and thenceforward, while 'the plague lasted, Green, like other clergy in the parishes 'attacked, worked day and night amidst the panic-stricken 'people, as officer of health, inspector of nuisances, ambu-'lance superintendent' (p. 55), chafing the limbs of the dying with his own hands, helping to carry the sick into hospital and remove the dead from infected houses; and by cheerfulness and persuasion encouraging the living to live, never sparing himself for all his weak health, and 'showing 'no alarm except for his friends.'

Such was his clerical career. Without it his life might have been longer, and his contribution to English history would have been more bulky, perhaps not more valuable. We return to make a few remarks on the other side of his clerical career—his position as a Liberal clergyman.

If Green had been born a few years earlier, he would probably have remained contentedly in the ministry of the Church of England; if he had been born a few years later, he would not have taken Orders. The moment on which he lighted was the parting of the ways. He was ordained deacon in 1860, and worked as a clergyman till 1869, when growing doubts of his fitness to officiate in a dogmatic Church caused him to accept the post of Librarian at Lambeth, offered to him by his friend Archbishop Tait. If we look back five years before the earlier of these dates, we find that in 1855 Lewes's 'Life of Goethe,' Robertson's 'Sermons,' and Stanley's 'Sinai and Palestine' were pub-

lished, in 1857 appeared Buckle's 'History of Civilization,' in 1859 Darwin's 'Origin of Species,' in 1860 'Essays and 'Reviews,' in 1862 Colenso's 'Pentateuch' and 'Joshua' and Spencer's 'First Principles,' in 1863 Huxley's 'Man's 'Place in Nature,' Renan's 'Vie de Jésus,' and Stanley's 'Jewish Church,' in 1864 Newman's 'Apologia' and Strauss's 'New Life of Jesus,' in 1865 Lecky's 'History of 'Rationalism,' in 1869 Arnold's 'Culture and Anarchy.' The air was full of polemical and provocative literature. No intelligent young man could go through Oxford or Cambridge without being affected by the spirit of inquiry, unless he joined one of the two obscurantist camps. No candidate for Orders could escape the new methods of interpretation, nor could any clergyman who read the papers and the current books and magazines fail to be aware that a change was coming over the Church, even if he thought that it would pass away. Uncertainty about the future, a generous sympathy with the clergy who were molested for unorthodox utterances, an honourable, if too scrupulous, respect for the meaning of pledges and subscriptions, kept many of the keenest minds out of the ministry. Young Oxford was more defiant than young Cambridge; but a flood of unbelief burst on both Universities, and hardly now are the tops of the mountains seen. It was a bad time for taking Orders, and a difficult time for those who had taken Orders and now found themselves in sympathy with the Liberal movement in theology.

According to his own account (p. 21), he took Orders in 'a fit of religious enthusiasm.' 'The fit,' says Mr. Stephen, 'seems to have been very genuine and lasting.'

There were, however, difficulties to be met at the outset. He was no longer a High Churchman. He had steeped himself in geology and Darwinism. 'Smash Darwin! 'Smash the Pyramids!' he exclaimed, on the occasion of the famous encounter between Huxley and Wilberforce, in which the Bishop got the worse of the argument, but the bad manners were about equally divided between the combatants. Just before his ordination he reads 'Goethe and 'Schiller, instead of Paley and Pearson—I know from which 'one learns the *truest* theology.' Indeed, he refused to read the 'Evidences' and Pearson 'On the Creed,' and his substitution of 'Horæ Paulinæ' for the former, at Stanley's suggestion, was not accepted by Tait. 'Oh, Stanley, 'Stanley!' cried the Bishop, and sent Green back (p. 23).

It must have been clear to himself as well as to others

that he was not going to be an orthodox clergyman. He was ostensibly an Evangelical—that is to say, he was the curate of an Evangelical vicar; but in fact he belonged neither to High Church nor Low Church, and felt isolated.

'Highs and Lows have their gatherings, their conferences; know one another, comfort one another, strengthen one another. But the Liberal must eat the bread of solitude! He has no gathering, no Margaret Street, no Exeter Hall. There may be, must be, other heretics in the world, but he does not know them, and he has no means of knowing them.' (P. 70.)

He writes to Boyd Dawkins, five months after taking Deacon's Orders:—

'Pardon my little sermon, dear Dax, it is preached rather to myself than to you. It is really preached at my anxieties about the future of my opinions—church-theories and the like. Where am I drifting to? Will not the stone fall some day on me? These are the questions which will rise up. To work fearlessly, to follow earnestly after Truth, to rest with a childlike confidence in God's guidance, to leave one's lot willingly and heartily to Him—this is my sermon to myself. . . . While we remain mere ministers of the Church of England we must be afraid of our neighbour's ill-will, of accusations of atheism, of "ignorant bishops"; but once become a minister of the Church Eternal, and the cry of controversy falls unheeded on ears that are deaf to all but the Heavenly harpings around the Throne. Of course this is what people are ready to sneer at—mysticism. But in the union of Mysticism with freedom of thought and inquiry will, I am persuaded, be found the faith of the future.' (Pp. 77–80)

And, again, a year later (November 4, 1862):—

'I see storms ahead. The rumours of Maurice's rejection of clerical preferment have set me thinking—thinking. There are clearly two errors to be avoided. (1) Remaining in a ministry without holding the prescribed doctrines of that ministry. (2) The opposite one of exaggerating one's own variance of opinion from the prescribed formularies. And there are two great principles to be kept in mind. (1) To remain in the ministry of the Church of England so long as by doing so one is helping to broaden its sphere of thought. (2) To quit it the moment continuance within it tends to narrow one's own.'

And a year later still:—

'*I* see no limit to this progress in "religion." It is in the very idea of progress that my faith, my deep and intense faith, in Christianity, rests. Like you I see other religions . . . doing their part in the education of the human race. And I see the race advancing beyond the faiths that instructed it, so that at each great advance of human thought a religion falls dead and vanishes away. And I judge that this must ever be a condition of human progress, except some religion appear

which can move forward with the progress of man. There comes a religion which does this. Take your Gibbon and test what I say. The fresh sons of the Germanic forests break in upon effete Rome—and all perishes of Rome save this. Christianity assumes new forms and a new life, and moulds this chaos into the world of the Middle Ages. . . . And then the Middle Ages vanish away, and the World of our day emerges from the Reformation, and Christianity takes new forms and infuses a new life into the new phase of humanity. . . . And now human thought makes each hour advances such as it has never made before; and Christianity, spiritualised and purified by the wider demands made upon it, is ready to meet and satisfy them all. . . . The Sermon on the Mount is a succession of "impossible precepts." They are all summed up in a precept still more impossible: "Be ye perfect, even as your Father in Heaven is perfect." And so it must ever keep ahead of man. If there be any truth in our veriest instincts God must ever be beyond us, beyond our power, our knowledge, our virtue.' (P. 118.)

He writes to Freeman in 1866:—

'. . . My view of the Creeds is this. I am definitely asserting my belief, i.e. trust, faith in a Living Being. I go on to repeat certain historic statements about him which may (or may not) be affected by critical research, which are subjects of intellectual credence and not of religious faith. I repeat them—as I repeat phrases in the prayers—as I read publicly legends from the Bible—as I repeat damnatory psalms; that is, I take them as parts of old formularies whose literal accuracy may pass away, or whose tone may now jar against the Christian consciousness, but which have still an ideal truth, embody a great doctrine, continue the train of Christian tradition. Thought will be always altering—we cannot be always altering our formularies—and so (if we are to retain formularies at all) there will always be a break and dissonance between the two. But men take things in the rough. (P. 164.)

After the judgement in the case of 'Essays and Reviews' in 1864, he writes:—

'The sum of all the decisions is . . . this—that there remains now in the Church of England's formularies nothing to restrain freedom of thought. Of course different people will view this discovery in very different ways; very few probably but will feel dismay at an experiment which no Church has tried before, that of teaching without any authoritative standard of doctrine—or rather with standards, but such as do not fix or determine the questions of the present or of the future.

'If I do not share these fears, if I exult at the destiny which God has given to the Church which I love—it is simply because I believe in the Inspiration of the Church, in its guidance by the Spirit of God.'

He goes on to say that he looks for this guidance

'not surely in the decision of Churches, for they vary,' . . . but in 'the general voice of the Church, the public opinion of Christendom.'

. . . 'That these "voices of the Church" do not point in a doctrinal direction, but in directions moral, social, political, intellectual, is a fact well worth noting. . . . The history of the Church is the record of its education by the Spirit of God.'

His thought, put shortly, is this: the clergy are not the Church; clerical dogmatism is as obsolete as clerical domination; the clergy must follow Christian public opinion, not try to force it, and not be afraid of science, or history, or criticism. A new Reformation was beginning, and the Church of England should be on the side of the reforming agencies. This was the church of his dreams: who can say whether it is nearer in view now than forty years ago? At any rate, the Church of England has not yet set her face against the new Reformation.

We have no detailed record of the doubts and difficulties which led to Green's giving up his parish. His position was that of complete agreement with the 'extreme left wing,' the advanced neologians, and at the same time of sympathy with the Established Church, the Church of English history. He had no taste for polemics, theological or historical, and never engaged in controversy, whether from love of peace or conviction of its uselessness, certainly not from lack of pugnacity or courage. He did not wish to give up parish work, though it became clearer every year that his health was breaking under the strain, and his conscience did not call upon him to 'come out.'

'I have a great wish' (he writes to Edward Denison in January, 1869) 'not to part cable altogether; the hold the Church has over me, however slight, is a really healthy hold to a mind like mine. Moreever, I have still a great faith in the capacity of "Ecclesia Anglicana" to meet the *national* requirements of England in a way that no sectional action can do.'

This letter, written within three months of giving up his parish, shows that he still thought his position tenable; but it is probable that desire for leisure in which he could make use of his stores of historical learning may have combined with failing health to make the change welcome. He was never a denier or a detractor, and the national Church and the Christian religion were dear to him to the end of his life.

At the same time (we quote Mr. Stephen, p. 71),

'he was keenly alive to the danger of being tempted by his position into insincerity. His genuine affection for the Church, as well as his main material interests, might betray him in that direction. He resolved that if he should be at any time unable to use the words of the Litany—"Christ, have mercy upon us"—with perfect sincerity, he

would abandon the clerical character. When the time came he acted upon his resolution.'

Green's retirement from clerical life to the Library at Lambeth took place without any violent rendings or uprootings, but rather as a natural change, not wished for by him, but also not regretted.

He writes to Professor Boyd Dawkins, April 24, 1869 :—

'My dear Dax, . . . I hardly know myself as yet whether I am on my head or my heels. It is so odd to be without a parish, without a parsonage, without a hundred bothers, interruptions, quarrels, questions to decide, engagements to recollect, lectures to compose, visits to make, sermons to plan, &c., &c. Then, too, the quiet of the Lambeth Library is like still waters after the noise of the East. I enjoy even the cleaner streets, and above all my morning's trot through the parks. It is such a change, too, to get a chat when one likes, to be able to get a peep at good pictures, and to have one's mind free for the things one cares about.'

For the remainder of his short life Green was a historian and nothing else; fighting with indomitable courage and persistency against pain and weakness, and never ceasing to work till within a few weeks of his death, when he could no longer hold a pen and could hardly dictate.

His literary ambition always took a wide range. Before he left Oxford he had contemplated a history of the Archbishops of Canterbury. Then he was to be the historian, not of the Church, but of England. (P. 103.) Next, he would write, in company with his friend Boyd Dawkins, a history of Somersetshire. Then it was to be England under the Angevin kings. The occasion of his beginning the book which was to begin and end his fame, the 'Short History,' was a visit to Sir Andrew Clark, whose account of his state of health was so serious that Green 'resolved to set down a 'few notions which he had conceived concerning history, 'which might serve as an introduction to better things if 'he lived, and might stand for some work done if he did 'not.'*

Sir Andrew Clark's verdict was, in fact, a sentence of death. Though Green lived thirteen years after it, they were years in which he could never count upon doing a day's work in a day, when he had to live by rule, avoid all risks, and do his work in pain and weariness, and away from libraries and fellow-workers, in Continental hotels and hired rooms at San Remo and Capri. Though he could not foresee this,

* Mrs. Green's Introduction to 3rd Edition, p. xviii.

he learnt enough of his state of health to know that he must not expect many years of activity. A choice had to be made. The work which stood first in his ambition was a history of the Angevin kings of England and their predecessors the Counts of Anjou. Whilst writing this he hoped to keep himself independent—he had no private fortune—by writing for the 'Saturday Review.' But when he found how seriously his health was threatened he changed his plan. The Angevin book might have given him a higher standing among historians as an addition to the sum of historical knowledge. But someone else might write it. His own reading and observation, concentrated in certain periods, had extended over the whole field of English history, and gave him a right to generalise, and his consciousness of possessing an attractive style encouraged him to hope that he would find readers among the English people of whom and for whom he wrote.

He proposed to himself to write, in the intervals of illness and with comparatively little help from books, a complete history of England, or rather to rewrite the history of England on a new plan. So audacious a design alarmed his friends; but he persevered, and his reward was a literary success only to be compared with that of Macaulay's history.

Possibly 'short' histories of England, France, Greece, and Rome ought not to be written at all, and it would be better that historians should confine themselves to smaller portions of time, and confess that the day of comprehensive histories is gone by. But, as Professor Stubbs reminded his hearers, 'without due scale and proportion the reader' (and how much more the writer!) 'of history must be cautious, 'lest, having begun . . . at the Norman Conquest, we find 'ourselves stranded at the battle of Waterloo or earlier still.'* Green observed due scale and proportion, at the cost, it is true, of more minute study; he counted the cost, and did well in paying it. Literature gains at the expense of research, and we think the sacrifice is worth the cost. He could not have written his book except so, and no one else could have written it.

We are not to suppose that his studies of English history began now. He had been studying it all his life; and, with his clear conceptions of what he knew, and vast stores of historical reading arranged in his mind and preserved by a capacious and accurate memory, he could almost have sat

* Lectures on History.

down and dictated without books a history which would have needed nothing but revision. His habit of localising history, so that the thought of a town or a county would suggest to him its complete history, gave him a double hold upon facts, and lighted them up with the 'picturesqueness' at which some would sneer, but which was great part of his power, and perhaps his most individual characteristic. To be picturesque and nothing more was justly contemned by Stubbs,* but to be both sound and picturesque was a rare power, and one which he put to the best use. Facts are as incoherent as gravel, if they are not bound together by the cement of human interest and the sequence and growth of varying conditions which make them into history. Green never forgot the organic character of history. The fault of his style is a uniformity, sometimes almost a monotony, of picturesqueness; there are not enough *longueurs* to throw the vivid portions into relief, and we sometimes feel a fatigue like that which is experienced in turning over the pages of a picture-book. This is partly owing to the extraordinary fulness and compression of his work. He could not bear to omit what had seemed to him interesting and important in the course of his reading. This may be readily understood by comparing the 'Short History' with Goldwin Smith's recent book, which covers the same tract of time, but gives a greater impression of unity, and is read with more ease, because it has more relief and variety, and because the style has more literary ease and owes less to the writer's personality. 'Readability,' Green tells us, was what he studied in the first place, and he achieved it. But it is easier to read Goldwin Smith through than Green; and the cause is that the one taxes the memory more than the other, and demands concentration of attention as well as nimbleness of apprehension.

Some of his friends who saw the work in progress doubted of its success. They wanted a narrative in chronological sequence. Green saw that real history, as acted in the stage of the world, has a dramatic character. To his mind, the contest between royal and papal authority in England was a chapter in the history of the popes, and the struggle for investitures in other countries made the position of Henry II. and Becket intelligible; whilst the single combat between these protagonists had an epic and dramatic grandeur. The history of chivalry was not to be understood by a series of

* Lectures.

tournaments and pageants. It was mixed up with the political and ecclesiastical condition of Europe, with the social condition of the noble and plebeian orders in England, the contest between king and barons, the tenure of land, the interaction of English and Norman law, the contemporary literature. The wars of the Roses were not merely a story of bloody battles and inhuman butcheries: they were the outcome of a series of social and material changes, the recrudescence of private war among a baronage brutalised by the French wars, the abuse of ransoms, the licence of great lords setting themselves above a weak central power and surrounding themselves with little armies of retainers, the holding of castles, the stealing of lands, the defiance of justice, the provincial jealousies of North and South among the lords of the Palatine counties, the Marchers, and the great commercial centres; the decay of the clerical order, the conversion of cornland into pasture, and many other social causes which provided a *nidus* in which the rival Houses of York and Lancaster rose and fell; till the destruction of the baronage enabled Edward IV. to grasp all power in his hand and crush the liberties of England, so hardly won by the people, and so loyally respected by the Lancastrian kings. Each act of the drama of English history is conceived in the same spirit; and the titles given to its successive acts, 'The Great Charter,' 'The Hundred 'Years' War,' 'The New Monarchy,' &c., which may sometimes seem fantastic, denote true if not exhaustive divisions of the history.

Much was said at the time of the publication about 'inaccuracy.' According to Mr. Bryce (p. 387), Green ranks for accuracy as equal to Macaulay and between Grote and Milman. Ranke and Thirlwall, Gibbon and Carlyle are in a class by themselves. Froude, we suppose, is nowhere, and Freeman, we guess, would top the list. What estimate of the value of accuracy is deducible from this? Accuracy in facts and dates may be of the highest importance, and may be of very little importance. It is comparatively unimportant if it does not interfere with right judgement of proportions, or turns cause into effect. For instance, it matters if a confusion of dates makes us think that Napoleon's march to Austerlitz, consequent on the failure of his invasion of England, was brought about (as many people think) by the battle of Trafalgar, which was fought some months later; it matters little whether the Great Charter was signed on June 15 or July 15, or Austerlitz

fought at the end of November or on December 2, though it is odd that Green should not have known two such famous dates. Froude's ignorance of the Latin name of Lisieux, which gave Freeman intense pleasure for twenty years, was of no matter whatever; his misdating of 'Moriae 'Encomium,' which, according to him, was published before it was conceived, disturbs the relations between Erasmus and More. Suppression or ignorance of prominent facts is a different thing from 'inaccuracy' in details, and should not be confounded with it.

Can instances be found where Green's inaccuracy made him ascribe events to wrong causes or mistake characters? If not, the less said about it the better. Bishop Stubbs's verdict on the work as a whole is this: 'Like other people, 'he made mistakes sometimes; but scarcely ever does the 'correction of his mistakes affect either the essence of the 'picture or the force of the argument'; and in such matters Stubbs speaks *ex cathedrâ*.

But when the 'Quarterly' accuses him of exaggerating the desolation of the land which the Saxons invaded, and asks what had become of the Roman settlement, and where were the Britons both before and after the invasion, the accusation is serious. Probably Green exaggerated; but where there are no documents knowledge is a balance of conjectures, and there is evidence that the Roman occupation affected little but the towns, that the Roman towns with their organisation were much decayed, and that the conquest was carried on much after the manner of the Hebrew conquest of the Holy Land. Many of the Britons, no doubt, survived as serfs, but the organisation of the land under Roman rule did not affect the conquerors as it did in the settled communities of Gaul and Germany. Roman law and civilisation and Celtic Christianity were as if they had not been.

Again, Green probably overrates the power of the House of Commons in Lancastrian times. The Lords overshadowed them; the Commons came into Parliament at first only to determine with what sauce they should be eaten—*i.e.*, what taxes they should pay, and how, not whether, they should be taxed for the king's pleasure; and the revived power of the obedient Houses of the Tudor period was a different thing from the parliamentarianism of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But Green's presentment of the subject helps to right the balance. Again, his treatment of the Great Rebellion is wrong, if it leads us to think that Pym was merely a restorer of ancient liberties

annulled by Edward IV. and Henry VII.—but, for all that, it was a return to a developement which would have brought about a similar result to that of 1640 if the baronage had not been destroyed during the Wars of the Roses. A 'picturesque' treatment has its dangers, and Green did not always preserve a judicial temper; he was, as Mr. Bryce confesses, stronger in perception than in judgement; but he was right in the main, and later writers have not upset him.

Mr. Rowley, in 'Fraser,' fired broadsides into him all along the line, and undoubtedly did him some damage. He showed that Green had ignored or missed one of Alfred's chief battles, Ashdown. He pointed out in several instances that he had a weaker hold of contemporary chronology than of historical sequence—seeing history, as it were, rather down the page than across it, a habit especially dangerous to a writer who discarded a set chronology. He was wrong about Vimiera and Cintra. He quoted poetry from memory and did not verify. He confused Swale in Kent with Swale in Yorkshire, Hugh Latimer with a less-known namesake, one William of Orange with another. An American reviewer finds him imperfectly informed about American affairs, and hints that other specialists might find the same in other fields.

These, and many like them, are serious blemishes, all the more because Green's facts are mostly significant, and are told in relation to the facts, and thus his conclusions are liable to be invalidated by unsound premisses. Most of the mistakes, however, could be, and have been, corrected in later editions. In some cases Green proved himself right by revealing some fact unknown to the critic, on which his conclusion was founded. But the number of inaccuracies in such a work was bound to be large. Little harm is done if the history itself is true. Green's readers may have got from him some unverified theories, and learnt to overvalue some items in the sum of English history and to undervalue others. Freeman is a safer guide for facts, and Stubbs for theories. But Freeman leaves off in the twelfth century and Stubbs in the fifteenth, and few readers survive to his third volume. No single history can be a final authority. 'Regular' histories, like those of Bright and Gardiner, must be read by the side of Green. The 'Short History' was never meant, as the 'Quarterly' thought, to supersede all school histories. It

is uneven and not wholly impartial; it shows traces of having been written against time. But if the boys and girls of to-day grow up believing that the history of the English before the Conquest is that of our own nation, not of some semi-foreign race, that the Norman reigns brought England into the commonwealth of Europe and founded the mediæval Church, that the origins of law, constitution, and administration are to be found in those of the Anglo-Saxons, that the enfranchisement of the labourer was helped forward by the Black Death, that the English long-bow created the yeomanry, that the Reformation was not produced by Henry VIII.'s matrimonial failures but was a part of a European movement, that the Great Rebellion was not an accidental quarrel between Charles and Cromwell but a necessary stage in national developement, that Dissent is at once a blot upon Church history and a step forward in the history of freedom, that the history of Ireland is as much to our shame as that of India is to our credit, no small part of this is the direct result of the popularity of Green's 'Short History'; and 'grave' historians might have laboured in many volumes without effecting so much. The best criticism of the book is given in his own words, 'A short book need not be shallow, and 'a large book need not be big.' (P. 249.)

The 'Short History' professes to be, and is, a history of the English people. It is a democratic history, and has a liberal bias; it is a secular history, and has an anti-clerical bias; it is a social and economical history, and has a bias against the 'pragmatic' historians, who treat history as if it was made in chancelleries, board-rooms, and the closets of kings and ministers; it is a peace history, and dislikes drum and trumpet, and it puts statesmen and bookmen above soldiers and sailors. But who cares to read a book without a bias, whether its subject be history or philosophy? If such a book exists it was stillborn.

The miracle of the 'Short History' is that it was written in five years of distressing illness, when hours given to work had to be weighed against the imperative claims of health; often away from libraries and in the discomfort of exile; and that, notwithstanding these difficulties, the careful revision of it for the 'History' published in 1877–1880 left the work, in its general scope and outline, much as it was conceived from the first. It should also be reckoned to Green's credit that he was never satisfied with his writing, and that what reads so freshly was often written and

re-written five or six times, nay, even ten times, so careful was he of workmanship.

The love of towns was one of Green's earliest feelings. And the Oxford papers are interesting in this respect, as well as intrinsically, though they fall short of his mature style, and are somewhat sketchy and fragmentary. They reflect his way of thinking and learning, proceeding from known to unknown; and where should he begin better than at home? He belonged to Oxford, both as University man and townsman, but the town had his sympathy, not his stepmother, the Welsh college. 'He was,' says Freeman,* 'a born citizen of Oxford,' and he bore a grudge against the University because it had swallowed up the liberties of the town and its *bourgeoisie*, to which his own family belonged. He loved to follow the strife of town and gown, continued through the centuries, to people the familiar streets with mediæval and eighteenth-century figures, to see the well-known buildings rise to meet successive national needs, fortress, minster, convent, and college. Archæology with him always expanded into history. All his history was set in a local frame, and this gives it a charm of its own as well as individuality and thoroughness; for to look at a subject at a different angle from other people raises and urges problems which the follower of an approved method does not always observe. He taught Freeman his method—which, after all, was *interrogare naturam*, and no novelty—and practised it with him in journeys through France and Italy, in visits at Somerleaze, and during the Somersetshire archæological excursions, in which he took so much pleasure, as he studied new streets and buildings, and turned to his own use the unsifted stores of local antiquaries. He and Freeman played at being West Saxon and Mercian till they almost believed in it. 'I was born on the right side of the 'Thames,' cries Green; and Freeman says, 'Green would 'have written different history if he had been born at 'Abingdon'—though, to be sure, by Green's own showing Oxford was once upon a time in Wessex.

The *genius loci* was to him almost a person, both here and in other towns, for wherever he went the history of a town or a building—Verona, Angers, Notre Dame at Paris—presented itself to his mind as a biography. Each town had its own character, and had been born, grown up, and grown old, with its peculiar loves and hates, friends and

* British Quarterly Review, July, 1883.

enemies; so that he could take some building as his text, and develope from it the whole story of its civic life.

Mr. Bryce tells how he reached the town of Troyes early one morning with his friends. He explored it,

'darting hither and thither through the streets, like a dog following a scent. In two hours the work was done. . . . Green brought down to breakfast next morning an article upon Troyes, describing its characteristics and tracing its connection with the Counts of Champagne during some centuries. . . . He gave his friends an equally vivid history of Basel, which they visited the next day, though it was his first sight both of Troyes and of Basel.' *

And Freeman bursts into rhapsody—

'And now, O Johnny, as I have been rambling over endless cities, telling the towers thereof, let me once more thank you for having first taught me to do a town as something having a being of itself, apart from the churches, castles, &c., within it.' (P. 215.)

As the town, so the country told its story to him. He first pointed out the importance of waste tracts and forests, such as Elmet and the Andredsweald, in the history of the English invasion. The drying up of the arm of a river, the subsidence of a coast-line were to him not merely geological facts, but part of historical inductions. The 'Making of 'England' is full of such inductions—*conjectura* the Latins called the art—the balance of evidence and the introduction of exterior facts not before observed to be in evidence. Thus, as Owen inferred a bird from a bone, Green inferred from the shape of the county of Oxford, marked out by Roman town limits and ecclesiastical boundaries, *plus* a later earldom out of place, the existence in Alfred's time of a north-of-Thames portion of Wessex; and this led him on to interpret the 'seemingly arbitrary line' of delimitation between the Danelagh and the kingdom of Wessex as fixed by the peace of Wedmore (pp. 221, 429). He told Freeman with gusto how, having always believed ancient Verona to have stood on the left bank of the Adige—a fact forgotten for a thousand years—he had gone there and found the old cathedral with its presbytery and bishop's chair just where he had placed it in his mind. He called it 'guessing'; †

* Macmillan's Magazine, 1883.

† See p. 430 (where he is speaking of 'working English, Norman, and papal history side by side'). 'With me the impulse to try to connect things, to find out the "why" of things, is irresistible, and even if I overdo my political guessing you' (E.A.F.) 'or some German will punch my head, and put things rightly and unintelligibly again.'

but such guesses as these are intuitions of genius. Guessing is easy; but to guess right is to bring in imagination to the aid of knowledge.

As Gardiner said ('Academy,' March 17, 1883), his treatment of facts was different from Freeman's.

> 'Freeman fixes on facts, and gazes at them till he makes them tell their secret and the secret of the men who made them. . . . That which impressed [Green] most in men was that they were alive . . . the continuous life of the race. . . . Is this consciousness of the presence of a living continuity in the race a small matter? Is it not rather the very result which the modern scientific school of historians are trying to reach? . . . high imaginative treatment.'

The succeeding works, the 'Making of England' and the 'Conquest of England,' are large essays, in which geography plays an important part. Perhaps more than any other part of Green's work they bear the impress of his direct study of nature and history, the geology which he learnt with Boyd Dawkins, the local history which Freeman taught him to value at Somerleaze and in many west country excursions with the Somerset society, and the town-lore in which so much of his historical interest was centred, from the time when he first became aware that the town of Oxford had a unity and a developement of its own.

These Somersetshire excursions were looked forward to with much pleasure. Besides the local antiquaries, some of them no mean scholars, he met at Wells, Glastonbury, or Shepton such men as Guest, Earle, Dawkins, Parker, Willis, and others of like distinction. Freeman and Stubbs were always there; and the discussions were keen, and the talk brilliant. It was the 'day out' of the Oxford School, and they enjoyed it without reserve.

Want of space forbids our attempting any further description of the 'Short History'; and it is so well known, and so much has been written about it by competent authorities, that such an attempt would be an anachronism and an impertinence. But in the new light thrown upon the character, genius, and circumstances of the author by the publication of his letters, we may consider shortly the value of Green's historical work, and of the so-called 'school' to which he belonged.

The writers who formed the 'Oxford School' of history did not so much invent any new method in history as direct the attention of Englishmen to a part of their history which had been much neglected. 'Study your origins,' they said; 'modern England cannot be understood without reference

'to ancient England.' We all knew that the present grows out of the past, but were content to leave it so. It was the work of Stubbs, Freeman, and Green to rescue mediæval England from the hands of antiquaries and romancers, and make it live in our minds as a reality, not merely a museum of dusty and unsifted facts and fictions and stories about people who 'were never alive' to us, though there is no doubt that they once lived and looked upon the earth.

By the Oxford historians we mean principally Stubbs, Freeman, and Green; for Goldwin Smith, though he still lives to charm us by the beauty of his style and to instruct us by his insight and knowledge, was at that time too eager a partisan to be a trustworthy historian; and Froude, who surpassed them all in intellectual brilliancy, was a historical heretic, and painted men, like Æschylus, rather as they ought to be than as they were; he dealt with historical facts and persons as Turner did with castles and hills, 'playing them about boldly like chessmen,' says Ruskin in one of his least conscientious moments; whilst Stanley, the 'Professor of Pictorial Theology,' was often led away by his imagination into vagaries of comparison and courageous analogies of things which might have been, but were not, as he in all good faith represented them; and had neither leisure to be learned nor taste for the severe drudgery which is necessary to establish facts. Of the three, Stubbs was much the strongest man. He had the industry of a German, the comprehensive learning of a scholar of the Renaissance, and the good sense and freedom from 'enthusiasm' of a Gibbon or a Porson. His astonishing accuracy was the result of a vast memory and infinite perseverance in verifying facts. As compared with Gibbon, whilst he comes short of him in comprehensive knowledge of all literature and power of illustration from the whole field of history, he studied original authorities much more deeply. He knew the chroniclers as Gibbon knew his Tacitus and Gregory of Tours and the Byzantine historians. But Gibbon read nothing that was not in print. Stubbs read hundreds of manuscripts and studied English history by the light of all that is known of contemporary annals, adding to this a mass of archæological knowledge of cities, castles, and churches, and of obscure documents such as court-rolls, royal and ecclesiastical writs, Acts of Parliament, and local charters.

Freeman was great in detail. He had no sense of proportion and little power to distinguish right and wrong in his

judgements of men and motives. He wrote as a partisan, whether his subject was the character of a man, the date of a church, or the spelling of a name. His Harold, Godwine, and William challenge all comers to controvert his portraiture of them. He reminds us of Leech's critic, who asks for a 'candid opinion,' and adds, 'I'll knock any man 'down who says so!' Like Nelson, he 'hated Frenchmen 'like the devil,' and pelted them with merciless broadsides whenever he found them, besides absurdly calling them 'Welchmen.' In his own region he was a pedant and a precisian. His wide and accurate knowledge of universal history preserved him from shallowness, but not from partiality; and his industry and determined perseverance in the search for truth guarded him from much error, though they did not teach him to be fair to antagonists or to preserve philosophic calm in investigating the past.

What distinguished Freeman from other writers and gave him a well-deserved influence was his vigour and vitality, and his robust contempt for smatterers and amateurs, amongst whom he most unjustly reckoned his great antagonist Froude. Green never posed as a great historian. He sat at the feet of Stubbs and Freeman as masters, and he may possibly be remembered when Stubbs is 'superseded' by writers whose study of parchment collectively exceeds his, and when Freeman is looked upon rather as a writer of monographs than a historian.

The 'Oxford School' set up no theories of philosophical history. Their object was to investigate the truth. Their predecessors in the field of ancient and mediæval history (of whom Stubbs always spoke with respect) had somewhat too readily accepted the evidence of current narrative; and, avoiding this error, they proceeded in a strictly scientific manner. They established facts and dates in the pre-documentary ages by the evidence of earthworks, barrows and dykes, place-names, local customs, and ecclesiastical legends. For a later date they read documents of all kinds, and studied seals, churches, castles, and monasteries—thus laying in archæology a foundation for history. When they came down to the professed annalists, they made a distinction between chroniclers who knew facts at first hand and chroniclers who only copied their predecessors or repeated tradition. They settled the date of 'Ingulphus,' and a good deal of the fabric of early history fell down. They established the principle that in primeval history direct narrative must be supported by external evidence to

be accepted. They were not content, with Herodotus, to put down priestly narratives for true, saving their own reputation with an ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιθανὰ λέγοντες, but insisted on sound foundations, whatever might come to be built on them.

The method then was scientific, working through archæology. Theory stepped in where one set of established facts was compared with a similar set of later date. How, for instance, did the judicial system of Henry II. differ from that of Alfred? What new elements had been imported? Whence did they come? What part in the shaping of England was borne by Roman law, imperial or papal, the institutions of Northmen, Danes, and Normans, working on those of England, themselves full of local and provincial differences? It is not too much to say that in this concentration of interest on English origins through the medium of archæology, Stubbs (who always acknowledged freely his obligations to English and German writers, past and present) was the creator of a new method.

This is aside of, and to some degree independent of, political history, the narrative of war and peace, royal marriages and alliances, the rise and fall of ministries; apart, too, from the considerations of intellectual and spiritual movements, and from the lives of great men; all subjects of the highest interest, and in their way not less important than the growth of institutions. Here Stubbs drew the line. His business was to investigate facts. *Hypotheses non fingo*, he might have said with Newton; and he may have been too suspicious of historians who traced in the succession of events the evolution of economical and political causes, *periculosæ plenum opus aleæ*.

Ranke, of whom Stubbs speaks (with more reverence than Green) as one of the greatest of historians, is the chief name among those historians who look upon history from a contemporary point of view, who find the interpretation of events in the letters of ambassadors, the treaties and political correspondence, the relation of states and statesmen of the same time. Green calls him 'pragmatic,' and complains of his 'external' and 'political' conception of history; but confesses that

'there is such a just aversion to "philosophies of history," on account of the nonsense which has passed under that name, that it is quite likely people may turn away from a story which' (like his own) 'strives to put facts on a philosophical basis, and to make events the outcome of social or religious currents of thought.' (P. 359.) 'Every word I

have written in reviews and essays through the last ten years went to the same point, to a protest, that is, against the tendency to a merely external political view of human affairs, and to a belief that political history to be intelligible and just must be based on social history in its largest sense.' (P. 426.)

It is clear that two different modes of procedure are before us: to treat each period as an independent section, and to examine the growth of a nation or an institution by comparing it with the same thing in previous centuries; to read, that is (as we said), across the page or down the page; and that to attribute such evolution principally to social and moral causes introduces theory, and with it an element of insecurity. But the perfect history brings in theory too, in its proper place, and with cautions against its abuse.

Methods of history are not so completely different after all, and we need not to put our historians in this or that list. All apply like tests in the investigation of facts; all search for motives of action to explain the facts; all recognise causes independent of conscious motive. No one denies great men's power of guiding events; no one denies that they can only act within the limitations of their time and their personal circumstances. All allow that the lessons of the past have their place in the present. History is neither archæology nor politics, but partakes of both. It cannot settle its facts without archæology, nor help us to think rightly without applying the lessons of past politics to the present and the future.

We shall miss Green if we seek him in the camp of the archæologists or in that of the political theorists. Of course, in a sense, he belonged to both. As an inquirer into origins he was an archæologist; as a narrator of events he could not ignore the conquering generals and treaty-making ministers who can turn Germans into Frenchmen and Poles into Prussians. But he was, above all, a believer in social and moral forces, a preacher and moralist, and thought that history was dwarfed by the 'politicals.' He was angry with Seeley for confounding history and politics. 'The end of the study of history is to make a man' not a historian, but 'a politician'! What is the end, then, of the study of politics—or does he consider them one and the same? Seriously, Kingsley never talked such rubbish as this. (P. 240.)

Seeley pronounced that history is 'the school of States-

'manship.' * He put contemporary history above past history. He valued past history, not as a storehouse of great deeds and great warnings, nor as a portrait gallery of great men, nor for its poetical and dramatic interest, but as a guide towards acting in the present and judging the future. If not directly practical it was worthless. He would, we presume, include in its definition the old definition of 'philosophy teaching by examples,' which agrees with Thucydides' conception, but confined it to its bearing on the politics of to-day. There is much to be said for this view; but it narrows history from being a branch of science and a part of human philosophy to one function only, that of directing present action. A most important function, truly; but only one man in ten thousand can use it so. The lessons of history may have instructed those who suffered by them, but few modern statesmen or voters profit by them. Still, we must not forget that, if Seeley's doctrine of past events producing present men and their actions made him represent Napoleon as little more than part of his environment, he was able, by putting forth the true paradox that the Continental wars of the eighteenth century were the unconscious stirrings of the English race for oceanic empire, to produce a great effect on public opinion, and give an impulse to the imperial idea which now absorbs us all. But Seeley was the one in ten thousand. The danger of his view of history is that its scientific pretensions may set up a claim to establish conclusions which may be used deductively. Again, this conceit of science tends to make the Seeley school dry and empty of emotion. Seeley and Ranke work in a Spencerian spirit, aiming at generalisation and classification rather than inquiring what were the faiths and aspirations of past ages. Inquirers of this stamp want to know what was done, and how it was done, not why it was done. The contest between a town and its oppressor the neighbouring earl or bishop does not move them into sympathy. They investigate the causes, political, economical, and geographical, of the rise and decline of Winchester, York, or Liverpool. The feelings of the oppressed or victorious citizens they pass by as not to the purpose. 'Men and women, 'gentlemen!' Kingsley used to say, who though he taught at Cambridge had little of the spirit of that place. And so

* Inaugural Address at Cambridge, 'The Teaching of Politics.' Lectures and Essays by J. R. Seeley, 1870.

long as history is made by men and women, historians will be right who look upon men and women as actors in history, not 'impotent pieces of the game.' Both schools have their value, neither can do without the other; but Spencerian generalisation and classification are dry and cold; we cannot dispense with our heroic kings and weeping queens. To leave out the story of human joys and sorrows in history, to exclude the epic and dramatic interest, is like considering Gothic architecture as a series of problems of weight and thrust and an evolution of mouldings and traceries, without taking into account the sense of beauty and proportion.

It is characteristic of Green that his love of country made him look upon his own line as 'the old traditional line of 'English historians.'

'Contrast,' he writes to Freeman, 'your tone with Pauli's, for instance, or even Gardiner's with Ranke. . . . I don't doubt that the English ideal of history will in the long run be what Gibbon made it in his day, the first in the world; because it can alone combine the love of accuracy and external facts with the sense that government and outer facts are but the outcome of individual men, and men what body, mind, and spirit make them.' (P. 427.)

As for the 'great men' theory, each writer according to the set of his mind thinks of men as individuals or as parts of a society. If the former, he brings into relief their differences; if the latter, their resemblances. The individualist finds in Thucydides or Tacitus a vivid picture of an existing society; the philosophical inquirer compares these with other states of society, and tries to find out under what differences of conditions similar causes produce different results, or *vice versâ*, and how the differentiating circumstances were evolved out of former conditions. The differences between the two lines of thought are rather matter of temperament than of philosophy, and the true method must combine both.

Green belonged by temperament to the individualists. His men and women are all alive; their conscious motives interest him as much as the inherited instincts, political necessities, and economical conditions which modify their actions. He believed in leaders, and his pages are full of single portraits; Alfred, Dunstan, Henry II., Chaucer, More, Marlborough, are among the most striking. And besides and beyond the leaders there was the body of the nation with its common interests, hopes, fears, and beliefs, making for themselves the history which Green chiefly cared for, as their political history was made for them by their rulers.

If Green had written his history of the Angevin kings, as

his friends wished, it would have gone on the shelf by the side of Freeman's 'Conquest.' It would have been read by scholars, and he might have been known as a great historian instead of a popular historian. But he knew the bent of his own genius, and when to follow or to disregard advice. He was not ashamed to write the history of the English people for the instruction of the English people. The immense popularity of the 'Short History' does not detract from its merits as history, for it was written for an educated public, and is a work of learning and judgement, as well as a piece of excellent literature; and its educational value outweighs that of many books making higher claims to research and science.

ART. VIII.—1. *The Select Pleas of the Forest.* Edited for the Selden Society by G. J. TURNER, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. London: Bernard Quaritch. 1901.

2. *A Treatise of the Laws of the Forest.* By JOHN MANWOOD. Third Edition. London: 1665.

THE existence and the publications of the Selden Society are an emphatic and practical contradiction of the pessimistic assertion that the world does not now interest itself in any works but those of ephemeral literature. The same statement was often on the lips of our forefathers, and it is repeated by the diarist of to-day just as it was in the daily jottings of Madame d'Arblay. But in the Selden Society we have a voluntary body publishing documents bearing not only on the legal but the social history of England, issued in an agreeable form at which the Stationery Office, which is responsible for the publications of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, would be aghast. Form cannot alter the substance of a publication, but for the purpose of the study and of the proper preservation of a book it is of more importance than the Treasury seems to suppose. If we look back over the volumes issued by the Selden Society since 1887, the value of these publications is at once obvious, for they enable the legal and historical student to form for himself just opinions on the past and to survey realities. It would be ungracious to criticise severely the legal commentators of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: they did their best on often insufficient materials; but the Selden Society's publications enable us to correct statements which were often the result of mere guesswork, and, frequently aided by the lucid introductions of the editors, to reconstruct the past from original documents; for it is chiefly in legal archives that we find the materials for the social history of the Middle Ages. As we move into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, statutes and State papers, news-letters and private correspondence, become numerous, but in a previous age the surest guides are the facts which exist, incontrovertible and real, in the records of courts of law.

The interest and value of the 'Select Pleas of the Forest,' the latest of the publications of the Selden Society, lie in the fact that the volume enables us better than has ever been previously possible to picture for ourselves a social and political phase of mediæval England, a phase as important as that of the town life or the maritime life of the nation. Up to the

date of the publication of this book the work of Manwood, first published in 1598 and continued through various editions, has been the authority to which it has been usual to refer for information on the forest laws. But that treatise is an excellent instance of how a legal imagination can create legal fictions. Manwood constructed an ingenious but altogether fanciful and untrue social contract. In return for the continual care and labour which he gave to the preservation of the whole realm, the king was presented by his subjects with the prerogative of having places of recreation and pastime wherever he might desire, and so he could make a forest at his will and pleasure for the shelter of beasts of the chase. Bracton long before Manwood's time had evolved the theory that as no private person had a property in wild animals they must therefore be the property of the king. If one could imagine a royal right over, we need not say property in, a red deer or a wild boar, it was easy to construct a theoretical right in the sovereign to have places where certain animals might be secure from the pursuit of any man except the sovereign or one who was authorised to hunt by him. But Bracton had also formulated the doctrine that occupancy was the basis of the right to property, and it was this doctrine which the Norman kings carried into practice. But something more than this was needed to justify many of their acts, for they were not careful at all times to respect private rights, and afforested whole towns or villages, when they created a forest with its indefinite metes and bounds; and so a more elaborate theory, such as that of Manwood, was needed to give even a semblance of legal propriety to their conduct.

But the prerogative of the king to have and enjoy royal forests rose from simple causes, partly from the fact that he was the only distinct representative of the State, and partly from superior individual power. The property of the Saxon sovereign in wastes and forests, which appears to have been taking the place of an equally vague communal right, indefinite enough in its extent as it must have been, passed to the Conqueror when he was crowned at Westminster. From his own strength, from the weakness of his subjects, and from the disturbance, resulting from the Conquest, of the old order both of property and of Government, he had the opportunity of increasing the number of places unquestionably within the forestal jurisdiction of the sovereign. The king could, in fact, assert an actual forestal right over any part of the country which was not clearly the undoubted property of one of his subjects, and even then some excuse might be made

for its forfeiture to the Crown. As he moved about his kingdom, passing from castle to castle and from town to town, opportunities constantly arose for him to gratify his desire for the extension of his territorial influence and power, and his passion for the chase. Thus in an inquiry as to the right to the bailiwick of the forests of the counties of Leicester and Rutland, we meet with an instance of what appears to be purely arbitrary afforestation:—

'Upon a search among and an inspection of the rolls of the eyre of Geoffrey of Langley and his fellow-justices in eyre for pleas of the forest at Oakham in the thirty-third year of the lord king who now is, it is found that it was presented and proved before the same justices in their eyre by twenty-four sworn knights and loyal men of the county of Rutland that when King Henry I., the son of king William the Bastard, was on his way towards northern parts, he passed through a certain wood, which is called Riseborough, in the county of Leicester. And there he saw five hinds. And he forthwith ordered a certain servant of his by name Pichard, to tarry in those parts until his return from the parts aforesaid, and in the meantime to guard the said hinds for his use. But it happened that in that year the said king did not return there; and in it the said Pichard associated himself to a certain serjeant of the same country who was called Hasculf of Allexton, whose house he frequented much. But when the year was passed, after the aforesaid king had returned from the northern parts, the said Pichard came to the king aforesaid, saying that he was unwilling to be custodian of the aforesaid bailiwick any longer. And on being then asked by the same king who would be a fit person to be custodian of the said bailiwick, he replied, the said Hasculf, who had lands near there, and was resident in the same bailiwick. And then the said king entrusted to the aforesaid Hasculf the custody of the said bailiwick, to wit, the forestry of the county of Leicester and also of Rutland; and he was custodian of it all his time, and he lived for a long time, that is to say till the time of king Stephen, and was then killed in his own house by Bartholomew de Verdun. And after the death of this Hasculf, a certain Peter, his son, received the custody of the aforesaid bailiwick from king Henry, the grandfather of the lord king who now is.' (P. 45.)

It is a picturesque and suggestive glimpse which the old roll gives of the mediæval monarch journeying with knights and retainers through the strong growing woodlands of the English midlands, the herd of shy deer suddenly perceived in some opening in the forest, and the quick inquiry as to who was the warden of the wood. There was doubt and hesitation as to the ownership of the property, which was soon ended by the king giving to Pichard—probably a Frenchman—the bailiwick, and charging him, partly in jest and partly in earnest, to guard the five hinds till he again

came south. A district could be afforested in a moment by the mere word of the monarch; it took centuries to free it from the royal dominion. By a simple act indicative of his right to occupy it, the king could take possession of acres of unowned land; but whilst he took the land as the supreme head of his people, he forgot both their wants and their natural feelings. What the peasant or the villager resented was not so much the assertion of a royal title to the forest, the woods, and the waste, even the mere pleasure of the chase, as the fact that this assertion prevented the enjoyment by the people of property of which the king was no more than a trustee, but which he treated as the gift of heaven to an anointed and beneficent autocrat, not seldom exercising his prerogative so as to cast his dominion over cultivated land, hamlets, houses, and small towns which up to that time had been free from the restrictions of the forest laws.

In Norman England there were great tracts of almost uninhabited country, and nothing, as the instance just presented shows, was easier than for the king, as the chief personage in the land, to assert his paramount right to these portions of his kingdom in the simple manner which the chronicle describes. It was a right which appealed at once to the natural instincts of a man who, after all, was only a half-civilised ruler, and to the rude but necessary demands of his exchequer. So far, however, from there being any kind of contract between governor and governed in regard to forests, the whole course of mediæval politics shows a steady endeavour by the sovereign often to enlarge and always to retain his forestal jurisdiction against the will of his subjects, and equally constant though fluctuating efforts on the part of the barons and of the people to lessen both the power of the Crown and the territorial extent of the royal forests. But though all classes were united in a common animosity to the forestal dominion of the king they had no common sympathies. A baron would have been quite as harsh a forest lord as a king; indeed, when, as in parks, the baron had his own miniature forest, the penalties against trespassers were more severe than in the king's forest. The aristocratic poacher who made deer traps in the bounds of his park as near to the royal forest as possible, sometimes so close that he was summoned before the justices for a nuisance, for an offence against the forest law, had not an atom of mercy for the peasant who should, within the bounds of the park, kill one of the

truant deer or cut a limb from an oak or an elm. Another point should be noted in this connexion. We must not regard the king in the assertion of his prerogative as an unreasonable tyrant; it is useless to try and evolve theories unsupported by the experience of primitive mankind as to the right to unoccupied land in an uncivilised community, and there was no reason why the king, as representative of the nation, should not become the owner of waste land as much as a baron or a peasant; nor should it be forgotten that the payments received from the forest were not always employed by the sovereign for his mere personal pleasure. For just as in the royal forests there were special courts and special laws side by side with the ordinary tribunals and jurisprudence which were applicable to the rest of England, so too in the forests we perceive a source of revenue having no relation to scutage and carucage and feudal dues, a revenue which could be collected by the king's officials without the consent of the national council.

This contest between Crown and people is observable from the moment of the Conqueror's death. William Rufus made the practice of the forest custom 'burdensome to baron and 'villein alike,' but in the very year of the accession of his successor, Henry I. obtained a vague and popular ratification of his title. 'I retain,' he says in the Charter* of 1100, 'by the 'common consent of my barons, my forests as my fathers 'had theirs.' Henry I. was a mighty hunter, and he increased the royal forestal possessions so that Stephen was obliged to promise, by the Charter of 1136, to relinquish the forests afforested by Henry. But the undertaking made to his people was not kept, and again, in 1184, we perceive in the Assize of Woodstock of Henry II. an attempt by the barons to modify the severity of the forest laws, and to render them more definite. These struggles, indicative of the social importance of the forests and the forest laws, were to a certain degree ended by the Charter of the Forest of 1217. But these continual edicts would have been constitutionally absurd if the king had a theoretical and prerogative right to make forests where he pleased, since he would have been endowed with an undisputed personal power which could be

* The Charter of the Forest of Canute was a forgery: this, though often surmised, seems now to be certain; see Liebermann, 'Ueber Pseudo-Cnuts Constitutiones de Foresta.' Halle, 1894. This writer ascribes this document to the year 1184, and as being the work of a layman. Dr. Stubbs and Dr. Freeman each doubted its authenticity, but many writers have accepted it with naïve simplicity.

employed not only for the exaction of all sorts of fines and aids, but for the increase of the actual property of the sovereign.

In those troubled ages, and when might was largely right, it is easy to realise the continual extension of the forestal dominion of the king, a dominion which was primarily obnoxious to the barons, not, as we have said, from any love of the common people, but because it necessarily lessened their own power. To counteract this increasing dominion of the Crown was the motive which obtained from the infant Henry III. in 1217 the Charter of the Forest, a necessary sequel, in the then existing polity and social condition of England, of the Great Charter. It marks the end of the unlicensed forestal power of the sovereign, it defines the extent of his dominion—it was a constitutional landmark, a document the vague limitations of which the sovereign was for a long time constantly trying to evade and the people to enforce. The king had often to confirm Magna Charta—'these repeated confirmations tell us how hard it is to bind 'the king by law. The pages of the chroniclers are full 'of complaints that the terms of the charter are not 'observed. . . . This theoretical sanctity and this practical 'insecurity are shared with the great Charter of Liberties 'by the Charter of the Forest.' *

The Charter of the Forest by its very terms reveals the evils under which the country had suffered in the two preceding reigns, and more especially under the rule of John. His despotism, his exactions, and his antagonism to his barons had made his power as chief lord of the forests a national curse, and so all the woods which had been made part of the royal forests either by Richard or by John were to be summarily disafforested: 'Omnes autem bosci,' runs this memorable article, 'qui fuerunt afforestati per regem 'Ricardum avunculum nostrum, vel per regem Johannem 'patrem nostrum usque ad primam coronationem nostram, 'statim deafforestentur, nisi fuerit dominicus boscus 'noster.' This declaration was a recognition on the part of the young king's advisers—for the charter was issued with the seals of William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, and of Gualo, the papal legate—of a multitude of illegalities in the stormy reign which was lately ended. Contrast it with the previous article, and the difference between them is at once obvious. In the one case there is to be absolute relinquish-

* Maitland, 'Hist. of English Law,' i. 158.

ment, in the other there is to be inspection, and, if need be, disafforestation, when woods have been taken to the damage of their owners; a direction which is suggestive rather of mistakes in uncertain boundaries than of downright royal rapacity:—

'Imprimis omnes forestæ quas Henricus rex avus noster afforestavit, videantur per bonos et legales homines; et si boscum aliquem alium quam suum dominicum afforestaverit ad dampnum illius cujus boscus fuerit, deafforestentur. Et si boscum suum proprium afforestaverit, remaneat foresta, salua communa de herbagio et aliis in eadem foresta illis qui eam prius habere consueuerunt.'

That the king's forests, even those which may, by something like a misuse of language, be termed his property, should need delimitation is not remarkable when we bear in mind the actual nature of a mediæval royal forest. It was assumed to be a definite tract of land within which a particular body of law was enforced, a district including both woods and open country. But within this boundary private persons might have lands, though in them they could neither cut wood nor kill certain wild animals, yet, speaking broadly, both woodland and open land belonged to the king. It is difficult enough in times of advanced civilisation for men to know accurately the limits of landed property; to suppose that in the thirteenth century, in an often uncultivated, uninhabited, and roadless district, the bounds of the king's possessions could be definitely fixed, even though some metes and bounds were stated, is obviously absurd. This very uncertainty rendered the royal forests an easy source of revenue, sometimes by means of fines justly levied, more often than not by demands which were simply illegal exactions. But, though vexatious imposts, these were not severe punishments; no feature, indeed, of the forest laws is more to be noted than the comparative mildness of the punishments, and they were lenient for a very good reason. Fine a man to-day and he lived to be fined to-morrow; kill him, and in those days of sparsely inhabited counties a taxpayer had been destroyed. Thus the forest—although Manwood, as we have seen, had invented an agreeable theory of a social contract, pleasure given in return for work—was usually regarded by the mediæval monarch from the same point of view as that of a modern Chancellor of the Exchequer who looks upon this subject or that as a fruitful source of revenue. That the English forests could by any possibility be generally used by the king for the purposes of sport, though in theory and practice they were

his preserves, is obviously impossible when we bear in mind their number and size. 'King John, when in England, 'spent much of his time in visiting the forests of Sherwood, 'Rockingham, Essex, and Clarendon, and it was from these 'that Henry III. usually made presents of game to his 'friends.' These particular wastes and woodlands, however, were mere selections from the numerous royal forests. To state with any degree of accuracy either the extent or the number of the whole is as yet impossible, and will probably remain so. But 'it is almost certain that none of the kings 'of England possessed any forests in the counties of Norfolk, 'Suffolk, and Kent . . . it may be considered as probable 'that there were either no forests in Cambridgeshire, Bed-'fordshire, and Hertfordshire, or forests of a small extent 'only'; while in Lancashire they were granted by Edward I. to his brother, Edmund Crouchback, who was allowed to enforce the forest laws over the forests which it contained.

On the other hand, all Northamptonshire and all Rutland were a tract of forest, while 'one vast forest stretched from 'Stafford to Worcester, and from the Wrekin to the Trent,'* and certainly at the time of Domesday a densely wooded district—broken later doubtless in the fertile Vale of Aylesbury—extended from Brill on the borders of Oxfordshire across the Chilterns to Burnham and the Thames, of which in the still wooded heights of the chalky uplands of Buckinghamshire the picturesque traces are to this day visible. The New Forest is, however, at the present time the most striking example of the mediæval forest which has preserved its continuity as a royal forest from the time of the Conqueror. It has undergone changes in form and size, but it is with us to-day the same picturesque tract of woodland, heath, and cultivated spaces as in the time of Edward I. It has continued to be part of the royal demesne—in modern language, of the property of the Crown—century after century, whereas in Epping we have a forest the soil of nearly the whole of which was granted before the reign of Henry II. in the form of manors to private persons or to religious houses, though over the entire district a particular prerogative of the Crown was maintained, and it was a royal forest subject to the forestal laws, to the preservation of the venison, the vert and the waste within its bounds.

But the non-existence of royal forests did not mean that the country was necessarily completely cultivated. It only

* Pearson, 'Historical Maps,' pp. 47–52.

implied that the chase, the park, and the warren—the private preserves of noblemen where the forest laws did not exist—were general to a greater degree than in those parts of England, such as the great district between Stamford in the North-East and Oxford in the West, where by means fair or foul the king had established a recognised forestal dominion.

When we call to mind the variety of beasts which are to be found in half-civilised districts in various parts of the world it is impossible not to be struck with the limited number of animals which were preserved in the royal forests of the thirteenth century. The writer of the Introduction to the 'Select Pleas of the Forest,' after a careful examination of many documents relating to forests in various parts of England, thus sums up his researches on this point:—

'Thus it may be confidently asserted that there were in general four beasts of the forest, and four only—the red deer, the fallow deer, the roe, and the wild boar, the only exception being that in a few districts the hare was also made the subject of the forest laws.'

The hare was indirectly preserved by the Assize of Worcester (1184), which prohibited greyhounds and dogs from being brought into the forest, not because they were likely to pursue the hares, but because their presence was dangerous to the deer. Why the hare should have been preserved in some places—as, for example, in the warren of Somerton—one cannot guess, but that it was is clear by more than one entry in the Somerset Eyre of 1257:—

'It is presented,' says the record, 'by the same persons and proved that on Monday in Christmas week in the forty-first year a certain hare was found dead. An inquisition was made thereof by the four townships of Somerton, Kingsdon, Pitney, and Wearne, who say that the said hare died of murrain, and that they know of nothing else except misadventure. And because the said townships did not come fully, &c., therefore they are in mercy.' (P. 42.)

There is something rather suggestive of the comic opera in four townships sitting in judgement on the body of a dead hare. Probably it was the insignificance of the creature, as well as the serious consequences resulting to the neighbouring districts from the death of an animal of the forest, that practically prevented the hare from being a beast of the forest. Why, we repeat, there should have been some exceptional districts where the hare was preserved is a question now impossible to answer.

The mediæval forest was in fact essentially a deer forest. The nearest likenesses to it in these days are, as well as the

New Forest,* the districts in Devon and Somerset where the red deer is still protected and strays unharmed over a picturesque country, woodland, moorland, and hill pasture. The wild boar was to be seen too, but already, by the middle of the thirteenth century, it had become scarce. There are entries in the Gloucestershire Rolls of 1258 which tell of its preservation and unlawful slaying, but from a point which may be taken at this particular date the wild boar is scarcely mentioned.

The wolf, as one can very well believe, was as much a poacher as any hungry outlaw, and it is surprising that Manwood should have included it in the list of beasts of the forest. For the object of those in charge of the royal forests was, from an early date, to destroy an animal which in the winter was as injurious to the deer as to the men who lived in the cottages or hamlets adjacent to a forest. Thus from the thirteenth year of the reign of Henry II. a hunter received an annual allowance, charged upon the Sheriff's farm, for hunting wolves in the county of Worcester, and by letters patent issued in 1281 the king directed a hunter named Peter Corbet to take and destroy all wolves in the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, Salop, and Stafford. These are but two instances; they show, however, systematic endeavours to exterminate a noxious animal.

Another beast, harmless in itself, occupies a somewhat curious place, and that is the roe deer. It was a beast of the forest during the thirteenth century, but at this time it was decided that it ought not to remain in this category because it drove away other kinds of deer. In the eye of the forester it occupied the same position as the harmless chub does in a well-managed Hampshire trout fishery. The most suggestive point about this exclusion is that it was arrived at by a legal decision, so that no example could better indicate the importance of English law as illustrating the social history of the age. The decision was given in the reign of Edward III. by the Court of King's Bench. Henry de Percy put forward a claim to have woodwards carrying bows and arrows in his woods in his manor of Seamer, which was within the forest of Pickering, and also to have the right of hunting and taking roes, as well within the covert of the forest as outside. The Earl of Lancaster, to

* For an account of Wolmer Forest see 'Rural Life in Hampshire,' Chapter IV., 'The Royal Forests,' by W. W. Capes. London: 1901.

whom the king had granted the forest and all his rights over it, opposed the latter of these claims on the ground that the roe was a beast of the forest, and that the right demanded was against the assize of the forest. The justices in eyre adjourned the claim for consideration to the Court of King's Bench. This tribunal, after consultation with the great officers of state, and after diligent deliberation, delivered their judgement, with the conclusion: 'Caprioli sunt bestie de warenna et non de foresta eo 'quod fugant alias feras de foresta.' Roe were not beasts of the forest but of the warren, and for the practical reason that they caused other kinds of deer to leave the woods.

The protection of the deer in the royal forests necessarily involved the indirect protection of other wild animals, hares, and even cats, and of numerous kinds of wild birds; for a man who wandered in the woods of a royal forest to net a pheasant was likely to disturb the deer, and so could be stopped by the foresters. Such indirect protection, as time passed on, produced a general preservation of game—to give it the modern name—sufficient to cause the writers of an age later than the thirteenth century often to suppose that such birds as the partridge or the mallard were birds of the forest. But all the creatures other than those already enumerated were beasts or fowls of warren, a place wholly distinct from a forest, and under neither the jurisdiction of the forest laws nor the supervision of the officials of the forest. A warren was, in fact, a portion of the waste of the countryside or of the unenclosed demesne land of a private individual, over which the poorest peasant could roam in pursuit of animals at will, apparently in theory by the implied leave of the king. From the moment, however, that by virtue of his royal prerogative the king granted the sole right to hunt other than forestal animals to a private individual within the bounds mentioned in the grant, a warren was brought into existence, giving therefore in many cases to private persons a privilege in addition to the ordinary right of ownership, which they did not before possess. Out of the unenclosed land the king could of course create a warren for himself, and sometimes he would indirectly nullify the effect of the Charter of the Forest by creating warrens in a disafforested district. One, indeed, of the articles of the barons' petition in the Parliament of 1258 demanded a remedy because out of the disafforested districts warrens were created which were contrary to the public rights

granted by the Charter. That a warren was wholly distinct from a forest is shown also by a suggestive decision which is recorded in the Rolls of Hilary Term, 128$\frac{4}{5}$, in which, in an action of assault against a warrener, the latter pleaded that the plaintiff's men were hunting in the abbot's warren. The plaintiff in his reply to this defence averred that he was in pursuit of a buck in a place where all the country could hunt. In the result, though it was proved that the spot was a warren, it was held that the defendant should be in mercy because the buck was not a beast of the warren. But we must repeat that this difference necessarily became obscure in course of time, and was undoubtedly affected by local circumstances. For the king could grant away one of his forests or a part of it to a private individual; thereupon a chase was created—in other words, a tract of country once part of a royal forest, but free from the forest law, yet at the same time a preserve of deer and of woods, for the pleasure and the benefit of the king's grantee. Thus in some places warrens may have become united with forests; in others, as the royal authority in respect of forests grew weaker, deer would be preserved by private persons in their warrens, with the result that a local historian might very well state that animals and birds were forestal which on its inception were not really forestal creatures.

The existence of a forest brought into being, as a necessary consequence, a host of officials, to each of whom the forest meant his own continuance in power and prosperity. They were the civil servants of the Middle Ages, conspicuous over nearly every part of England, and constant reminders both to the secular and the ecclesiastical lords, as well as to every peasant, of the power of the Crown. We may almost regard them as in the same position as the Government officials in modern France, who are to be found in every country town. Nothing was easier than for them to become the petty tyrants of the village, and to extort money for themselves as well as for the royal purse. Norman Sampson, under Geoffrey of Childwick, steward of the forest of Huntingdon in 1255, was one of this kind, and he thus figures in the Huntingdon eyre of 1255. It is presented that he

'took a certain man at Weybridge who was with the parson of Colworth, . . . and he took the said man to Houghton to the house of William Dering his host, and he put him upon a harrow, and pained him sorely, so that William gave to him twelve pence that he might be

released from the said pains, and afterwards he gave to him five shillings that he might by his aid be able to withdraw quit.

'It is also presented by the same persons of the same person that a certain Norman, his page, and he himself were evildoers to the venison of the lord king, and that Norman Sampson sold three oaks in Weybridge and committed many other trespasses while he was a forester.' (P. 20.)

And so, after various proceedings, Norman Sampson is fined two marks. Imagination is not needed to picture this little drama--the poor man brought to the farm and cruelly and ingeniously tortured, the money paid to the brutal forester, who, unpopular among his fellows, is himself brought before the justices in eyre and fined in his turn. There were many grades of forest officials, and so one may be sure that there were not lacking official disagreements and personal jealousies.

In 1238 England, for the purpose of forest administration, was divided into two provinces—one north and one south of the Trent, and over each of these two departments there was placed a justice of the forest. The title is a little misleading, since it suggests a legal rather than a ministerial officer. These personages were, in fact, head foresters. Mathew Paris actually speaks of one of these men as *summus anglie forestarius*, as well as *summus justiciarius foreste*, and the first description better explains their functions; for except that it was part of their duty to release on bail prisoners who were in custody they performed no judicial act at all, and 'in general carried out all the executive work relating to 'the forests.' For a time, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, these men seem to have been called wardens, but by the year 1377 the old designation was resumed. To manage a tract of country so immense as that over which their jurisdiction extended was obviously beyond the power of two officials, and therefore deputies were appointed, either by the justice himself or by the king. The justices

'were usually men of considerable political standing. . . . By the end of the fourteenth century the office evidently became a sinecure, being then usually held by a nobleman of rank. But though a sinecure the income attached to it was certainly not derived solely from an official salary, for from the close of the thirteenth century the justices of the forest south of the Trent received from the king an annual payment of a hundred pounds only, and the salary of the justices of the forest north of the Trent was only two-thirds of that sum.'

Whether the lieutenants of these men were not also the wardens seems not to be so certain as the editor of the

Selden Society's volume considers. In a state of society so rude as that of mediæval England, and in the country districts, a strict division of offices is impossible, and the editor remarks that the wardens, whom he places as next in authority to the justices, 'were variously described in 'official documents, and seldom expressly as wardens; but 'the word may conveniently be used to avoid ambiguity.' A desire to avoid ambiguity sometimes tends to false impressions, and as the warden was the person who had the custody of a single forest it is not clear why he could not have also been the local deputy of the head forester. Sometimes in documents he was called steward or bailiff or chief forester; sometimes he was appointed for life, sometimes his office was hereditary, but whatever his title he was the local as distinguished from the general ministerial representative of the king. Their position often made these men tyrannical to the last degree, and nothing could make the laws of the forests and their administration more hateful to the general body of the English people—for there was scarcely a district where they had not some jurisdiction—than the misdeeds of these officials. In the Rutland Eyre of 1269 a long description is given of the wrongdoings of Peter de Neville, who seems to have been one of the worst behaved of these men:—

'The same Peter imputed to Master William de Martinvast that he was an evil doer with respect to the venison of the lord king in his bailiwick (balliva), and he imprisoned him at Allexton on two occasions, and afterwards he delivered him for a fine of one hundred shillings which he received from him; for which let him answer to the lord king, and to judgement with him because he delivered the aforesaid Master William without any warrant. . . .

'The same Peter charged Henry Gerard with a certain trespass to the forest, and took his beasts and detained them until he had paid him half a mark for their delivery and five shillings for their custody.' (P. 49.)

In fact, the said Peter de Neville acted dishonestly by his lord and unjustly to his neighbours, and the long tale of his many crimes gives a complete picture of individual forestal tyranny. He had his herd of three hundred pigs digging in the enclosure of the king, and he took money and kind from those who dwelt about him, and actually made a gaol at Allexton, in Leicestershire, which, says the roll in question, 'is full of water at the bottom, and in which he 'imprisoned many men whom he took, lawfully and unlaw-'fully, by reason of his bailiwick in the county of Rutland,

'and he delivered many of them at his pleasure and without 'warrant.' Such were the evil doings of Peter de Neville—*capitalis forestarius Foreste comitatus Roteland*—at the end of the reign of Henry III.

The active work of the forest was entrusted to men who safeguarded the venison and the vert, the deer and the greenwood, the timber and the underwood, who prevented poaching and watched for encroachments on the dominion of the king, and collected dues—the foresters, the verderers, and the agisters.

There were riding foresters and walking foresters, and pages, all appointed and paid by the warden, the custodian of the forest, if they were remunerated at all, but more often than not they actually paid the custodian of the forest for their place. The result was the existence of another rapacious class, making their living from their poorer and less powerful neighbours, accentuating what, in the Middle Ages, was the extremest social grievance of the people. Of it there is a picture, the truth of which is undoubted, in the grievances against the Charter of the Forest, formulated by the men of Somerset:—

'3. Although the charter says that view of the lawing of dogs ought to be made every third year when the regard is made, and then by view of loyal men and good, and not otherwise, yet the foresters come through the towns blowing horns and making a nuisance with much noise to cause the mastiffs to come out to bark at them; and so they attach the good folk every year for their mastiffs if the three toes be not cut and a little piece from the ball of the right foot, although the charter says that the three toes are to be cut but not the ball of the fore foot.

'4. Although the charter says that by view and by oath of twelve regarders, when they make their regard, as many foresters are to be set to guard the forest as to them shall seem reasonably sufficient, yet the chief forester sets foresters beneath him, riding and walking, at his pleasure without the view of anybody, and more than are sufficient to guard the lawful forest, in return for their giving as much as they can to make fine for having their bailiwicks, to the great damage and grievance of the country because of the surcharge of them and their horses and their pages, although the king has no profit and no demesne, except one wood which is called Brucombe in Selwood; and he takes there for herbage of that wood from the neighbouring towns sometimes two shillings, sometimes three shillings, or sometimes four shillings, although no money ought to be taken for herbage according to the charter.

'5. Although the charter says that no forester or beadle shall make scotale, or collect sheaves, or oats, or other corn, or lambs, or little pigs, or shall make any other collection, yet the foresters come with

horses at harvest time and collect every kind of corn in sheaves within the bounds of the forest and outside near the forest, and then they make their ale from that collection, and those who do not come there to drink, and do not give money at their will are sorely punished at their pleas for dead wood, although the king has no demesne; nor does anyone dare to brew when the foresters brew, nor to sell ale so long as the foresters have any kind of ale to sell; and this every forester does year by year to the great grievance of the country.

'6. And besides this they collect lambs and little pigs, wool, and flax, from every house where there is wool a fleece, and in fence month from every house a penny, or for each pig a farthing. And when they brew they fell trees for their fuel in the woods of the good people without leave, to wit, oaks, maples, hazels, thorns, felling the best first, whereby the good people feel themselves aggrieved on account of the destruction of their woods; nor does any free man dare to attach any evil doer in his demesne wood, unless it be by a sworn forester. After harvest the riding foresters come and collect corn by the bushel, sometimes two bushels, sometimes three bushels, sometimes four bushels, according to the people's means; and in the same way they make their ale, as do the walking foresters, to the great grievance of the country.' (P. 126.)

The zealous forester was no respecter of persons, and his duty brought him sometimes into conflict with the Church or with noblemen. There is a quaint tale in the Huntingdon Eyre of how the suspicion of the foresters fell on one Gervais, of Dene, who was seized by them and placed in Huntingdon gaol. Presently there came to the foresters several chaplains of Huntingdon, and the bailiff of the Bishop of Lincoln, with book and candle, intending to excommunicate them, and they also demanded the prisoner, as a servant of the bishop, but the foresters, in this dilemma, declared that once the man was imprisoned they had no power to release him. Still, they all went to the prison, and took off the man's cap, and 'he had the crown of his 'head freshly shaven, whence the foresters suspected that 'it was shaved that day in prison. And the said Gervais 'went to his harness, and took it and went home,' and so the Church prevailed. But in this simple narrative we see abundant elements of strife, of sharp conflicts between delegated royal power and delegated ecclesiastical power, of the subjects which engaged the minds of men in rural England in those far-off days when the great cathedrals were rising over the land, and two forces—for the instance given is but one of many—were constantly in collision.

Besides the king's foresters there was a co-operative official, the woodward, appointed by the owner of land within the bounds of the forest, who, while he safeguarded

his master's interests, had also to be a gamekeeper for the king—a private forester sworn to protect the king's rights. The ranger we may pass over; his duties are obscure, and it was only when the forest system was in process of dissolution that he came into notice. Probably the word was intended to denominate some particular individual, and not a class.

The verderer was in many respects the most important official of the forest, since it was his business to keep watch and ward over the timber; he was responsible to the king and not to the wardens, and he was appointed by the county court, the elections being made upon receipt by the sheriff of the writ *de viridario eligendo*. The position, as can be well understood, for the verderer was the direct link between the royal exchequer and a great body of taxpayers, was one of responsibility, and was usually filled by knights or landed proprietors, while the numbers allotted to the forest varied according to its size and importance. 'The chief work,' says the editor of the 'Select Pleas,' 'in which the verderers 'were engaged was that of attending the forest courts.' This description hardly does justice to the importance of these officials: it might be supposed that they were merely spectators; but the verderer attended at the forest assemblies to report and to justify his conduct in his office. In the Nottinghamshire Eyre of 1334 there are some suggestive entries in regard to verderers:—

'Of the same verderers,' runs the roll, 'because they did not produce the rolls of the attachments of Linby, Bulwell, Calverton and Edwinstowe for the same year; in mercy, ten shillings. . . . Of the verderers of the eighteenth year of the same king for the price of the vert of the attachments of Bulwell, &c. . . . seventy-two shillings and ninepence.' (P. 68.)

In the same roll we find numerous entries such as this: 'Of Ralph the son of Reynold of Edwinstowe for an oak of 'the price of tenpence wherewith the verderers are charged 'in the roll of the price of the vert'; and in the Nottinghamshire Eyre of 1287 it is told how William de Vescy and his fellow justices in eyre in 1286 found that in the forest of Sherwood the king had sustained losses of many kinds, and so they provide that all the verderers of Sherwood are to assemble every forty days 'to hold, as is con-'tained in the Charter of the forest, attachments both con-'cerning the vert and the venison.' The functions, indeed, both of verderers and foresters, appear by no means always to be distinct. Thus in the same document the justices

direct that if anyone fells a green oak to the ground he is to be bound over to come to the next attachment, and his mainour is forthwith to be appraised by the foresters and verderers, and he is to pay the price to the 'verderers in 'full attachment.' It is therefore by no means surprising that as time went on, the forest officials became somewhat confused, both in nomenclature and in duties, which varied according to local needs and local habits.

Three important sources of forestal revenue were from assarts, purprestures, and wastes—in other words, from payments in respect of acts which became more necessary and more numerous every year. To uproot the trees and reduce a piece of wilderness to cultivation, to sow it with wheat and oats, was an offence against the forest laws if such space was within the bounds of a forest. It became an assart, and for the original trespass a fine had in any case to be paid, as well as for each succeeding crop, and as the justices in eyre came round the forests the tenants who were under this obligation brought to them what were in fact rents. But a mere payment did not always suffice, and the labour of reclamation might be destroyed. Roger de la Holte, says a roll, assarted a piece of land of certain dimensions, and he enclosed it with a ditch and a low hedge; therefore he is in mercy. Let the land be taken, the hedge and ditch removed. To the destruction of industry was oftentimes added the punishment of a fine. Sometimes a man within the bounds of the forest would enlarge an enclosure, even though the land appropriated was not part of the king's demesne, or he would make a fishpond, or build a mill. William de Berdeley without warrant enlarged his enclosure at Barndeleye by ten perches in length and ten feet in depth, and he enclosed it by a little ditch and a low hedge, so he was in mercy and the enclosure demolished. This was a purpresture, and, like the assart, the king generally derived from it a more or less continuous revenue. In the same way, if a tenant desired to protect his arable land against wandering deer, and enclosed it with a fence, this again was a purpresture. Richard Carettarius, the carter, who lived near Evesham, made a hedge and ditch around his field. 'Clausum prosternatur' concludes the roll. Robert de Mep occupied half an acre of land, and he guarded it with a hedge and a ditch without the leave of the king, and he died, and Alice his wife held the land after her husband, and again we read the suggestive and despotic words 'Terra 'capiatur, clausum prosternatur.' Tenants of woods within

the forest had a right to cut wood for fuel and for the repair of their property, the extent and manner of the right varying according to custom in different localities, but any infringement of it, however vague might be the original right, was an offence against the laws of the forest. It was waste, and for this the offender could be fined.

These three kinds of trespasses it was the business of the regarders to note. Twelve knights chosen for the purpose made the inspection, the *visitatio nemorum*, once in every three years. Their report, in the form of answers to certain questions, the Chapters of the Regard, was duly enrolled, and when the justices in eyre came round, among those who had to appear before them were the regarders with the regards.

The agister may perhaps be called the rent collector, who collected 'money for the agistment of cattle and pigs in the 'king's demesne, woods, and lawns,' receiving it after he had counted the beasts which had entered the forest.

But officials of the forest were only a part of the extended forestal system of mediæval England. There was a complete and elaborate series of what, for convenience, may be called courts. For the purpose of protecting the venison there were forest inquisitions, special inquiries into the death of a beast of the forest, held immediately after the finding of the animal, or into any presumed infringement of a forest law. To these the four neighbouring townships had to answer, common responsibility for the acts of the inhabitants resting on the whole district. An example will show the working of the practice, which is remarkable for the stubborn ignorance which was constantly shown by the commune; the popular interest was always adverse to that of the king. The first is from Essex :—

'On the Saturday next before the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Henry William Wayberd came into Horsfrith, and saw there Hawe le Scot and three others with him with bows and arrows; and he did not recognise them; and he left them and went to Roger of Wollaston the forester, and showed him how he found them. And he, taking his men with him, searched the aforesaid wood, and could find nothing. And upon this the foresters and verderers assembled, and made an inquisition thereof by four neighbouring townships, to wit: Fingrith, Abbess' Ing, Queen's Ing, and Writtle.

'Fingrith comes and says that it knows nothing of malefactors to the forest nor of persons harbouring them.

'Abbess' Ing says the same.

'Queen's Ing says the same.

'Writtle comes and says that it heard from William Wayberd that on the Friday next after the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin in the same year he saw two dogs running after a buck, which they worried to death, one being black, the other brindled, and he pointed this out to Roger of Wollaston the forester.' (P. 73.)

'In the thirty-second year of the reign of king Henry on Ash Wednesday, an inquisition concerning a fawn, which was found dead and wounded with an arrow in the wood of Brampton, was made by four townships, to wit, Brampton, Ellington, Grafham, and Dillington, which all say that they knew nothing thereof.

'In the same year on the Thursday next after the feast of Saints Tyburcius and Valerian an inquisition concerning a certain beast, which was taken in the meadow, and of which the entrails were found, was made at Weybridge by four townships, to wit, Alconbury, Woolley, Ellington, and Brampton, which all say that they know nothing thereof.' (P. 74.)

The desire for uniformity of description may very well incline us to consider the general inquisitions, or the swanimotes as they were sometimes called, as distinct from the special inquisitions, because they were held for the purpose of inquiring generally into trespasses against both the venison and the vert, and were held also at intervals. But they appear to be the natural outcome, for the purposes of convenience, of the special inquisition and of the attachment court—a court which, for its own particular purpose, may be regarded as answering to the special inquisition, since it was a court 'which, sitting at regular intervals, 'usually every sixth week, was chiefly concerned in trying 'cases of small trespasses to the vert.' These courts were also called swanimotes, a fact which again suggests that the special inquisition was the outcome of the attachment court. When the case was too serious to be decided by the general inquisition, the offender was bound over to appear before the justices in eyre; but the gravity of the act depends a great deal on locality, and even on the position of the offender. In the extracts from the Sherwood attachments there are many instances of the working of this portion of the forest laws. A man is fined eighteenpence 'pro uno stubbe'—for a pollarded tree—doubtless carrying some of it away for firewood; in another part of England and in another court a man is fined threepence 'pro una 'blestrone'—a sapling: whether he cut it down or whether he merely damaged it we cannot tell, but in most cases we surmise the injury was partial rather than complete.

These lesser courts, however, all led up to that which was supreme in the forest, the court of the justices in eyre—

itinerant justices appointed by the king's letters patent to hear and determine pleas of the forest in a particular county or group of counties, seven years, as in the case of pleas of the Crown and common pleas, being the normal period which elapsed between eyre and eyre. It was in many respects a court of supervision; it considered and if necessary punished foresters and verderers as well as those who had offended against the forest laws; it dealt with the more serious offences against the vert, as the inquisition did those which were of smaller moment; and it fined those wrongdoers who lay in prison awaiting its decision. According to the Charter of the Forest, if a man were seized and convicted of taking venison, he was to be heavily ransomed, and if he had no means of paying a fine, he was bound to be in prison for a year and a day, and if after that period had elapsed he could find pledges he was to be allowed to come out of prison, but if he could not, then he was to abjure the kingdom. But it seems that the question of ransom was a matter for the justices in eyre, and that on being first seized and convicted an offender must either remain in prison until the itinerant justices should arrive in the locality (unless, which often happened, he died), or find pledges for his future appearance. Of the general course of procedure we have a picture in one of the rolls of Surrey that is obviously a mere précis of proceedings, but its brevity enables the different steps to be followed clearly, though in reading it we must allow for spaces of time. 'It 'is presented and proved,' begins the roll, 'by the verderers 'and by twenty-four good and loyal men of the town of 'Guildford or of the parts adjacent to it, and by many sworn 'townships

'that Robert King, Peter Long, William atte Hedge, who is dead, Ralph atte Slough, who likewise is dead, and John, the son of Henry atte Down, who were workmen in the park aforesaid repairing the paling of the same park, felled several oaks for making palings thereof. And when the deer of the lord king came to browse on the little branches of the aforesaid oaks, they stretched snares for taking them. And on the morrow of All Saints in the forty-fourth year, Bartholomew the parker came up and found the aforesaid evil doers with the aforesaid snares stretched: and he took them and delivered them to William la Zouche who was then sheriff of Surrey for imprisonment. And afterwards by the order of Thomas of Greasley, then the justice of the forest, they were delivered on bail until the next pleas of the forest. The aforesaid William and Ralph, who are dead, were essoined the first day of death; therefore their pledges are quit. And the aforesaid Robert, Peter, and John came, and being convicted of this are detained

in prison. Afterwards the aforesaid John atte Down, being brought out of prison, made fine by half a mark by the pledge of John of Garkem . . . and William, the son of Clement of Worplesdon. Afterwards came Robert le King, and, being brought out of prison, made fine by half a mark by the pledge of Robert of the park and William of Apecroft. And the aforesaid Peter, being brought out of prison, made fine by half a mark by the pledge of Richard of Aldbourne and Andrew atte Hook.' (P. 55.)

As we have seen in describing the regarders, one duty of these officers was to bring their reports before the justices in eyre for them to take action. In the Huntingdon Eyre there has been bequeathed to us a little tale of a purpresture and its consequences, which in its simple narrative is more instructive than pages of comment:—

'It was ordered by Robert Passelewe and his fellow-justices last in eyre here for pleas of the forest that the houses of Vincent of Stanley which had been raised to the nuisance of the forest should be pulled down; and the doing of this was hindered by certain persons, Colin of Merton and Richard of Toseland, the bailiffs of Philip of Stanton the sheriff of Huntingdon. And the verderers witness that when they and the foresters came to pull down the said houses, as they were ordered, the said Colin and Richard of Toseland prohibited them from pulling them down. And when the foresters laid their hands on the said houses to unroof and pull them down, the said Colin and Richard forcibly drove them back, saying that they would not in any way allow them to pull them down, because they had the precept to that effect of Philip of Stanton, who was then the sheriff of Huntingdon. And the verderers and foresters went to the same sheriff, and told him the nature of their precept concerning the houses to be pulled down, and how they were hindered by his bailiffs aforesaid by his precept. And the said sheriff said that they had no order thereof from him, and disavowed their deed entirely; whereby the order of the justices and what was for the king's advantage concerning the aforesaid houses to be pulled down remains undone. And therefore the sheriff is ordered that he cause the said Colin and Richard to come from day to day. Afterwards Richard came; and he could not deny that he impeded the said foresters and verderers as is aforesaid, and this without warrant; therefore he is in mercy.' (P. 18.)

The names of many of these courts and officials are familiar to educated persons; twenty years ago, when public rights over the remnants of English forests were in dispute, they were often on men's lips. But they had become mere fragments of a great system, little more than dead relics of a very living past—a past which was most perfect and complete in these respects after the passing of the Charter of the Forest. Of the system as it existed in that age, with its officers and its courts, of its connection with

the habits of all classes of the people, a sketch has just been given.

But as the Charter of the Forest forms the conclusion of the period of unlicensed forestal dominion, so it commences the period of the inevitable decay of a system which was antagonistic to the beneficent growth of national civilisation.

The immediate effect of the charter was to cause great disturbance to forest administration, since in order to carry out its provisions perambulations of the bounds were necessary to ascertain with accuracy the forests which ought to remain under the dominion of the king. The perambulations themselves and the awards, as they may be called, which were a consequence of them, as might be expected, in the case of districts the boundaries of which were so uncertain, were satisfactory neither to the people nor to the sovereign, and on February 11, 1225, the charter was again issued, 'spontanea et bonâ 'voluntate nostrâ,' but in return for this favour a grant of a fifteenth of all movables was obtained from the nobles. The moment, however, that Henry came of age he challenged some of the disafforestments made during his legal infancy, drawing no distinction between rich and poor, layman and ecclesiastic, as when the Abbot of Abingdon was ordered to produce the charters of the king's predecessors under which he claimed liberties in the forest and the disafforested districts. Throughout Henry's reign and that of his son the same effort on the part of the sovereign to retain his forests under a cloak of legality continued, for the charter was constantly confirmed. But as such confirmation did not settle local disputes, or define boundaries, it did not prevent the king from asserting his existing rights sometimes by the silent but effective method of preventing or not directing perambulations and inquiries.

On the other hand the people had no scruple about making use of the same vagueness of bounds to diminish the property of the king. 'In most forests,' the editor is now referring to the end of the reign of Edward I., 'the jurors 'paid no attention to the boundaries made at the beginning 'of the reign of Henry III. They put out of the forest vast 'tracts of land which had been forest for a century and a 'half, alleging that they had been afforested by Henry II., 'or his sons Richard and John, and disregarding the dis-'tinction between districts which had been afforested for 'the first time, and those which had been reafforested as 'ancient forests by Henry II.' Such a conflict was inevit-

able, and that it should be conducted under the semblance of legality by each side was just as natural, but it could have only one result—the gradual diminution of the royal forests under the influence of an advancing civilisation with which a system of forest law such as we have described was absolutely incompatible and impossible.

The striking feature of the forest laws was the manner in which they harassed every class of the community in the rural districts. It was not their harshness which offended the people. That there were cruelties in their administration before the Charter of the Forest is undoubted, but it was a cruel age, and life was held cheap. In their zenith—as we have already said—they were not cruel laws, and they were not generally harshly administered, for the higher officials were often themselves men of position in a locality, and in sympathy with some at any rate of its inhabitants; to brand them with severe epithets is to be ignorant of facts. Their real sting lay in the way in which a dweller in the country was met by them at every turn—even the smaller towns were not free from the intrusion of the forester, and the traveller peacefully passing through a forest district might be arrested on suspicion. That the forests needed guardianship and regulation was undoubted, for they were at once the depôt, not only for fuel, but for timber for every purpose, for the building of ships and the erection of houses. It was not on this account that the forest laws and officials were disliked; it was because of the multitude of offences which they caused against the rules of the forest, because of the intrusions into the daily life of the humblest peasants, which became more vexatious the more that the population of rural England increased in numbers.

It is impossible in a limited space to give more than a sketch of the elaborate forestal system of mediæval England, with its law-courts and its officials, at the time when it was strongest and most clearly defined, or to do more than to suggest its effects on the domestic politics and the society of the age. But the longer it is considered, the more important it appears. It was at once a valuable source of revenue, as well as a striking and significant result of the feudal system, tending to fortify in the minds of the sovereigns of England the idea of divine right, and it interfered with two of the chief necessaries of life among the rural population—their food and their firing. It placed the sovereign and his servants in constant antagonism to all classes of the community, whether lay or ecclesiastic,

whether they lived in a castle or a cottage, in county towns or villages, which lay near the margins of his forest, and it was a continual barrier to the extension of agriculture, and so of civilisation. It emphasises the character of individual right to property in land in mediæval England as distinguished from the right of the commune which prevailed in some parts of Europe—for the king was the chief landowner in the country, and when he parted with his right over a forest it devolved, not on a body of the people, but on a nobleman only less powerful than himself; and it demolishes altogether the idea which yet sometimes is evident in political discussion on modern land tenure—a theory so completely at variance with historical truth—of the inherent right of every individual to a portion of the land of the kingdom. In a word, from the time of the Conqueror to the nineteenth century, the royal forests have been the cause of a conflict between two opposing systems of land tenure. The right of the individual and the corporate right of the community to the forests have been in constant antagonism, the right of the individual prevailing everywhere; for in the places where others than the king and his grantees have obtained rights in the forest by virtue of custom, it has been as individuals, and not as members of a community which was capable of enjoying rights of property. The only form in which the village or the township was recognised by the forest laws as having a corporate existence was in the unpleasant form of a liability of a township for offences committed by individual inhabitants against the forestal law. Nor have the effects of the forest laws yet wholly disappeared from the social life of England, for they have left a legacy in the game laws, which have done more than any other part of the English polity to estrange classes in the rural districts, and have ruined the lives of many a peasant. On the other hand, they have provided for our teeming population tracts of land which under other conditions might long ago have been the property of private owners—fields, it is true, of corn, or the grazing ground of cattle—but closed to the healthy enjoyment of the people.

ART. IX.—*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology.* Vol. XXII., Part 8; Vol. XXIII., Parts 2 and 7. November 1900, February and November 1901. London: Published by the Society.

A SELECTION of letters, now being published by the Biblical Archæological Society, presents features of more general historic interest than the majority of texts that have of late come to Europe from Assyria and Babylonia. The number of such tablets inscribed in cuneiform characters is very large. From the town of Nippur alone no fewer than 30,000 were brought by the American expeditions between 1888 and 1896, to say nothing of thousands from Babylon itself, and elsewhere within Mesopotamia. But when these have, with infinite trouble, been deciphered by specialists, they often turn out to be merely the correspondence of some firm of bankers or usurers, or to present lists of gods, and temples, and forms recording routine transactions during the later Babylonian or Persian periods. Valuable as these are to the specialist, they often ill repay the trouble that has to be taken in ascertaining their meaning, as compared with the rarer instances in which chronicles or the political correspondence of an early monarch are recovered. The letters now under consideration are of the latter class, and throw an interesting light on the condition of the west of Asia during the seventh century B.C. They have been translated into French by the Rev. A. J. Delattre, S.J., one of several Jesuit fathers who are active in this branch of study, and the general sense is beyond dispute, though some minor corrections appear necessary when sufficient attention has not been paid to the niceties of Assyrian grammar.

It was a very strong dynasty that raised Assyria to the position of mistress of the civilised world, in Asia and Egypt, between 722 and 626 B.C. It began with Sargon, who captured Samaria and took Israel captive. His conquests included Philistia, where he took Ashdod in 711 B.C. His other wars were waged in Arabia, Armenia, Media, Babylonia, and Elam as far as Shushan, while on the north-west he overran Asia Minor, occupying Cappadocia and Cilicia, and setting up a record of victory at Idalion, in Cyprus. Seven Ionian kings are said to have submitted, and Merodach Baladan, backed by all the power of Elam, was defeated. Sennacherib, son of Sargon, succeeded in 705 B.C., and maintained most of these conquests, though

he was unsuccessful against Egypt, and was defied by Hezekiah in Jerusalem. He also ravaged the country south of Edom, and drove out Merodach Baladan—the ally of Hezekiah—from Babylon. Esarhaddon, his son, was yet more successful, pushing on the north-east farther into Media than any former king, while on the south-west all the kings of Syria, Palestine, and Cyprus were tributary, including Manasseh of Judah. He invaded Egypt and took Memphis, while his son Assurbanipal—the last great Assyrian king—occupied Thebes. In the time of the latter Assyria seems to have reached the summit of prosperity, though signs of the sudden collapse that followed were not wanting during this reign; for, in his fourth year (664 B.C.) Gyges the Lydian revolted, and Egypt threw off the Assyrian yoke for ever, while in 649 B.C. a dangerous revolt in Babylon was headed by Samassumukin, younger brother of Assurbanipal. It was met with vigour and wise policy, and the rebel leader perished in the flames of his palace. Twelve years of war with Elam, or Western Persia, followed, for the Elamites had aided the rebellion, which was also assisted by the Arabs and Egyptians. Elam was at last conquered, and Shushan destroyed, while the Arabs were defeated near Damascus, and pursued through Moab to the lands of the Nabatheans and to the 'tents of Kedar.' But during the later years of Assurbanipal occurred that terrible raid of Scythian hordes which laid waste all Western Asia and exhausted the power of Assyria, leading to the capture of Nineveh by the Medes after two short reigns, and finally to the triumph of the Persians after seventy years of Babylonian supremacy.

Assurbanipal is the Sardanapalus of the Greeks, whose name has become a byword for effeminate luxury. This seems, however, to be scant justice to the character of this monarch, and we do not know that he perished in the flames of his palace, as represented by Greek authors. More probably they confounded him with his rebellious brother in Babylon. During his reign of more than forty years art, commerce, and literature flourished. In his palace were stored all manner of tablets relating to mathematics and astronomy, with lists of countries, animals, and plants. He caused the ancient non-Semitic records of the extreme past to be copied and translated, and dictionaries even were prepared for the purpose. His palace walls were covered with some of the finest examples of Assyrian historical sculpture. A wide trade and a minutely organised system of government knit together the various provinces of the Empire.

Nor did the supposed effeminate Sardanapalus fail to show both courage and prudence in the management of affairs during the great rebellion, as the new letters abundantly testify. Some of these may belong to earlier reigns, and one at least is later than his time; but the historical allusions in other cases show that the letter was written during the time of Assurbanipal.

As regards the personal character of this great king, two of the letters deserve special attention. The first is written to a faithful friend, whom Ummanigas, King of Elam, had tried to get disgraced and executed. It runs as follows:

'King's message to Sintabniakhu. I am well. Is it well with you? As to Sinsarusur whom you sent. Anyone who speaks shameful things to slander you, for me to hear, has turned away his heart from the Sun God. But Ummanigas your accuser spoke before me, and delivered you up to be slain. But Assur my god required this of me, and they instructed him thus: "My servant, and the support of my house, I will not slay." Was it not at heart that he might thereby behold the ruin of thy Lord's house? For this Ummanigas plotted your being slain. But it is remembered that I have known your faithfulness, and have given you no promotion. For these two years have you not endured the enemy, and famine, for the house of your Lord? Who shall say anything against a servant who supports the house of his Lord, and I overlook it? And as for the trouble which you and the Assyrians your brothers have taken—as you sent to say—what you do is prudent. I perceive that you guard my fortress. . . . And your reputation in my sight is good, and the benefits that I shall extend to you will be an endowment for children's children.'

The second remarkable letter is addressed to the foreigners who took part in the Babylonian revolt:

'King's order to the non-Babylonians. I am well. It is a simple saying among men, "When the potter's dog got among the pots, the potter made him howl at will." So too you, for there is no difference. You accuse the Babylonians of evil, and, false or not false, you fix on my servants what you and your Lord do. It is a simple saying, "In vain they drag a sinful woman to the door of the judge's house, if her husband is judge." The letter, and the reply returned to you, I send you sealed: it being known that you say thus, "What will he answer us?" Some of the Babylonians, my servants and friends, sent word to me: so I was convinced (and) satisfied. Truly it is well that the wicked should impute sin.'

This sarcastic reply to his enemies—who, it is to be noted, are not saluted with inquiries as to their welfare—reminds us of a famous parable in the Old Testament,* by its use of

* 2 Kings xiv. 9.

familiar proverbs. The vigour and directness of both letters suggest that they were dictated by the king himself; and, taken in conjunction with others, they seem to indicate a simplicity, due to greatness of character, which appeals in a peculiar degree to orientals, and which, in later ages, made Saladin so much beloved by his subjects. The tiresome formulæ and the stilted language of letters and inscriptions written by ordinary court scribes and historians are absent in the present correspondence as a rule; and the writers proceed to business almost at once, and give their information in the shortest possible form.

Reports to the king came from all quarters of the empire, and the centralisation of government must have kept him very fully employed. Two are from Syria, the first purely a routine letter:

'To the King my Lord your servant Ukhat. Peace be to the King our Lord. The fortress is quite safe. There is peace in all the outlands of the land of Hamath. The heart of the King my Lord may be easy. Nothing is heard (unfavourable to) the house of the King my Lord. There is much peace.'

In the second Syrian letter we find reference, perhaps, to the settlement of this region after the Arab war, which had disturbed some, at least, of the Syrian towns. The city of Semyra is mentioned, being an important fortress at the mouth of the Eleutherus, north of Tripoli; while Merâsh, noticed with it, was a Hittite city on the south slope of the Taurus chain.

'To the King my Lord your servant Kisir-Marduk. Peace be to the King my Lord. About the houses of those implicated in disturbances the King my Lord sent to me thus: "You asked me for these fitted up houses: you ought not to give them to your servants." It seems that they say what is not just about me in presence of the King my Lord. Let a head-man of the King my Lord be sent, to tell me what is proper, from the King my Lord. Let him see if these houses of those implicated in disturbances are houses fitted up. Let him be sent to the King my Lord, and make his report: let the King my Lord consider what is imputed against me. This came, "You speak not rightly about my property." About the houses of the servants of Sipi-Assur, what the King my Lord sent to me came thus, "You take possession of their houses, giving them to your servants." When Sipi-Assur sent his servants to me, at Semyra, he sent his property. I transferred their houses: to the people of Merâsh I gave them. Sipi-Assur having submitted, let the overseers make houses for his servants in Dur-Sargon'

(that is to say, in Khorsabad, north-east of Nineveh).

In this case the usual policy of transferring disaffected

persons, and of redistributing the population of the foreign provinces, appears to be recommended.

Other letters refer to affairs in Assyria itself. One of these runs:

'Peace be to the King my Lord: the soldiers, the city Calah, the ladies of the palace, and all that is in Dur-Sargon, is safe.'

But another notices a riot in the same place, and is addressed to the king, informing him:

'From Iskia I marched myself to Dur-Sargon: they told me this, "They rioted on the 7th of Adar: in Dur-Sargon they fought each other." If the King my Lord asks is there anything to deplore in any of the dwellings, the places are safe: the suburbs, the palaces (or temples), the fort, all the houses of the fortress, are safe. The heart of the King my Lord may be easy.'

From further north we have news connected with the conquest of Armenia, in a confidential letter from the king:

'King's order to Nebodurusur as follows: I am sending Mannuki-assur, the local Mudir, about the chief men of the people of Ararat: meanwhile he will send the secretly disaffected, who eat food in your presence, to the city of Urzukhin. You, as soon as you see this letter, will try to get the number of the secretly disaffected, and will send information.'

This very Napoleonic missive contains a title which, like that of Sultan, has come down to our own times from the days of the Assyrians, a provincial governor being still known as a Mudir.

The majority of the letters appear, however, to refer to the rebellion at Babylon and to the wars against Elam. The great city on the Euphrates was never very willingly subject to Nineveh, though Assurbanipal appears to have shown every desire to conciliate its inhabitants. It was a very ancient struggle, originally racial, between the two capitals, which was only settled finally by the fall of Nineveh, and which, during a history of fifteen centuries, had most important results on the fortunes of countries west of the Euphrates. Babylon was founded about 2250 B.C., and in 2109 B.C. its first great king, Ammurabi (or Amraphel, according to Sir Henry Rawlinson), shook off the yoke of Elam, and became supreme in the West. He and his descendants were Kassites, speaking a Mongol language, in which their chronicles and inscriptions are preserved, but ruling a mixed population, partly Semitic. They appear to have claimed suzerainty for two centuries to the borders of Egypt. The Assyrians were purely Semitic,

and make their appearance in history about 1850 B.C., when Ismi-Dagon seems to have ruled along the Tigris, and even in part of Chaldea. By this time a second and far less powerful dynasty of Kassites had succeeded in Babylon.

It has been supposed, in consequence of discoveries at Nippur and Susa,* that, although the Mongol origin of civilisation in Mesopotamia is beyond dispute, Semitic kings held power even beyond the Euphrates at a date much earlier than that of the foundation of Babylon. It is rather to be regretted that scholars seem to vie in attributing a more and more remote date for the origin of civilisation in Greece, Egypt, and Chaldea alike. The 'pre-Mycenæan,' the 'pre-dynastic,' and the 'pre-Sargonite' theories all rest on the most flimsy evidence. There is absolutely no proof that there were kings of Chaldea in 4500 B.C. History proper only begins with the foundation of Babylon, and the statements of Babylonians in the sixth century B.C. are suspicious, in view of the same tendency—found in all early as well as in modern writings—to pre-date the origin of empire. There was a king (or kings, for the name may have been as common as some others) called Naram Sin, who may have been Semitic, and whom the Babylonians believed to have lived about 3750 B.C., and to have ruled all Western Asia. But inscriptions with this name at Nippur, neither by position in the ruins nor by the character of the writing, can be shown to be very primitive, and Dr. Oppert considered them to be not much earlier than 2000 B.C. The oldest texts are Akkadian, or non-Semitic, in all cases, though it is certain that Semitic rulers existed in Elam before 1800 B.C., which fully agrees with the biblical state-

* The oldest non-Semitic (Akkadian) texts known are probably those from Nippur (Nos. 86–87), but the attribution is very uncertain, and the name *Lu-gal Zag-gi-si* very doubtful, while the date is quite unknown. The oldest Semitic text is now said to be one of 600 lines from Susa; but the name *Manistuba* on this monument is equally uncertain, and the date very doubtful. The oldest dated Semitic texts belong to the reign of Ammurabi in Babylon (about 2140–2094 B.C.), including forty letters from him to Siniddina, a Semitic ruler in Chaldea. The Semitic texts from Tell Loh and Nippur (Nos. 126–127) are probably of about this age. Those of Naram Sin (Nippur, Nos. 4 and 120) may be earlier; though No. 4 (a brick-stamp) reads, 'The God Naram Sin built the house of Bel,' and seems to belong to the later age when this king was deified. The most archaic texts are all Akkadian.

ment,* which some antiquaries have thought fit to consider incorrect.

The rise of an Assyrian kingdom and the conquests of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty led to a balance of power in Asia which endured for four hundred years. On the collapse of Egypt, 'the great king of Assyria,' having allied himself by marriage with the Kassite ruler of Babylon, was able to conquer Syria; but soon after an internecine conflict between the Assyrians and Kassites began, and lasted for more than four centuries, with intervals of peace, during which boundaries were settled. In 1128 B.C., on the death of the great Semitic ruler, Nebuchadrezzar I., his kingdom being divided between two sons, the Kassites again became powerful in Babylon, till the Assyrian conquest of 1010 B.C.; but it was not until about 900 B.C. that the Assyrians, being united with Babylon, appear to have been again free to subjugate the countries west of the Euphrates; and, as before mentioned, rebellion in Babylonia constantly crippled their power, down to the last days of Assurbanipal and his successors. It is the same story that we read in later ages, when a Seljuk, or a Saladin, left sons to divide the empire; for whenever a single master ruled in Mesopotamia he was able also to reach the Mediterranean, and whenever internal conflicts arose the shore lands of Syria either became independent or were annexed by Egypt. The letters which refer to Babylonian affairs are thus of peculiar interest; and it is a remarkable instance of false criticism that the captivity of King Manasseh used to be regarded as unhistorical because, during the period of Assyrian domination, he is said to have been taken to Babylon; † whereas it is in reality a proof that the Hebrew writer was well informed, since at this time the western capital was in possession of the Assyrian suzerain.

The employment of foreign mercenaries to guard the disaffected region of Babylon is shown in one letter; for the land of Yadai there mentioned, and the Kuai (perhaps the Koa of the Bible ‡), were a region and a tribe well known to have been situated north of Antioch, but that furnished troops for the protection of Borsippa. The transfer of Israel to the east was by no means an exceptional feature of Assyrian policy, but one that we trace as early as 1130 B.C., and which continued to be regarded as essential till the

* Gen. x. 22. † 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.
‡ Ezekiel xxiii. 23.

Persian conquest, when a more humane system was introduced, Darius I. not only tolerating the building of a temple by the restored Jews at Jerusalem, but equally allowing the rebuilding of Egyptian temples destroyed by the Assyrians. The letter in question runs thus :

'To the King my Lord your servant Marduk-sarakhisu, being appointed to guard the house of Nebosib in Borsippa. Peace be to the King my Lord. The heart of the King my Lord may be quite at ease. My fortress is safe—the place to which the King my Lord appointed me. Now I have sent to the King my Lord the men of Borsippa, who made these quarrels. They slew one another. We sent out from the fortress, to which the King my Lord appointed us, the Utai, the Kuai of Yadai, and the Kuai of Rikhi, whom the King my Lord sent with me to our fortress. They kept watch with me. The heart of the King my Lord may rest. Let the King our Lord accept this : let (him) be easy about it.'

The royal proclamation to the Babylonians at the time when Samassumukin revolted from his brother Assurbanipal, with other letters, fully indicates the conciliatory policy of the king to all who were of the Semitic race, as contrasted with his treatment of their Elamite allies, whose kings bore non-Semitic names.

'King's order to the Babylonians. I am well : is it well with you ? All the rebel talk that my no-brother spoke to you they have told me. I heard them. Not a rebel revolts to him in Assyria. I call Marduk my God * to witness as to the words of this his request (whoever may have spoken against me) that what I seek with my heart my mouth spoke. His expectation is vain. He bethought him that the name of the Babylonians his friends would be abhorred by me. But I listened not. Your brotherhood with the sons of Assyria assures your protection. God is my witness that the fault is his. You are with me at heart. This news of revolt for him you will not listen to. Your name, which is good before me and before all lands, you will not shame ; and you will not make yourselves sinners before God ; and that he has hindered the law among you that you seek, I know. So behold, him we have caused to be proclaimed a rebel to our rule. The Government is not his. So we have annulled the name ; and him, with the author of the slanders, ye shall expel. His, as he has established dominion over yourselves and caused sin, I know is the fault before God. Now I send to you, that with these devices of his you should not soil yourselves sinfully, against my instructions. Behold the right of which I am assured by Bel will not be taken from my hands by one whom Marduk casts down. Twenty-third of Iyar, in the eponymy of Assurdurusur, to be brought by Samasbalatsuikbi.'

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* *Elohim*, a plural noun often used with the verb in the singular, as in Hebrew.

In the revolution that followed, the town of Nippur, south-east of Babylon, appears to have remained loyal to Assyria; but an unfortunate mistake made as to a deputation had to be set right by the king himself as follows:

'(King's message) to the men of Nippur. I am well: is it well with you? As to Hannana, Rimut, and Malkiya the overseer, whom you sent to me. It is well that you have taken these persons. See that you do not weary to guard them. And as to your sending to me thus: "Fifteen of us elders sent to enquire as to health . . . (were not) brought in to the King's (presence). . . ." It is a great error on the part of the official who directed you, that I gave orders for (expulsion?), and of no one else, that the man in front of the palace did not admit you there, to my presence within. I call Assur my God to witness if I had known that you requested to enter my presence; but I myself knew nothing of your request. Whether it was this man or that man it was well, for all of you are as one before me.'

The Babylonians, however, appear to have put pressure on these Nippur loyalists by a kind of 'boycott,' which was very effective, since it consisted in cutting off the water supply, as will be seen below:

'To the King my Lord thy servant, the chief of this Province. May Bel, Marduk, and Nebo protect the King my Lord. The King knows that whether much (supported?) or not (supported?), I adhere to the King's peace. Now I send Bilusatu my brother, with ten men well known sons of Nippur, to salute the King my Lord. The King knows that all the lands are estranged from Assyria; none of the lands submit to bear his yoke. Wherever we go we are reproached thus: "Why do you bear the yoke of the land of Assyria?" Now a way [literally door] is open for me, but we go not forth. We guard the King's fortress. The messenger, and many whom the King has sent to our brethren, have all beheld: let them tell the King. The King will not betray us into the hands of anyone. There is no spring water. We must not die of thirst. The King your father gave us water of the canal,* but the supply of the canal to Nippur is dry . . . water is not made full for us. Lo! let the King send to Ubar, the head-man of Babylon; let him give us a supply of canal water. The water rises with them. We must not fail from thirst unaided by the King, lest all the lands say thus: "The people of Nippur, who took the yoke of the land of Assyria, they have subjected to tortures by thirst."'

The same Ubar reports that Babylon is pacified—perhaps somewhat later:

'To the King my Lord your servant Ubar, the head-man of Babylon. May Nebo and Marduk protect the King. Now this day may Marduk

* Literally, 'the river of constructions.'

and Zarpanit exalt the life of the soul of the King my Lord. The Babylonians have returned to Babylon: they trusted us; and lo! this very day they bless the King, saying that the punishment and spoiling of Babylon he has restrained; and from Sippara as far as the Salt river, the chiefs of Chaldea bless the King; because he has allowed Babylon to be inhabited all the lands (find shelter?) in the presence of the King my Lord.'

Another commissioner sent to Nippur, and as far south as Erech near the mouth of the Euphrates, appears to have preceded the arrival of the king himself. After the usual salutations Kaptia reports:

'About news of Babylon, as the King my Lord sends to me, "has not the King my Lord's seal reached you, which Assurramimsar brought for me?" As I and my brethren were sent with him, to the fortress of the land of Arasu to keep guard, we knew that news of Babylon would not arrive on the road, before the palace official went up. So he found me in Nippur and Erech from your majesty at home, and I received news of the King my Lord; and I myself have not been (deprived?) of news of the King my Lord, for I (said) thus to the people, their sons, and their wives, till his majesty is among them, "Let news of the King my Lord come"; and as I myself send elders, with messages for the King my Lord at home, I shall cause news for the King my Lord to come from Babylon.'

The region south of Babylon was, however, much disturbed by the wars with Elam, which are well known from the historical texts. Ummanigas, king of Elam, having been murdered, his brother Tammarit fled to Assyria, and though restored by Assyrian policy was unable to maintain power, and the usurper Ummanaldas was finally attacked by Assurbanipal, and taken in Susa (Shushan), where the temples were found full of presents and spoils from Babylon, taken by former kings of Elam, and sent by the rebel brother Samassumukin. The following letters appear to belong to the period of these wars, and refer to the subsequent settlement of Chaldea.

Kudur, an official in the South, invokes the blessings of the gods of Erech on the king, and continues:

'Bel and Nebo, Istar of Erech, and Nana, shall make strong, and let them prosper, Upaku (whom the King my Lord sends) from the rising to the setting of the sun. Let them grant to the King my Lord that the kings of all lands may be swept before the weapons of the King my Lord . . . to the land of Sumir they are (sending?) Musizib Marduk, sister's son of Belibni, whom Belibni sent two or three times with messages, to the presence of the King my Lord. Belibni appointed him in spite of me. The man in charge of the gates spoke to me of him. These people are not among the friends of my Lord's house. It is not well that they should come into the interior. They

fill the ears of the land of Elam with news from the land of the King my Lord, and when there was famine in the land of Elam they brought in food within it. I send to tell the King my Lord. The King my Lord will do as he thinks fit.'

This hint seems to have been taken, for the king writes to Belibni about his nephew, who probably belonged to the party of the rebellious Samassamukin:

'King's order to Belibni. I am well: is it well with you? About Musizib Marduk. He did not come on his (appointed) day to my presence. I have sent after him. It is understood that he is not staying at Nineveh.'

Possibly the lost messenger, or spy, may have been put out of the way. The Assyrians, on the other hand, got information from deserters as to what was going on in Elam, and one letter contains a passage to that effect:

'An outcast, and several persons of the Kalki people, have come down to me from a palace official. The brothers of the King of Elam pressed their brother, urging him thus: "We will assemble an expedition: we will go to the people of Kalki: we will pluck the people of Kalki out of the hand of the land of Assyria." The King of Elam gave no direction: he heard them not: he ignored, saying, "Just now I shall not lay waste."'

The subsequent settlement of a village in the vicinity of the Persian Gulf, which had been ruined by the invaders, is noticed in the two following letters, which give further evidence of a desire to pacify Babylonia. The same official, Kudur, who gave information as to the supposed spy is mentioned again:

'To the King of lands my Lord, your servant Kudur. May Bel and Nebo pronounce safety of life, and length of days, ever for the King my Lord. Since I have been in the land of the enemy, as a commander in the neighbourhood of Beth Amukkanna, the servants of the King my Lord have been smitten: the storehouses of the forts of the King my Lord have been seized: therefore let them send the light troops of the King my Lord. They are coming against the magazines, they have slain the people, and ravished the women; and they come in against Zabaya the local Mudir.

'On the day that they entered Beth Amukkanna they told us thus: "They are come against the local Mudir." I sent soldiers (saying) thus: "March! go up! drive forth! guard the fort! catch these people." From the King's river towards Nebosarusur, the principal official of the canton, they went: so he seized them. The King my Lord, if he thinks fit, can ask about these things. The King my Lord knows how Beth Amukkanna is destroyed. I was the commander in these regions. They did not cause light troops to accompany me. And these persons were aggressors, but it is our fault that

this region is destroyed. Let the King my Lord say that they may send with speed light troops, to march to the storehouses where I abode.'

The complaint seems thus to be against a guerilla style of warfare, and that no light (literally 'swift') troops were available: which accounted for the disaster.

'To the King of Kings my Lord thy servant Nebousallim. May Assur, Samas, and Marduk seek the peace of the King my Lord. These people in the reedy swamps, the fen-people all of them, since in the time of Samasibni their chief, being a man of possession, they had a portion there, let them be settled in Beth Amukkanna. Is it not the land of their brethren before? They are not hostile to me. Those who are outcasts will be against me: these will help me. As a reward to Kudur of Beth Amukkanna from the King my Lord, let the King send word; let a letter be asked from the house of the King my Lord, to direct that I may now settle whoever I took captive in Beth Amukkanna. Their brethren do not grudge them this: they will not trouble the King my Lord.'

Another instance of royal clemency is found in another set of three letters, from a certain Rammansumusur, who appears to have been in disgrace. These are couched in a tone of great humility, and two are of considerable length. The first is a petition, beginning with an elaborate panegyric of the king, as favourite of the gods and patron of temples, whereby good rains, river water, cheap prices, and days of continual feasting and joy are secured. 'Those,' he says, 'who for many years have been captive you have set free; 'those long sick are healed; and the squalid clothed with 'robes of honour.' Yet he and his son remain unhappy; for among the many who enjoy benefits from the king, 'Our 'bosoms are hollow, we are low at heart,' although 'those 'condemned to death for their sin have been made to live 'by the King my Lord.' He continues to ask that his son be allowed to go out once more in the presence of the king, and 'may we leap for joy among all these people, and bless 'the King.' 'My eyes rest on the King,' he adds, for 'among 'all the people no one will be happier than I should he draw 'me forth who am a hostage among them.'

This request was apparently granted, and a very effusive letter of gratitude followed. After invoking fifteen gods to protect the king, Rammansumusur continues:

'May they grant happiness and health, length of days, children enough, and good omens to the King my Lord. May they cause fame and family, and that offspring be borne to the King my Lord. May thy root rejoice and spread; for that the King my Lord sent to me

thus: "To-day thy heart may be at ease." He had sealed his mouth, he delayed, he has not regarded, (but) I waited, I fortified my breast, I stilled my heart that the King my Lord might do for me, by these good words, these noble deeds; that he might reward me before God and man; for as a father does to his son the King my Lord does to his servant. He has taken away the reproach from the house of my kindred. What other king has been gracious to his servants as mine to me; or benefactor as my benefactor has done good to me? For this mercy may all gods of heaven and earth do good, a thousand times as much, to the King my Lord, while heaven and earth endure, for the good words, the noble deeds, that the King my Lord has rendered to me, hearing and beholding which my heart, at ease in me, renewed its life. I gave command that they should bring oxen before me to sacrifice. Since among the generations of the King my Lord, the King my Lord lets me grow grey, and this through the King my Lord having raised me up from death, it should ensue that he be not fated to die; may he establish first all those who lift up their eyes to me; may the King my Lord do for my sons what (he has done) for me: may the King my Lord outlive their sons' sons. For the King my Lord has sent to me thus, "You, your nephews, your father's brothers' sons, I have chosen to bring forth to my presence." For this mercy may Assur, in the day that he calls by name, may Bel and Nebo when they call by name, may all gods, when they call by name, preserve the name, the seed, the offspring named after the King my Lord. May they be chosen, may they be made to go forth in their presence, while heaven and earth endure: may they be made lords of all lands, for all that is great, good, noble, strong, and right, that the King my Lord has done for me. Let the King my Lord deign to order a sealed statement, to be kept in fulfilment of what, by his king's grant, Nabunadinsumu, the king's brother, gave us in writing. I have made it heard amongst my brethren ten times.'

The same writer apparently was made governor of a place called Beth Kutal ('the house of the wall'), and writes once more to thank the king for his favours with much humility, calling himself 'this grey-bearded dog of a servant' of the king. It seems probable that he may have been amnestied from among various persons implicated in the rebellion at Babylon.

The very strict inquisition into the proceedings of Government officials, in order to prevent corruption and abuses, is evident from other letters in this collection, one of which refers to confiscated lands near Babylon, as follows:

'To the King my Lord your servant Adarakhiddina. Peace be to the King my Lord. Akhsa . . ., and Belit . . . the Mudir, representing Nebousallim * of Beth Dakur, brought me much money in their hands, saying to me thus, "It is intended for us to buy horses."

* Previously noticed as intercessor for the people of the swamps.

Does the King my Lord know? About the multitude of chiefs and people of the distribution of Samasibni, whom the King my Lord sent before Nebousallim, though I spoke to him he did not permit it, he did not submit, (saying) thus, "I shall not permit you without the King's seal, and without a local Mudir." Belikisu, son of Bunanu, being sent to Babylon, and Borsippa, and Beth Dakur, took . . . He gave . . . as a gift to Belnasir. . . . His second daughter was given to . . . son of Nadinu, a . . . in Borsippa. His third daughter was given to the son of Zakir, chief of the Associates of the god Nebo, of Beth Husanna, on the river, at the bend near Cutha and Az. He has given an hundred date palms, and an hundred acres of corn land, which belong to the King. Nebodiniamur caused it to be given him, as property of Belikisu. He, his father, and his grandfather had no power in the province of Babylon, and it was not in his charge. Now whenever I see anything I send to the King my Lord. The King my Lord will do as he thinks fit.'

This appears to have been a question of family interest in the assignment of confiscated lands. The next letter, which is considerably injured, refers to disputed arrears of tribute or taxes:

'Sanini, who was in arrear to . . . borrowed it. The son of Sadir gave a manah and a half of gold [100*l.*] to . . . (the son of) Sadir was in arrears with the palace for this, we transferred it, they wrote about it from the palace. He borrowed from a soldier. It was erased. What Sanini had said of me came. He has forgotten how he borrowed from myself personally. He has brought this up against me: let him charge it to himself. . . .'

The next letter appears to refer to commissariat arrangements, the persons in charge having been sent with a letter of advice and taking back a report, on which they were to be paid for their services, receiving rations on the road:

'Following the men who brought me the oxen from Gozan to Sabiris, I sent them back. I sent back a covering letter which I caused to be taken to be seen. Amongst them are Kina the boatman and his company—three persons: Sandapi the fodder master—three persons: Khuli the farmer—five persons: Kuza the (shearer?)—four persons. Fifteen in all, according to my letter of information. I sent round the local Mudir before them, from Sabiris to Gozan. He sent men to fetch nutriment for going on the roads.'

A confidential report on officers suggests that the selection had been unfortunate. The term 'down cast of eyes,' here used of one of the accused, occurs also in the Bible,* to designate the humble:

'The servants of my Lord's house (as the King to-day makes me explain) Tabba son of Bel-Kharranusur, whom the King my Lord sent

* Job xxii. 29.

me as chief of a canton; Nebosakib, whom the King my Lord sent me as an humble person for secret service: Imur-Marduk, whom the King my Lord sent me as a local Mudir; these three officers are drunkards. When they are quite drunk, each having an iron dagger, one cannot circumvent their wrath. They are violent. I send, as he has appointed me, to the King my Lord. The King my Lord will do as he thinks right.'

In another letter the return of an expedition of some kind is announced, either a procession or a military force accompanied by the arks of the gods, as was usual. The writer says:

'At the end of the third day Assur and Adar, who sent forth safe, brought me safely back. All the gods he ordered me to show, with Assur, are placed safely in their places. The King's heart may rest; may Assur and Adar grant the King my Lord an hundred years.'

A short private letter of courtesy runs as follows:

'Letter of Marduk to his brother Kugalzu. May Bel and Nebo seek the peace of my brother. Why did I not see your messenger when he came to Borsippa? If I had seen your messenger you would have drunk a case of wine. It was forty bottles.'

The glories of this remarkable reign were remembered in later days, as is shown by a letter from one princess to another, referring to some cause of anger. The king first mentioned was an immediate successor of Assurbanipal, about 626 B.C.:

'Message of the King's daughter to the woman Assursarrat. Your letter has come. Write not your wrath: talk not lest they say, "Is not this the sister of Siruaitirat, the eldest daughter of the household that Assuritililani established for us?"—a great King, a strong King, King of multitudes, King of Assyria—and thou the grand-daughter of the Queen, of the family of Assurbanipal, son of a great King, of the family of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria.'

These specimens are sufficient to give us considerable insight into the political affairs of Assyria during the time of its greatest power and prosperity. They show, however, that dangers already surrounded the throne, and that Babylonian discontent was among the greatest of these, in spite of the clemency and policy of the great king. Within twenty years of his death a combination of the Medes and Babylonians led to the ruin of Nineveh, while Necho from Egypt marched up to the fords of the Euphrates at Carchemish, where Nebuchadnezzar defeated him. The rebellious governor of Babylon, Nabopolassar, father of Nebuchad-

nezzar, in a text recently discovered* which describes the foundation of a temple, speaks of having purified Babylon: 'Our land which the oppressor seized, to establish in its 'midst a throne of righteousness.' 'On the day of its 'capture,' he says later, 'I set up votive tablets. Many 'officers were appointed; they rectified complaints, being 'upright in walking after Samas, Ramman, and Nebo.' 'Has not Nebochadrezzar, my eldest son, the delight of my 'heart, upheld the dominion faithfully and gloriously with 'my hosts?' He also specially mentions 'Sons of the race 'of this place whom I have made to rule.' Yet in spite of this final triumph Babylon also was destined to fall a prey to the new Aryan race, to which Medes and Persians alike belonged.

The picture of government that is to be drawn from such correspondence must modify the impression which we gain from the savage battle pictures, and from the boastful records which court scribes prepared. The Assyrians were eminently practical, and had great experience in the management of mixed populations. Their wars were mainly on the frontier, and kings who sent regular tribute were very little disturbed. The collection of so many texts by Assurbanipal, written in the Akkadian language and carefully translated, has been thought to be due to archæological interest in ancient gods, auguries, and charms; but it is clear in other cases, where grammatical treatises were prepared, that the aim was far more practical; and that they were intended to assist those who had to deal with non-Semitic tribes, especially in the West. The Hittites were among these; yet it has been usually supposed that they were exterminated and carried captive by Sargon. A new text of Nebuchadnezzar, however, shows that they were still to be found, about 600 B.C., in their own country. The passage is as follows: †

'The princes of the land of the Hittites—for, by the command of Marduk my Lord I had destroyed their power—near the Euphrates to the west, were made to bring strong beams from Lebanon to my city Babylon. The rest of the widespread races of mankind, whom Marduk my Lord gave me, presented what I took of them, to make the house of the worship of God.'

But among the Babylonians the memory of the great Elamite wars long endured, and other texts give a picture of the utter ruin of the city, and even preserve a ballad in regular metre which has for its subject the destruction of an

* Nippur texts, No. 84. † Nippur texts, No. 85.

impious Elamite who dared to desecrate one of the temples —a story recalling that of Heliodorus at Jerusalem. Such materials for history are found mingled with endless private and religious tablets, which are often very obscure; but no text can be left unread, for even on a boundary-stone protecting a field valuable historic information may occur, as in the case which may be given in conclusion of this paper,* where we appear to have a distinct statement of the time that elapsed between the accession of the Kassite king Gulkisar and the death of the Semitic king Nebuchadnezzar I. of Babylon, giving a date in exact accordance with other chronicles. The important passage may be read thus:

'From Gulkisar, king of the sea-coast lands, to Nebuchadrezzar, King of Babylon, were 636 years. In the fourth year of Belnadinablu, Sakarabasa, son of Eanadinna, gave possession to Ilimelek of the fields.'

Gulkisar acceded in 1763 B.C., and Nebuchadnezzar I. in 1154 B.C., and the latter reigned twenty-six years, when he was succeeded by his eldest son in Babylon, and by Belnadinablu in the Chaldean region of the Shorelands. By the aid of such constantly accumulating materials we may hope in time—for the supply shows no signs of exhaustion—to be able to write the history of Western Asia, in these early times, with an amount of insight which a century ago would have seemed entirely incredible.

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* Nippur texts, No. 83.

Art. X.—*Œuvres de M. Anatole France:* (1) *Balthasar.* (2) *Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard* (ouvrage couronné par l'Académie française). (3) *L'Étui de Nacre.* (4) *Le Jardin d'Épicure.* (5) *Jocaste et le Chat Maigre.* (6) *Le Livre de mon Ami.* (7) *Le Lys Rouge.* (8) *Les Opinions de M. Jérôme Coignard.* (9) *Le Puits de Sainte Claire.* (10) *La Rôtisserie de la Reine Pédauque.* (11) *Thaïs.* (12) *La Vie Littéraire.* (13) Histoire Contemporaine: (*a*) *L'Orme du Mail;* (*b*) *Le Mannequin d'Osier;* (*c*) *L'Anneau d'Améthyste;* (*d*) *Monsieur Bergeret à Paris.*— (14) *Clio.*

In M. Octave Mirbeau's notorious novel, a novel which it would be complimentary to describe as naturalistic, the heroine is warned by her director against the works of M. Anatole France. 'Ne lisez jamais du Voltaire . . . c'est 'un péché mortel . . . ni du Renan . . . ni de l'Anatole 'France. Voilà qui est dangereux.' The names are appropriately united: a real, if not precisely an apostolical, succession exists between the three writers. If it would be too much to say of Nature that

'To make the third, she joined the former two,'

it is certain that the author of 'La Rôtisserie de la Reine 'Pédauque' has much both of Voltaire and of Renan in his composition; without them he would have been other than he is. Nor is the prohibition of the director untrue to life; it is improbable that a spiritual adviser would recommend the works of M. Anatole France to those who consulted him as to their reading. If, indeed, these works are not on the 'Index Librorum Prohibitorum,' it must be due to an oversight on the part of the Congregation charged with its compilation. For M. France is an inveterate disturber of the dogmatic slumber to which the natural man takes so kindly, and from which the Church is slow to rouse him. A living note of interrogation, he takes nothing for granted; he questions, speculates, criticises; his instinct leads him, if not to deny, at least to doubt. And his scepticism is of the insidious sort that cometh not with observation; it is conveyed in an apostrophe, a parable, an apologue, and is most dangerous when least obvious and least direct. 'Pontius, te souvient-il de cet homme?' is the question put to the ex-Procurator of Judea with regard to the Central

Figure of history. 'Pontius Pilate fronça les sourcils et 'porta la main à son front comme quelqu'un qui cherche 'dans sa mémoire. Puis, après quelques instants de silence: '"Jésus," murmura-t-il, "Jésus, de Nazareth? Je ne me '"rappelle pas."' *

To represent M. France as one of the giants of literature would be extravagant. As well endow Ariel with the stature and sinews of a Titan: this were to miss his distinctive qualities; delicacy, elegance, charm. He belongs to a category of writers who are more read and probably exercise more influence than those of greater name. The latter show us life as a whole; but life as a whole is too vast and too remote to excite in most of us more than a somewhat languid curiosity; the former confine themselves to what, to those who think and feel at all, is an object of the keenest personal interest, the life of the world we live in. And it is here that M. France excels. His knowledge is wide, his sympathies are many-sided, his power of exposition is unsurpassed: no one has set before us the mind of our time, with its half-lights, its shadowy vistas, its indefiniteness, its haze on the horizon, so vividly as he. Many generations have gone to make it: the heir of a long past, it embodies their achievements and their aspirations, their dreams and their disillusionments, their failures and their regrets. So much learned, so little known; so much promise, so little fulfilment; so much blood poured like water on the earth, yet the earth how barren, the harvest how scanty! To interpret it is no easy matter; the general impression that it leaves on us is one of bewilderment, of an apparently inextricable confusion of ideas and tendencies. Earnestness is disguised as trifling, tenderness as cynicism, piety as indifference, faith as unbelief. While, on the other hand, we find low standards going with high professions, immorality posing as virtue, policy as religion, the secular as the spiritual, the ignorance of man as the wisdom of God. The moral of the whole being the old one, that appearances are to be distrusted; that things are not, or at least are seldom, what they seem. Hence the necessity and the justification of scepticism. Believe not every spirit, is sense as well as Scripture; we question in order that we may not be deceived.

The civilisation of the Latin races, unlike our own, is a city civilisation; the connotation of such words as urbane,

* L'Etui de Nacre, 28.

rustic, pagan, bears witness to the respective estimation in which they held town and country life. To the Frenchman Paris is France, and the highest compliment you can pay him is to take him for a Parisian: all that is best and most characteristic in the life of the nation, its quickness, its intelligence, its brilliancy, centres in the capital. With us the reverse is the case. The last thing that an Englishman wishes is to be thought a Londoner: the Cockney is a ridiculous person who drops his 'h's,' and can neither shoot nor ride to hounds. M. France is essentially Parisian, savouring of the asphalte, not of the soil. The autobiographical 'Livre de mon Ami' represents a modest home in which intellectual were of more account than material interests; a sensitive, observant and somewhat meditative childhood passed in and moulded by the as yet un-Haussmannised city. The training produced an academic talent, with a dash of the boulevard. Paris is not, or was not thirty years ago, on so enormous and unwieldy a scale as London; and it was a greater centre than London is, or has ever been. The intelligence of the nation was concentrated there; it possessed a literary tradition; in spite of their bickerings, which were incessant, the freemasonry of letters formed a bond of union between literary men. The novice knew, at least by sight and by repute, the masters of his craft; intercourse was easy and informal; there was a camaraderie between younger and older men. The atmosphere breathed was historical; not a street but had its memories; the bouquinists and printsellers on the quays between the Pont Neuf and the Pont Royal with their old books, their old engravings and the bric-à-brac, faded and grey with the dust of years, that speaks to us of generations dead and buried—to have been brought up among these things was in itself a liberal education; it developed a sense of the past, and a disposition to regard it not merely as the permanent background of life, but as a constituent of the present, a part of to-day. The most important part, perhaps, for the past has made us; the living are always, a philosopher reminds us, and more and more as time advances, under the dominion of the dead. So that the transition from the one to the other is easy: to the unsophisticated mind of youth —and there are those who retain it through life—the barriers of time and space are but half closed. Imagination passes them, and a thousand years are as yesterday. The boy of 'Le Livre de mon Ami' is drawn from real life. He reads the 'Lives of the Saints,' and he is himself, to the perturba-

tion of the household, a hermit in the Thebaid; the 'Odyssey,' and he is a sailor of the age of the heroes, afloat upon a violet sea. He sees Nausicaa and her maidens at the spring, Circe weaving spells in her hollow caverns, the Cyclops on the cliffs threatening shipwrecked mariners; the Sirens make music for him as, lashed to the mast and stretching ineffectual hands to the singers, he skirts their perilous coast. So life and the world are idealised, nor can later contact with reality dispel the charm. For reality is what we make it; to those in whom the Divine dwells it is transfigured, and all things are full of gods. 'Il est beau '. . . d'avoir rêvé dans son enfance: il en reste un parfum 'et comme une tradition de poésie qui défraie l'âge où 'l'on n'imagine plus.' This manifold inner life has given M. France a rare power of perspective, of reproducing and interpreting the past. His 'Thaïs' is not, perhaps, as edifying as 'Fabiola,' but it gives a truer picture of early Christianity; the mixture of the enthusiast and the demagogue in the Nubian martyr Ahmès; the gradual undermining of the sanctity of Paphnutius; the victory of instinct, depraved because unnaturally suppressed, over acquired habit; the explosion of passion that in an instant wrecks his whole moral life, and reveals the human brute in his native hideousness—all this is actual to the verge of pain. The element of the dervish in the Egyptian solitaries, the kinship of their spirit with that of their Mahomedan successors, this identity in difference, these contact points between different ages and creeds are noted: 'il y a déjà du 'marabout et du mahdi dans les vieux moines chrétiens de 'la vallée du Nil.' * The greatest divine of our time ranked Gibbon high among writers of Church history. M. France possesses gifts which, had he specialised in that department, would have marked him out for excellence; 'pour faire 'l'histoire d'une religion, il faut ne plus y croire, mais il 'faut y avoir cru.' It is the pedant only who will fail to estimate aright the power of religion in human life and history; there is an intolerant and irrational unbelief as well as an intolerant and irrational faith. But those who have even an elementary knowledge of our nature, with its undergrowths, its unconscious returns upon itself, its latent and unsuspected possibilities, will understand the subtle, sensuous and ineffaceable charm of a symbolism which breaks down the wall of partition between the visible and

* La Vie Littéraire, iii. 141.

the invisible, and throws the glamour of eternity over the things of time.

'Les femmes ont senti passer dans leurs poitrines
Le mol embrasement d'un souffle oriental.
Une sainte épouvante a gonflé leurs narines,
Sous les dieux apparus loin de leur ciel natal . . .
Elle les voit si beaux ! Son âme avide et tendre,
Que le siècle brutal fatigua sans retour,
Cherche entre ces esprits indulgents à qui tendre
L'ardente et lourde fleur de son dernier amour . . .
Et Leuconoé goûte éperdument le charme
D'adorer un enfant et de pleurer un dieu.' *

Nor is it women only who are thus influenced: there is that in us which is deeper than the sex distinction; human nature is common to women and to men. Religion, however, covers one side only, though a very important side, of human nature; and M. France is a connoisseur of human nature as a whole. His types are taken from many sources; they represent all sorts and conditions of men. The grotesque frequenters of the 'Chat Maigre,' erratic and out-at-elbows, jostle the elegant frequenters of the salons of the 'Lys Rouge': in the studies of contemporary France, which begin with 'L'Orme du Mail' and end with 'M. Bergeret à Paris'—studies which, under a slight form, embody the experience of a shrewd observer, and contain more material for future historians than many more pretentious volumes—préfets and generals, ministers and financiers, great ladies and their train of admirers, priests, intransigent and opportunist, pass under our eyes. They are sketches rather than finished portraits; but the art is so skilful that a line suggests a character—there is no need to fill in the detail. The Papal Nuncio, for instance, Monsignor Cima, who, with half-closed eyes, sees everything and commits himself to nothing: how exactly he takes the measure of the aspirants to the vacant see of Tourcoing; how adroitly he turns the conversation from the duties of the episcopate to less burning topics—the vintages of Orleans and the climate of Rome! To know all, it has been said, is to pardon all; it is also, perhaps, if not to lose faith in all, to be not a little disillusioned, to be slow to take men and things at their own valuation. Having learned by experience that heroes are few, the philosopher is not given to hero-worship; aware that ideas, when they become current

* Les Noces Corinthiennes.

and take concrete shape, lose much of their original content, he is no enthusiast; his attitude towards life is acquiescent —he takes it as he finds it and as it comes. He would not burn well, disapproving the obstinacy of the martyr only less than the cruelty of the persecutor: 'il maintint ses 'opinions, jusqu'au feu exclusivement, estimant par avance, 'avec Montaigne, que mourir pour une idée, c'est mettre à 'bien haut prix les conjectures.'* To some this temper will seem incompatible with idealism in any shape: it destroys, they think, the romance which, for those who have eyes to see, paints life in such exquisite colours, and rends the veil of the temple in twain. A well-known Eton tutor of the last generation discouraged his pupils from reading Thackeray because of his cynicism; the Rabbis, to go further back, esteemed Jeremiah the least of the prophets on account of his fault-finding; this is the reason, they tell us, why his prophecy is inscribed, 'The words of Jeremiah,'† instead of 'The word of God.' It is possible, of course, to fix one's attention on the faults of men and things rather than on their excellencies. Those who do this are greatly to be pitied. The best of men fail somewhere, because they are human; the most necessary and beneficent forms of society—the family, the State, the Church—have their less worthy side, because they are composed of and administered by men. But to have eyes for faults only argues a defective vision: if we can see nothing but what is little in great men, nothing but what is mischievous in great institutions, and nothing but what is contemptible in great ideas, we may be sure that there is something wrong, not with them, but with ourselves.

But there is another side to this. The more important idealising is perceived to be, the more important it becomes to idealise rightly. 'Never marry but for love; but see that 'thou lov'st what is lovely:' the lover should be provided with Ithuriel's spear to discern the counterfeit from the true. Too often this is not so; too often enthusiasm, like love, is blind. And in this case truth revenges itself. If the idea for which we are enthusiastic is false, if the institution which we champion is mischievous, the greater our enthusiasm and the more passionate our championship, the more injurious are both to ourselves and to the community of which we are members. Enthusiasm is like a river, beneficent when confined between its banks, a devastating flood when it overflows

* La Vie Littéraire, iii. 31. † Jeremiah, i. 1.

them: a power uncontrolled, mighty for evil; guided by knowledge and regulated by reason, mighty for good. It is difficult, indeed, to unite the two—enthusiasm and reason; for the one is quick, the other slow. The fire of passion kindles at a touch; knowledge advances step by step and tentatively; we are impatient of her reserves, her qualifications, her circumspection, her measured pace. A certain narrowness of vision goes with the temperament of action. It was easy, for example, to burn heretics, when men were certain that the heretic was a centre of contagion; it was easy to send nobles and priests to the scaffold, as long as men were convinced that with their disappearance a new age of liberty and virtue would open. But as soon as we are not quite sure action is paralysed; and unlearning goes hand-in-hand with learning. The more we know, the more we realise the many-sidedness of things, the complexity of what at first seemed simple, the more impossible we find it to be quite sure. Especially do we learn to distrust great names and high professions. Liberalism does not always make for liberty; churches do not always make for religion; party divisions have ceased to correspond—probably they never did correspond—with facts. The hard-and-fast lines which we draw between our conceptions exist for thought only, not in things; and if we transfer them to things we get into hopeless difficulty. Men are neither good nor bad, but a mixture of good and evil; ideas are neither true nor false, they contain some truth and some falsehood. Things, in short, shade off into one another: they are neither wholly this nor wholly that—it depends upon the point of view from which we look at them—but both, or neither, or something between the two. And a man's usefulness in life depends, as a rule, on his recognising this; nothing bars the way to a higher ideal so effectually as committal to and persistence in a lower; the Church may become the enemy of religion, a party of the State. Before we surrender ourselves to the generous impetuosities of enthusiasm, let us remember this.

How many, taking names for things, have committed themselves in early years to ideals which their maturer judgement disapproved, and against which their conscience, better informed, revolted: have discovered too late that the gods to whose service their youthful ardours pledged them were fashioned by human ignorance and ambition from the commonest clay. Hence, too often, irretrievable moral ruin. Life is lived out in bad faith, because men are too indolent or too self-interested to break away from the bondage of

habit and circumstance: a false sentiment of loyalty to the past and to engagements entered into in ignorance of their real nature ensures a nominal allegiance to a creed which has ceased to command belief or respect. It is an allegiance as destitute of honour as of reality; if there is in the world such a thing as atheism, as infidelity, it is here. Religion is rejected because the superstition which has been taken for religion is seen in its true colours; God is held a thing of naught, because the gods of the heathen, which we ignorantly worshipped, are recognised as the work of men's hands. And we find ourselves stranded high and dry upon the shore: the tide of life rolls by, but we are outside its genial current, without usefulness or hope in the world. Such a state is existence, not life. Let us look well before we enter on a course that may land us in it. For many, perhaps for most of us, doubt is a duty—not for the doubt's sake, but in order to know for certain, and so be able to reject the evil and choose the good.

M. Bergeret, of the 'Histoire Contemporaine,' is a doubter of this sort. He distinguishes, for example, the substance of the commonwealth from its form so sharply as to seem an indifferent patriot. The explanation is that, remembering the high endeavours that made and the high hopes that welcomed democracy, he is indignant in his heart of hearts that the results of democracy should be what they are. Enthusiasm for the Jew préfet, M. Worms-Clavelin, or the venal senator, M. Lapret-Teulet, would be misplaced. The republicans of the first generation pictured more heroic representatives of the sovereignty of the people than these. But the actual falls short of the ideal, which, indeed, would not be an ideal were it otherwise. When the legitimist Abbé Lantaigne declaims against the Third Republic, he answers, in the vein and with the sincerity of a candid friend to the incriminated form of government:—

'Ce régime est, peu s'en faut, tel que vous le représentez. Et c'est encore celui que je préfère. Tous les liens y sont relâchés, ce qui affaiblit l'État, mais soulage les personnes, et procure une certaine facilité de vivre, et une liberté que détruisent malheureusement les tyrannies locales. La corruption sans doute y paraît plus grande que dans les monarchies. Cela tient au nombre et à la diversité des gens qui sont portés au pouvoir. Mais cette corruption serait moins visible si le secret en était mieux gardé. Le défaut de secret et le manque de suite rendent toute entreprise impossible à la République democratique. Mais, comme les entreprises des monarchies ont le plus souvent ruiné les peuples, je ne suis pas trop fâché de vivre sous un

gouvernement incapable de grands desseins. . . . Le pire défaut du régime actuel est de coûter fort cher. . . . Il s'aperçoit qu'il est embarrassé. Et ses embarras sont plus grands qu'il ne croit. Ils augmenteront encore. Le mal n'est pas nouveau. C'est celui dont mourut l'ancien régime. Monsieur l'abbé, je vais vous dire une grande vérité : tant que l'État se contente des ressources que lui fournissent les pauvres, tant qu'il a assez des subsides que lui assurent, avec une régularité mécanique, ceux qui travaillent de leurs mains, il vit heureux, tranquille, honoré. Mais dès que ce malheureux État, pressé par le besoin, fait mine de demander de l'argent à ceux qui en ont, et de tirer des riches quelque faible contribution, on lui fait sentir qu'il commet un odieux attentat, viole tous les droits, manque de respect à la chose sacrée, détruit le commerce et l'industrie, et écrase les pauvres en touchant aux riches. . . . L'État touche à la rente. Il est perdu. . . . Nos ministres se moquent de nous en parlant de péril clérical ou de péril socialiste. Il n'y a qu'un péril, le péril financier. La République commence à s'en apercevoir. Je la plains, je la regretterai. J'ai été nourri sous l'Empire, dans l'amour de la République. "Elle est la justice," me disait mon père, professeur de rhétorique au lycée de Saint-Omer. Il ne la connaissait pas. Elle n'est pas la justice. Mais elle est la facilité. . . . Pourvu qu'elle vive, elle est contente. Elle gouverne peu. Je serais tenté de l'en louer plus que de tout le reste. Et puis qu'elle gouverne peu, je lui pardonne de gouverner mal. Je soupçonne les hommes d'avoir, de tout temps, beaucoup exagéré les nécessités du gouvernement et les bienfaits d'un pouvoir fort. Assurément les pouvoirs forts font les peuples grands et prospères. Mais les peuples ont tant souffert, au long des siècles, de leur grandeur et de leur prospérité, que je conçois qu'ils y renoncent. La gloire leur a coûté trop cher pour qu'on ne sache pas gré à nos maîtres actuels de nous en procurer que de la coloniale. Si l'on découvrait enfin l'inutilité de tout gouvernement, la République de M. Carnot aurait préparé cette inappréciable découverte. Et il faudrait lui en avoir quelque reconnaissance. Toute réflexion faite, je me sens très attaché à nos institutions.' *

Such qualified appreciation would scarcely satisfy a convinced republican, nor, royalist as he is, does it commend itself to M. Lantaigne, who, with the instinct of a priest, puts his finger on the scepticism that underlies it. 'Vous 'vous exprimez agréablement, monsieur Bergeret. Les 'rhéteurs parlaient de la sorte dans Rome quand Alaric y 'entra avec ses Visigoths. Toutefois les rhéteurs du Ve 'siècle jetaient sous les térébinthes de l'Esquiline des pensées 'moins vaines. Car alors Rome était chrétienne. Vous ne 'l'êtes plus.' The answer, perhaps, is that scepticism, if this be scepticism, is in the air of our time; we can escape it only by living in the past, or by dividing ourselves into

* L'Orme du Mail, 228.

water-tight compartments, one for religion, the other for real life. The former course is the refuge of despair, the latter an admission of indifference or insincerity. In vain do we attempt to retain methods of thought and modes of feeling when the conditions which made them possible have passed away.

To say that mediæval conceptions of the world and life were fixed, while modern are fluid, may appear an overstatement. The principle of developement was at work in mediæval society, or it could not have, as it did, developed; there is an element of stability in our own, or it could not, as it does, hold together. But certainly fixity was the characteristic of mediæval thought. The universe, the expression of the Divine will, reflected the Divine unchangingness; the vault of heaven stood fast above us, the earth below. And the permanence of the external frame in which life was set found a parallel in the inner world of knowledge; truth was one, revelation final, dogma yesterday, to-day, and for ever the same. The social order as it stood was of Divine appointment: the two swords, the spiritual and temporal power, had been delegated by Christ to their respective holders; the powers that be are ordained of God. And the future was as stereotyped as the present: heaven or hell, one or other, lay before the individual, each without change or respite—bliss or torment unceasing and without end. Then, indeed, as now, the facts were too large for the theory; then, as now, a compromise with them had to be, and, as a matter of fact, was, effected. But the theory was as has been stated. We may call it the mediæval theory, for it was that on which the mediæval world built and was built.

Our own standpoint is diametrically opposed to this. Becoming rather than Being is the note of the world as we conceive it: all things change. The permanence even of Nature is apparent only: the earth we live on is the scene of a perpetual process of transformation; in the abyss of space in which they are suspended worlds are born and die. Man is not a fixed point, but a term in an ascending series: the mind and its content have become what they are in virtue of a movement which carries thought and things with it in its ceaseless growth. The society in which we live has taken shape by slow degrees under the action and reaction of its several factors. The Republic, which M. Lantaigne abhors and M. Bergeret tolerates, is the outcome of the Empire and the Monarchy; conditioned, that is to say, by

history, the heir of the past. Our religious beliefs and institutions, unchanging as we are apt to conceive them, can be traced to humble and scarcely recognisable germs, which have developed according to known laws and under definite historical influences; the world has moulded the Church rather than the Church the world. And the mediæval standpoint has become impossible. We do not look out with awe-struck eyes at a world which God has made and in which He has placed us; rather we endeavour to make ourselves acquainted with the mechanism of a system which men have put together and have to keep in working order, adjusting, balancing, correcting, as time and necessity suggest. The two views are not exclusive; points of contact may be established between them. But according as we survey the world from one or the other we incline to acquiescence or to criticism, to resignation or to reform.

Again, there is a further distinction than that between mediæval and modern—that between men of thought and men of action, those who speculate on and those who work in the world. The temperament which surveys the world is other than that which makes and fashions it. The one regards it as a spectator, the other as an actor: the one looks at it from without, impersonally; the other from within, as a thing of which he himself is part and parcel, a dwelling which it is his interest to make habitable and commodious for its inmates, of whom he is one. M. France belongs to the former class. His sense of humour saves him from assuming the airs of a superior person: he includes himself in the world which he surveys. But his opinion of his fellow-men is not flattering. His estimate of their understanding is low, and of their morality lower; he expects little of them, hence his evenness of temper: he is not disappointed when little comes. He believes, as many eminent persons, Dr. Johnson among them, have believed before him, that laws and government can do little to increase the happiness or to improve the fortunes of mankind. This belief, erroneous in itself, would be mischievous in the extreme were it generally, or even widely, held. That everything is much the same, and that nothing much matters —quietism of this kind would bring life to a standstill; and the first thing is to live. Perhaps, at least in the West, it is scarcely more than skin-deep. It is difficult to conceive Johnson practising non-resistance; and M. France's theoretical aloofness has neither chilled his sympathies nor weakened his powers of action when action became impera-

tive on right-minded men. The 'Affaire' was a test, and M. France stood the test. And while there is little danger, taking men as they are, of the attitude of passivity becoming common, it is not without its use, as a theory, in the way of protest against the simplicity, real or affected, which supposes that a stroke of an official pen can, like the fiat of Omnipotence, make and unmake, and against the sentimental and facile optimism which traces the evils that afflict humanity to the misdeeds of rulers and the injustice of laws. The problems of life are more complex than we suppose. Human nature changes, but it changes slowly; opinions, beliefs, standards of conduct modify, but we do not see them moving; we see only that they have moved. We need not quarrel, then, with M. France for his scepticism, for scepticism is part of the spirit of the time, from which we can no more escape than from our shadow; for his quietism, which need not be taken too literally; nor for the copious douches of cold water which he administers to unworthy ideals, unreasonable hopes, and unreal enthusiasms. Ridicule does not necessarily kill; it discriminates, supplying what in the sphere of mind corresponds to the struggle for existence in Nature: the unfit perish under it, the fit survive.

Schools of literature succeed one another more rapidly in France than here: that in which M. Anatole France graduated seems like an echo out of a past more distant than the years, when we reckon them, make it. One of his early poems, 'Les Noces Corinthiennes,' has been lately dramatised at the Odéon; but till this was so, it found few readers of our generation: the thoughts of the author come to us filtered into new forms through the strata that lie between us and the 'Parnasse Contemporain.' The critical note predominates in them. Novels, such as 'Le Crime de 'Sylvestre Bonnard'; historical studies, such as 'Thaïs'; tales and sketches, such as 'L'Étui de Nacre' or 'Le Puits 'de Sainte-Claire,' all reflect the same temper—a temper ironical, yet kindly; mocking, yet with a considerable admixture of sentiment; sceptical of appearances and professions, yet not without reverence for what deserves reverence; the scepticism is not that of the heart, but of the head. The criticisms, in the strict sense of the word, republished under the title of 'La Vie Littéraire,' originally appeared in the 'Temps.' It is not too much to say that they recall the 'Causeries du Lundi,' the golden age of Sainte-Beuve. Not all the writers who pass under review in these four

volumes are familiar to the average English reader; nor is criticism a plant which flourishes on English soil. Of reviewing, indeed, we have enough and to spare, from the column in the weekly or paragraph in the daily paper which undertakes the practical task of introducing the author to his public, to the full-dress article in the monthly or quarterly, in which the big guns of political or philosophical theory are brought to bear on the position selected for discussion. We are a serious people, and treat literature seriously: the reviewer takes his seat on the bench with dignity, conscious of the black cap in reserve. There are occasions when solemn functions of this kind are called for; when necessary M. France, too, can be judicial, and deal with literary crime and pretension as they deserve.* But cases calling for such treatment are exceptional; for everyday use the *causerie*, with its fineness, its delicacy, its lightness of touch, is to be preferred. The author of 'Essays in 'Criticism' attempted to naturalise this style among us, but he left no successor; and the attempt cost him his reputation for seriousness. People would not believe that he was in earnest; his sermons—and he preached excellent sermons—were received with a smile. This ponderousness argues a certain provincialism in English thinking, an incapacity for effects of light and shade. In criticism *nuance* is everything; the critic to the manner born produces his effects with a touch. He deals in irony, rather than in denunciation; in suggestion, rather than in direct assertion or denial. He conveys an idea in a tone; a line calls up a picture; he does not dogmatise; he shows us what we are thinking, though we do not know how to express it, ourselves. And it is to criticism that the future belongs.

'La critique est la dernière en date de toutes les formes littéraires; elle finira peut-être par les absorber toutes. Elle convient admirablement à une société très civilisée dont les souvenirs sont riches et les traditions déjà longues. Elle est particulièrement appropriée à une humanité curieuse, savante et polie. Pour prospérer, elle suppose plus de culture que n'en demandent toutes les autres formes littéraires. Elle eut pour créateurs Montaigne, Saint-Evremond, Bayle et Montesquieu. Elle procède à la fois de la philosophie et de l'histoire. Il lui a fallu, pour se développer, une époque d'absolue liberté intellectuelle. Elle remplace la théologie, et, si l'on cherche le docteur

* La Vie Littéraire, i. 225 (La Terre), and ii. 56 (Hors de la Littérature).

universel, le saint Thomas d'Aquin du XIXe siècle, n'est-ce-pas à Sainte-Beuve qu'il faut songer ? ' *

Those who set a high value on style will place M. France in the very first rank of contemporary stylists: since Renan no one has written such French as he. ' Il s'y trouve du ' Racine, du Voltaire, du Flaubert, du Renan; et c'est ' toujours de l'Anatole France. Cet homme a la perfection ' dans la grâce: il est l'extrême fleur du génie latin.' † If M. Lemaître's appreciation seems pitched in too high a key, let the reader open ' Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard,' almost at random: ' Étoiles qui avez lui sur la tête légère ou ' pesante de tous mes ancêtres oubliés, c'est à votre clarté ' que je sens éveiller en moi un regret douloureux. Je ' voudrais avoir un fils qui vous voie encore quand je ne ' serais plus.' Let him turn to the apostrophe to Verlaine: ' Tu as failli, mais tu as confessé ta faute. Tu fus un mal- ' heureux, mais tu n'as jamais menti. Pauvre Samaritain, ' à travers ton babil d'enfant et tes hoquets de malade, il t'a ' été donné de prononcer des paroles célestes. Nous sommes ' des Pharisiens. Tu es le meilleur et le plus heureux.' ‡ Or to the exhortation addressed by M. Jérôme Coignard, under the porch of Saint-Benoît-le-Bétourné, to Catherine:

' Je ne me suis jamais fait une idée exagérée du péché de la chair. C'est une justice qu'on peut me rendre. . . . Mais ce que je ne puis souffrir, c'est la bassesse de l'âme, c'est l'hypocrisie, c'est le mensonge, et cette crasse ignorance, qui fait de votre frère Ange un capucin accompli. Vous prenez dans son commerce, mademoiselle, une habitude de crapule qui vous ravale bien au-dessous de votre condition, laquelle est celle de fille galante. J'en sais les hontes et les misères; mais c'est un état bien superieur à celui de capucin. Songez, mademoiselle, à toutes les vertus dont vous pourriez encore vous orner, dans votre incertain métier, et dont une seule peut-être vous ouvrirait un jour le paradis, si vous n'étiez soumise et assujettie à cette bête immonde. Tout en vous laissant prendre ça et là ce qu'il faut bien finalement qu'on vous laisse quand on s'en va, vous pourriez, Catherine, fleurir en foi, en espérance et en charité, aimer les pauvres et visiter les malades. Vous pourriez être aumônière et compatissante, et vous délecter chastement à la vue du ciel, des eaux, des bois et des champs. Vous pourriez, le matin, ouvrant votre fenêtre, louer Dieu en écoutant chanter les oiseaux. Vous pourriez, aux jours de pèlerinage, gravir la montagne de Saint-Valérien et là, sous le calvaire, pleurer doucement votre innocence perdue. Vous pourriez faire en sorte que Celui qui seul lit dans les cœurs dise: ' Catherine est ma créature, et je la reconnais aux restes d'une belle lumière qui n'est point éteinte en elle.' §

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* La Vie Littéraire, i. préface. † Les Contemporains, vi. 275.
‡ La Vie Littéraire, iii. 318.
§ Les Opinions de M. Jérôme Coignard, 57.

The thing could not be better done; and here the style is the man; the substance and the form, the thought and its expression are one. For symmetry and sense of proportion are not qualities of form only; they work from within outward, and are significant of a temperament. In spite of the subjectivity of standpoint with which M. Brunetière reproaches him, M. France is a classic: he has the sense of limit; the eighteenth century is strong in him, and in an age when transgressors wax wanton his trumpet gives no uncertain sound. He is a classic, however, with the reserves of modern psychology: 'la vérité est qu'on ne sort jamais 'de soi-même.' The bearings of this position are obvious: 'telle que je l'entends, la critique est, comme la philosophie 'et l'histoire, une espèce de roman à l'usage des esprits 'avisés et curieux. Le bon critique est celui qui raconte 'les aventures de son âme au milieu des chefs-d'œuvre.'* But he is too urbane, too tolerant to be a fanatic; remembering that strife is the father of all things, he prefers rather than excludes. Party names in literature, as in politics and religion, are misleading; they cover men who differ widely from one another in temperament, sympathy, and aim. From Chateaubriand and Victor Hugo to M. Zola and the later schools of our own day is a long step; but Romanticists, Naturalists, Symbolists, Decadents, differ as they may in other respects, have one note in common—the abnormal, the extravagant; they agree in defiance of law. Law tends to become convention, they urge, and convention conventionality; we must be living, human, if we are to depict and gain the ear of men. But it is a sound instinct which bids us distrust the ἄπειρον: the sense of limit belongs to sanity, and is natural to normally constituted minds. The savage devours his food raw, the civilised man cooks it; and the case of experience runs on parallel lines. We do not take it as it comes, haphazard; we select, adapt, rationalise, putting something mental, something of ourselves, as it were, into it before it is ready for use. Neglect of this process of preparation has made Naturalism a by-word: 'le naturalisme interdit à l'écrivain 'tout acte intellectuel, toute manifestation morale; il mène 'droit à l'imbecillité flamboyante. C'est ainsi qu'il a produit 'la littérature dite décadente et symbolique. Son crime 'impardonnable est de tuer la pensée.'†

* La Vie Littéraire, i. préface.

† Ibid. ii. 305.

Again, art is the embodiment in fixed forms of the element of beauty in Nature; not everything that is to be found in Nature, but the beautiful only, is its subject-matter. If this be idealism—and all art is, in a sense, idealism—it can be avoided only by a counter-idealism which is the negation of art. For the stereotyping involved in the embodiment of the idea in a concrete form magnifies; and the naturalist school sees and presents the world out of focus in consequence: the beast in man is, like the head of the Gorgon, death to those who see it. Art, in short, is to Nature what mind is to sense: it discriminates and interprets. Under its action the universe of things, in itself formless, takes form and meaning; the world as we know it springs to being before our eyes. Here, as throughout, relativity is the condition of knowledge; to no two human beings does Nature present precisely the same aspect, to no two minds does the same formula express precisely the same meaning. But the relative is not the subjective: there is an approximate standard to which, as a matter of fact, normally constituted faculties conform. Our sensations and judgements, that is to say, though not the same, are similar, and vary within certain limits. How are trespassers on the forbidden land beyond to be dealt with? How are we to meet offences against the code of letters? against good taste, or society, or morals? Considerations of another order suggest themselves too easily; a short and summary method of procedure commends itself at once to the moralist and the doctrinaire. The school of which M. Brunetière is the champion looks to authority for the remedy: it would impose a dogma, and establish an Index; the Syllabus itself could ask no more. Plausible arguments may be adduced for such a policy. Torquemada was personally, in all probability, no less amiable and humane than M. Brunetière; the arguments of mediæval writers for mediæval methods of dealing with heresy and heretics were plausible in the extreme. But the weapons of our warfare are spiritual; ideas must be met by ideas. M. France supports this doctrine on *a priori* grounds.

'Certaines philosophies qui portent en elles la négation de toute morale ne peuvent entrer dans l'ordre des faits que sous la forme du crime. Dès qu'elles se font acte elles tombent sous la vindicte des lois. Je persiste à croire, toutefois, que la pensée a dans sa sphère propre des droits imprescriptibles, et que tout système philosophique peut être légitimement exposé.' *

* La Vie Littéraire, iii. 62.

Reasoning of this sort is, perhaps, not very conclusive: the liberty of prophesying may be based on grounds which, if less abstract, are less assailable—experience and utility. The theories propounded by M. Adrian Sixte in 'Le 'Disciple,' to take the case which M. France has in view, are detestable, and subversive of morals and of society. But there is one thing more injurious in the long run to morals and to society than their propagation—that is, their suppression by force. Translated into action, the law deals with them. And the law is no respecter of theories: free will and determinism are alike indifferent to it. Its object is not to punish the criminal, but to defend the community from crime. 'You are sentenced,' said the judge to the horse-stealer, 'not because you have stolen a horse, but in 'order that horses may not be stolen.' But as long as theories remain words only, experience bids us let them be; the policy of the Inquisition is a blunder as well as, or even more than, a crime. In the province of ideas, at least, force is no remedy: the two are not parallel; as well take up a cudgel against a ghost. Nor could the control of opinion by authority, were it possible, fail to be mischievous; no authority can safely be entrusted with such control, for authority supports not what ought to be, but what is. It opposes change as such: while, even where the proposed change seems to be, or is, for the worse, we dare not permit its advocates to be silenced. The colours of good and evil are too mixed to make this tolerable; we must let the two grow together till the harvest, and have faith in the power of good to hold its own. In times of panic we forget this, and clamour for exceptional legislation against the anarchy which threatens the social order, and will bring down, we think, the fabric of civilisation about our ears. This fabric, however, is made of stronger stuff than we suppose, and will outlast its assailants. For society is founded, not on convention, but on human nature; and this may be trusted to assert itself, theorise as men will.

The eighteenth century, it has been said, is strong in M. France: he has embodied much of its spirit, sceptical at once and humanitarian, in what is, perhaps, his happiest creation—M. l'Abbé Jérôme Coignard, sometime Professor of Rhetoric at the College of Beauvais and Librarian to the Bishop of Séez; subsequently, his philosophy unaffected by his changed fortunes, preceptor to Jacques Tournebroche, and the oracle of the Rôtisserie de la Reine Pédauque. Few characters in fiction are more living than this unconventional

ecclesiastic; few possess a richer store of human nature, or sounder qualities of head and heart. We regard his frailties with indulgence, as arguing neither malice nor depravity; from more serious faults, from the defects of his age and calling, he is free. 'Sur les racines de l'orthodoxie, 'son âme luxuriante fleurit singulièrement en épicurisme et 'en humilité.'* Light lie the earth upon him! it covers many a worse man, many a less worthy Christian than he. In him, as in M. Bergeret, of the Histoire Contemporaine, and M. Sylvestre Bonnard, Membre de l'Institut, we have the temper of the philosopher applied, with difference of character and circumstance, to life—a temper acute, perhaps somewhat over-tolerant, a little wearied, slow to action, inclined in theory at least to despond. The thinker is seldom a radical reformer: his vocation is to deal with ideas rather than with things. Indirectly, indeed, and in the long run, thought realises itself, for the rational is the real and the real is the rational; but, for practical purposes, pure theory has to be translated into applied science, and in so complex an organisation as society change is slow. The philosopher would not, perhaps, have it otherwise; but, if his sense of measure is offended by the fanaticism of revolution, he does not for all that take the established order of things at its own valuation; it is at best, he is aware, a working compromise based on and reflecting the passions, the prejudices, and the unintelligence of the successive generations by which it has been framed. M. Coignard certainly formed no exaggerated idea of its origin or of its character; his opinion of human capacity and disinterestedness was small. But 'il méprisait les hommes avec tendresse': disillusionment exists without bitterness in those who remember that they are subject to the common lot, and share, in a greater or less degree, the common frailties of men.

It is the fashion to disparage the eighteenth century intellectually, and even more morally; to represent it as an age of 'light without love.' As a fact, it was light rather than love that was wanting to it: its enthusiasm for humanity was unbounded, but its knowledge was defective; the data at its disposal were inadequate to establish the conclusions based upon them. The philosophers of the 'Illumination' remind us in many respects of the early Ionians, Heraclitus, Democritus, and their contemporaries; they anticipated their evidence, and guessed rather than knew. But in

* Les Opinions de M. Jérôme Coignard, 17.

each case the guesses were so happy that it is difficult to put them down as mere shots: the scientific use of the imagination precedes science; and if this use is not always as scientific as could be desired, wisdom is justified of her children; it is through error manifold and various that we enter into the kingdom of truth. The Social Contract never, as a matter of fact, existed, but it served as a lever to overthrow a corrupt and effete society. Natural religion was a figment of philosophers, but it acted as a check upon the extravagances put forward in the name of revealed. The main force of the movement, however, was moral. Conduct is of more account with the generality of men than theory; absolutism perished not because the absolutist idea was absurd, but because absolute rulers made themselves unbearable; the wickedness of churchmen inflicted more injury on religion than did the superstitions of popular belief. The misfortune of the 'Illumination' was that it passed out of the hands of the few into those of the many. Hence revolution, and consequent reaction; the erection of barriers, ephemeral indeed, but mischievous and exasperating, across the natural course of the stream. After so terrible a convulsion as that of '93, reconstruction of some sort was a necessity: the roof, the walls, the very foundations of the social edifice were overthrown. And it was, perhaps, rather the misfortune than the fault of the builders that much of the reconstruction was jerry-built. Their aim was to restore the past. But life is not always to be reckoned by years: the growth of centuries had been crowded into the generation that lay between 1815 and the convocation of the States General; the past could not be restored. Canning was the one statesman of the period who saw this, but he was powerless; the tide set irresistibly the other way. And the theorising of the Restoration was scarcely less mischievous than that of the Revolution. The phantom of Legitimacy replaced that of Liberty as the idol of the theatre and the market-place; the White succeeded the Red Terror; the fallacies of De Maistre, the least Christian if the most Catholic of philosophers, rivalled in reputation and in paradox those of Rousseau. The bow was stretched to the verge of snapping: economic difficulties aggravated political unrest; the Europe of the first half of the century was seething with moral and material discontent. This breakdown of the work of construction showed unmistakably that the analysis of the previous age, so far from being excessive, had not been carried far enough: it was continued in the nation-

alist movement, which, sweeping away the artificial states system galvanised into temporary existence by the diplomacy of the Holy Alliance, made Italy and Germany, in the economics of Lassalle and Marx, in the biology of Darwin, in the theology of Strauss and Baur. Nor is the process within measurable distance of completion: the work that lies before the twentieth century is, in the first instance, critical; the edifice raised prematurely and on unsound foundations by the nineteenth must be cleared away. Construction on a large and lasting scale is reserved for the peaceful reign of some coming Solomon; in an age of strife it can be provisional only. We are

> 'Standing between two worlds, one dead,
> The other powerless to be born.'

We must be content, then, with expedients; a *modus vivendi* is all that can be looked for between old and new. In many respects M. France is a child of the 'Illumination': he possesses its Voltairian humour, its keen eye for pretence and unreality, its indignation against oppression. What is wanting to him is its hopefulness, its certainty of the future:—

'Pour ma part je prends peu d'intérêt à ce qui se fait dans le cabinet du prince, observant que le train de la vie n'en est pas changé, qu' après les réformes les hommes sont, comme devant, égoïstes, avares, lâches et cruels, tour à tour stupides et furieux, et qu'il s'y trouve toujours un nombre à peu près égal de nouveau-nés, de mariés, de cocus et de pendus, en quoi se manifeste le bel ordre de la société. Cet ordre est stable, monsieur, et rien ne saurait le troubler, car il est fondé sur la misère et l'imbécillité humaine, et se sont là des assises qui ne manqueront jamais. Tout l'édifice en acquiert une solidité qui défie l'effort des plus mauvais princes et de cette foule ignare de magistrats dont il sont assistés.' *

This is not the spirit of the eighteenth century; the spirit of the eighteenth century was more vigorous and more assured. The optimism of the Encyclopædists, indeed, was premature; their historical sense was undeveloped; they under-estimated the complexity of the subject-matter with which they had to deal. The scientific advance of the last half-century has opened our eyes to this; the world is larger, time vaster, man more ancient, his progress slower, than we supposed. But optimism, modified indeed by knowledge and reflection, yet still optimism, is the conclusion that best accords with and accounts for the facts. The complaint of

* Les Opinions de M. Jérôme Coignard, 106.

the bankruptcy of science, raised in the interests of party, can have a meaning only for those who have formed an unscientific notion of what science is and what it can perform. If we have supposed that material prosperity of itself ensures moral progress, that improvements in the mechanism of society solve social problems, that the most accurate theological knowledge guarantees a virtuous and religious life, we are, indeed, doomed to disappointment; but the fault lies not with science, but in ourselves. Science will not dispense us from the necessity of effort, of the long restraint and self-mastery by which, and by which only, character is formed. If we want to be taken in and done for at so much a head, to pass in at one end of the machine as raw material and be turned out at the other a finished article, we must go elsewhere. It is quackery, not science, that promises transformations of this sort; no science can think, feel, or act for us; we must think, feel, and act for ourselves. It can show the way; but it is we who must walk in it; and it is we who are bankrupt, not science, if we refuse.

M. France's attitude to religion is ambiguous; a contemporary critic contrasts the piety of his imagination with the impiety of his thought. The judgement passed upon him by the world of religious party will probably be that of M. Mirbeau's aumônier—'Voilà qui est dangereux.' The world of religious party knows, or should know, its business; and from its own standpoint its judgement is most likely correct. It is improbable that M. Anatole France will undertake the pilgrimage *ad limina*, and be received, as M. Brunetière was received, at the Vatican; or that he will lecture at the Cancelleria on Bossuet, and institute a comparison between 'L'Exposée de la Doctrine Catholique' and the encyclicals of Leo XIII. 'Quid Romæ faciam? mentiri nescio,' would perhaps be his answer were the proposal made to him; these things are not in his line. But neither are they necessarily evidences of religion; the interests of religion and those of religious party are not necessarily the same. There is no commoner fallacy than that of equivocation; Latin differs from Teutonic sentiment with regard to religion mainly because by the same name each, the Latin and the Teuton, understands a different thing. To the latter religion means piety, to the former polity; to the one it is personal, and inseparable from conduct—to which it adds an element of emotion and aspiration; to the other it is corporate, standing, if not exclusively, at least first and foremost for submission to the ecclesiastical organisation

which, covering the world with its network, has its centre and focus in Rome.

This is the conception of religion presented in the acute, if unsympathetic, study of Catholicism in France contained in the 'Histoire Contemporaine.' Its characteristic feature is the substitution of the outward for the inward. An organisation so centralised, so world-wide, so persistent, tends to become an end in itself. The best and wisest men in the Church have fought against this tendency, but it has been too strong for them; authority magnifies its office; historical causes one after another—the breakdown of the Conciliar system in the fifteenth century, the instinct of self-preservation against the encroachments of the civil power, the violent reaction following first on the Reformation and then on the Revolution—all have contributed to the centripetal movement in Latin Christianity, and increased the power and significance of the Papacy. The hostility of Catholicism to science has been exaggerated. A great body moves slowly; Rome, which is not, and has never been, a seat of learning, is frankly not interested in theology, and neither understands nor is tolerant of those who are. But, as a matter of human prudence, she may be trusted not to assume an irreconcilable attitude to the knowledge of the average man; and, as what the scholar knows to-day the average man knows to-morrow, the question between the Church and science resolves itself into one of time. Nor will dogma, in appearance, but in appearance only, so unchanging, stand in the way of this gradual process of accommodation; for Catholics dogma is not so much definite doctrinal teaching as regulation, a matter of ecclesiastical discipline administered by the Pope.* The real peril of the Roman Church is only indirectly intellectual; primarily, as was the case in the Middle Ages, it is religious and moral. It lies in the growing suspicion, manifesting itself with or without reason in the most unexpected quarters, that religion is made a cloak for policy; 'that the Church, instead of being a 'purely spiritual organisation, is practically a huge political 'machine worked for mundane ends by worldly-minded 'men.'

It is possible, no doubt, to distinguish. The Northern conscience is apt to take the institutional side of Catholicism too seriously; to forget that it is conditioned by existing circumstances and subordinate to the ideal. The Curia is

* Harnack, 'History of Dogma,' i. 1, note.

not the Church; and even in the Church the human is more prominent than the Divine element. The more this is perceived to be so, the more a hard externalism threatens to crush out the life of the spirit, the more instinctively the Christian consciousness falls back, with the mystics, on what after all is the substance of religion—personal spiritual experience, remembering that the King's daughter is glorious, not without, but within. 'L'acte de 'foi le plus méritoire que puisse faire de nos jours un 'catholique, c'est de croire que l'Église actuelle renferme 'l'Église idéale, comme la chrysalide sombre et difforme le 'gracieux papillon.' But the act is not an easy one, for the generality of men do not draw nice distinctions; they live on the surface of things, and judge by what they see. Hence much of what goes by the name of Anti-clericalism—a movement not, indeed, without its follies and even its crimes, but embodying, in spite of these things, a protest not against what is good in religion, but against what is evil; against the degradation of the religious idea.

Among ourselves the possibility of the revival of mediævalism as more than a passing fashion is so remote that we do not always fairly judge those whose circumstances differ from our own. Catholicism as a religion is one thing: Catholicism as a polity is quite another. And it is under the latter rather than the former aspect that it presents itself in Catholic countries; the outburst of religious and race hatred, hardly yet extinct, of which the Dreyfus case was the expression, serves as an illustration, opportune and not soon to be forgotten, of its character and fruits. Sectarianism there is, a piety which neither elevates the understanding nor enlarges the heart. If piety, in any sense of the word, is scarcely the attribute which we associate with the works of M. Anatole France, at least they possess qualities which are incompatible with piety of this description: 'on y trouvera une parfaite sincérité, beau-'coup d'indulgence, et quelque naturelle amitié pour le beau 'et le bien.'* And, Voltairian as he is, one is tempted to forecast for him, as did M. Jérôme Coignard for Catherine, a judgement clearer-sighted and better motived than ours: 'Anatole est ma créature, et je le reconnais aux restes 'd'une belle lumière qui n'est point éteinte en lui.'

Idealism such as this runs counter, it may seem, to cynicism, however genial; but the union of the two tempers

* La Vie Littéraire, i. préface.

is what is most characteristic in M. Anatole France. Hence at once his charm and his truthfulness. For life is woven of no one texture: many moods, many impressions, many standpoints find their place in the varied harmony of the whole. From no one point of view can it be seen in its entirety: 'uno itinere non potest perveniri ad tam grande 'secretum.' Optimism, pessimism, idealism, realism—all are partial and relative; each gives one aspect only of the infinite complexity of Nature, we must combine them if we would gain an outlook, however inadequate, over Nature as a whole.

'They see not clearliest who see all things clear.'

Systems are fallacious; it is only by a free employment of sophisms to conceal their deficiencies that systems are formed and impose themselves upon us. No philosophy is more than a way of looking at things, a variable formula expressing certain invariable phenomena; no dogma, no religious conception, represents its object as it is; the nearest the truth are but 'broken lights' of the Infinite, and It is 'more than they.' The heart, then, rightly interrogated, has its standing in these difficult matters as well as the understanding; it may be, indeed, that when the two conflict we do well to trust the former rather than the latter, and—as the poet bids us—

'feel, that we may know.'

'Les vérités découvertes par l'intelligence demeurent stériles. Le cœur est seul capable de féconder les rêves. Il verse la vie dans tout ce qu'il aime. C'est par le sentiment que les semences du bien sont jetées sur le monde. La raison n'a point tant de vertu. . . . Il faut, pour servir les hommes, rejeter toute raison, comme un bagage embarrassant, et s'élever sur les ailes de l'enthousiasme. Si l'on raisonne, on ne s'envolera jamais.' *

* Les Opinions de M. Jérôme Coignard, 288.

ART. XI.—*The Life of Napoleon I.* By JOHN HOLLAND ROSE, M.A. 2 vols., post 8vo. London: George Bell & Sons. 1902.

IT may probably be thought that no one is so well suited as an Englishman to write a temperate and calmly reasoned life of Napoleon; it is, we think, certain that no one has hitherto succeeded in accomplishing his task so well as Mr. Rose, whose work is, in many respects, a model of what a historic biography ought to be. He was, indeed, singularly well prepared for undertaking it. Some years since he brought out an excellent little history of the 'Revolutionary ' and Napoleonic Era' in the 'Cambridge Historical Series,' and to the 'English Historical Review' he has contributed several important monographs on the period. He has examined a vast amount of printed material, including much of very doubtful value, and has carried his researches into the hitherto little trodden ground of our own Foreign Office records, by means of which he has been able to throw new light on some of the vexed questions of the time. 'Our 'diplomatic agents,' he says, 'then had the knack of getting 'at State secrets, even when we were at war with their 'Governments'; and he rightly considers it discreditable to our ideas of historical research that 'so very few English 'works are based on the official records of this period.'

The value of these records, which no historian, till now, has taken adequate notice of, is really very great; as an instance of which we may mention the case of a writer of some eminence who, a few years ago, began a study of the Foreign Office papers of 1791–3, with the intention of bringing forth a scathing indictment of the English policy, and ended as a complete convert to the views of Herbert Marsh. This, of course, belongs to an earlier period than that with which Mr. Rose has dealt; but from our own experience we feel justified in saying that, whatever to the discredit of our Government a study of our records may reveal, whatever blundering, ignorance or stupidity it may bring to light, it does, as an almost invariable rule, expose a childlike simplicity and honesty of purpose, and, above all, a desire for peace at the cost of any possible sacrifice. And this marked characteristic of our diplomacy Mr. Rose has brought out in his narrative, not always as one to be praised—more commonly, indeed, as one to be roundly condemned.

It will be readily understood that the true interest of

Mr. Rose's work—that which distinguishes it from all its congeners—lies in the examination and discussions of the course of events, of diplomatic and political struggles, of varying phases of character. We may not always fully agree with the conclusions, but we can rarely help being struck by the clearness of the argument and by the honesty of the judgement. The descriptions of campaigns may be commended, and more especially the admirable use of inset large-scale maps of the country referred to; but the stories of battles are not unfrequently vague and disappointing. The detail of operations at sea does not come within the scope of a 'Life 'of Napoleon,' but the policy which directed those operations, and formed an intrinsic part of the strategy of the campaign, frequently does; and to this, we are afraid, Mr. Rose has not paid sufficient attention, or has not brought the same competence.

For the rest, the narrative is, on the whole, well put together, and though it frequently offends by an exaggerated and yet intermittent use of the historic present, which seems to set all grammatical canons at defiance, much may be forgiven to a writer whose pages from time to time sparkle with quaint thoughts in a peculiarly happy setting. We cannot arrange them as an exhibition of literary jewelry, but here are a few which may illustrate our meaning: 'An account 'of Würmser's second attempt [to relieve Mantua] belongs 'rather to the domain of political fatuity than that of 'military history'; 'We may doubt whether Bonaparte's 'posing as the favourite of fortune was not the result of his 'profound knowledge of the credulity of the vulgar herd, 'which admires genius and worships bravery, but grovels 'before persistent good luck'; 'That *bon père de famille*, 'Louis XVI., whom Nature framed for a farmhouse and 'Fate tossed into a revolution.' And yet one other, more ambitious, more fully worked out, but not less happy:

'When Austria finally yielded up Marie Louise as an unpicturesque Iphigenia on the marriage altar, she did so only as a desperate device for appeasing an inexorable destiny. And, strange to say, she succeeded. For Alexander took offence at the marriage negotiations; and thus was opened a breach in the Franco Russian alliance which other events were rapidly to widen, until Western and Central Europe hurled themselves against the East and reached Moscow.'

It is of course out of the question to attempt here the shortest outline of Napoleon's career, even if we wished to do so; but an outline of the story would be neither interesting nor useful, and we conceive that we shall better employ the

space at our disposal in an examination of some of the moot points whose interest is revived by the book now before us. And we may say at once, without any undue depreciation of our subject, that we have long thought Napoleon to be in many respects a much over-rated man, and that now, after carefully reading this latest biography, we find our impression strengthened and confirmed. This is not exactly what Mr. Rose has intended; rather, perhaps, the contrary. Just as in life Napoleon exercised an extraordinary influence over those with whom he came in personal contact—an influence which in the present day might almost be called 'hypnotic suggestion'—the devotion of years to the study of his achievements has produced a similar effect on Mr. Rose, and it is only by an effort that he brings himself back to a calm and historic attitude. Still the effort has been generally—not always—possible, and the result is a connected and critical narrative of a life which—with its attendant conditions—is the most remarkable in modern history. But Napoleon's fortune in history has resembled that of other distinguished men, and he has been accredited with things of which he was utterly innocent. In imagination, though not perhaps in words, there are many who would assign to him the carrying the boundaries of France to the Rhine and the Alps, the defeat of the first coalition, perhaps even the storming of the Bastile.

Then, too, the rise of Bonaparte to autocratic power is spoken of as wonderful, semi-miraculous, or at least an evidence of stupendous genius. People, ignorant of or untaught by history, do not know, or they forget, that some such rise of a distinguished soldier is the ordinary sequel of a popular convulsion. It was so in Rome when Marius seized the supreme power; and everyone will recollect Byron's splendid reference to Sulla. It was so even in England, when Cromwell was made Lord Protector. It may be positively asserted that if Bonaparte had remained in Egypt, or been captured by an English frigate in trying to escape, the revolution of Brumaire, or something resembling it, would have come off all the same, and Moreau or some other distinguished soldier would have occupied the place which Bonaparte, being in Paris, secured for himself. The extreme difference in the later histories of Cromwell and Napoleon is to be attributed possibly to the different character of the men themselves, largely to the facts of geography, but most of all to the nature of the people over whom they ruled: the one, a people inured for centuries to freedom of action,

of speech, and of thought; the other, a peasantry long subjected to the most brutal oppression, a peasantry such as Arthur Young has described, sunk in the lowest depths of serfdom and misery, unfit for, incapable of, constitutional government, willing and desirous to be enslaved.

And when, by what we may call the ordinary course of revolutions, Napoleon was raised to the head of affairs in France, he found himself in a position which no European had occupied since the break-up of the Roman Empire—a soldier of superb genius, with the absolute control of the manhood and finances of a vast and powerful country, the irresponsible director of its policy in peace or in war. To us it appears impossible in such circumstances to compare or contrast his military talent with that of Marlborough or Wellington, Turenne or Saxe. Frederick of Prussia, though resembling Napoleon in his independence of direct control, was yet troubled by necessary allies, and could never command such resources of men or money as did Napoleon. And the others—most notably, perhaps, Marlborough and Wellington—through their whole career were struggling against the difficulties forced on them by those whose cause they were upholding. What can be more certain than that Marlborough would have been in Paris in 1705 if he had had freedom from obstruction and independence of command such as took Napoleon to Vienna in 1805? or that Wellington, with the resources of England at his disposal, would have conducted the campaigns in the Peninsula or in Belgium on very different lines from those recorded in history?

As things were, it is impossible to separate the accidents of position from the genius of the man, though we can sometimes please ourselves by pretending to do so, and by pointing out that whilst the two English generals, trammelled by the conditions of their service, were not able to make such grand *coups de théâtre* as Napoleon, never did they make such appalling blunders, even on their own modest scale. It may be that the ever present need of men and transport prevented any rash attempt on the part of Wellington, as the presence of the Dutch commissioners did on the part of Marlborough; but even without that restraint, it is difficult to picture to ourselves either one of them, trained to habits of caution and forethought, plunging into an enemy's country, separated from their bases and exposed to the horrors of a Russian winter, without food, clothing, or shelter. But the fact is that the conditions of Bonaparte's

early campaigns were curiously favourable to him; he was borne on the crest of fortune's wave to victory and renown, and learned to trust to 'destiny' when others would have preferred trusting to care and judgement. And some such thought has dictated Mr. Rose's closing summary of Napoleon's career:

'Viewing it as a whole, it seems just and fair to assert that the fundamental cause of his overthrow is to be found, not in the failings of the French, for they served him with a fidelity that would wring tears of pity from Rhadamanthus; not in treachery of this or that general or politician, for that is little when set against the loyalty of forty millions of men; but in the character of the man and of his age. Never had mortal man so grand an opportunity of ruling over a chaotic Continent; never had any great leader antagonists so feeble as the rulers who opposed his rush to supremacy. At the dawn of the nineteenth century the old monarchies were effete; insanity reigned in four dynasties, and weak or time-serving counsels swayed the remainder. For several years their counsellors and generals were little better.'

But, in truth, Bonaparte's good fortune went far beyond this; and in reading the story of his achievements it is impossible to avoid being struck with the extraordinary share which it had in his successes. It may, indeed, be said that fortune favours genius, as it favours bravery; but on no other commander whose genius for war may be compared with Bonaparte's has fortune lavished her favours in a similar way. The fact that the generals who commanded against him were weak in their ignorance and obstinate in their senility led to results which sometimes appeared independent of their causes; and as the armies against which he fought were built up of different nationalities, controlled by different interests, and seldom—even to the last—working together with a single-hearted allegiance, it was not always necessary to oppose them by genius to ensure their defeat. Mr. Rose continues:

'It seems a paradox to say that this excess of good fortune largely contributed to his ruin. Yet it is true. His was one of those thick-set, combative natures that need timely restraint if their best qualities are to be nurtured, and their domineering instincts curbed. Just as the strongest Ministry prances on to ruin if the Opposition gives no effective check, so it was with Napoleon. Had he in his early manhood taken to heart the lessons of adversity, would he have ventured at the same time to fight Wellington in Spain and the Russian climate in the heart of the Steppes? Would he have spurned the offers of an advantageous peace made to him from Prague in 1813? Would he have let slip the chance of keeping the "natural frontiers" of

France after Leipzig and her old boundaries when brought to bay in Champagne? Would he have dared the uttermost at all points at Waterloo?'

Passing over the numerous minor instances of good fortune, the fact that Napoleon was almost always opposed by a coalition is perhaps the most noteworthy. And, indeed, the one idea most vividly impressed on us in the study of the whole story is the essential weakness of coalitions. Several years ago, Captain Mahan illustrated this from the naval officer's point of view, though to singularly little purpose if we may judge from the frequent diatribes or jeremiads of self-constituted and irresponsible judges of national policy. Such men are not to be convinced, either by living witnesses or by voices from the dead; but to anyone who can understand and appreciate the teachings of history, the evidence of Napoleon's campaigns ought to be conclusive. The evil wrought by the ambition of the French Emperor was, it might be supposed, sufficient to consolidate his numerous opponents into one firm body; but, under the guidance of Mr. Rose, it is easy to see how the hypothesis works out. Here is one strongly-marked instance at the very beginning of Napoleon's career of victory.

It is story-book reading that he first publicly showed what stuff he was made of in the command of the artillery at Toulon. Mr. Rose considers that his services in this siege have been much exaggerated; were not, in fact, 'so 'brilliant as to have raised him above the general level of 'meritorious officers, who were applauded while they 'prospered, but might be sent to the guillotine for any 'serious offence.' The force of the conclusion lies in the 'so,' or in the comparative measure of brilliance and offence which might be held to render the guillotine innocuous. That Bonaparte was a capable artillery officer, and that the suggestion for placing the guns was his, have been fully demonstrated by Mr. Spenser Wilkinson in his able little essay, 'Napoleon: the First Phase.'* 'Every experienced 'officer among besiegers and besieged,' says Mr. Rose, 'saw 'the weak point of the defence'; but his proof refers solely to the besieged, who were unable to occupy it in force, having only a motley garrison of about 12,000 effective men to defend works which were estimated to require 50,000. The numbers were utterly inadequate, as Mr. Rose

* Owens College Historical Essays. Published subsequently to Mr. Rose's work.

has shown; he has mentioned, too, though only in a casual way, that these 12,000 men were made up of five different nationalities—really six, for of the 1,500 so-called British many were Hanoverians. He has not said that from eight to nine thousand of them were Spaniards or Neapolitans, with little training and no discipline; that Hood, though nominally commander-in-chief, had very little real authority; that he had a bitter quarrel with the Neapolitan commander, and suspected the Spanish admiral of being in treacherous correspondence with Robespierre. This was almost certainly a mistake; but as far as rendering Hood's position more difficult went, it was very real. Against such forces, it did not require much genius to lead overwhelming numbers to victory.

The same fortune attended Bonaparte when he assumed command of the army of Italy, and this quite independent of the incapacity of Beaulieu. Montenotte had been fought and won, and the allies, Sardinians and Austrians, under two different commanders, with two different aims—the defence of Turin and of Milan—had been forced apart without much difficulty. But

'the French army was so disorganised by rapine as scarcely to have withstood a combined vigorous attack. The republicans, long exposed to hunger and privations, were now revelling in the fertile plains of Piedmont. Large bands of marauders ranged the neighbouring country, and the regiments were often reduced to mere companies. From the grave risks of this situation Bonaparte was rescued by the timidity of the Court of Turin, which signed the armistice eighteen days after the commencement of the campaign. A fortnight later the preliminaries of peace were signed between France and Sardinia, by which the latter yielded up the provinces of Savoy and Nice, and renounced the alliance with Austria. Great indignation was felt in the Imperialist camp at this news, and it was freely stated that the Piedmontese had let themselves be beaten in order to compass a peace that had been tacitly agreed upon in the month of January.'

Or again, in the third coalition, with the possibilities that culminated at Austerlitz pending,

'neither of the allies was ready in time or sent its full quota. In place of the 54,000 which Alexander had covenanted to send to Austria's support, he sent as yet only 46,000, and of these 8,000 were detached into Podolia in order to watch the warlike moves of the Turks, whom the French had stirred up against the Muscovite.'

And this quite independent of the hesitating policy of Prussia, who first would and then wouldn't, till she was crushed to the earth at Jena and Auerstädt. We might

dwell on the fickle policy of Russia during the following years; her desertion of the allies and her union with France at Tilsit; the friction between the new allies from the very first, for Napoleon, whilst readily agreeing 'to help Russia 'to drive the Turks out of Europe,' made a positive exception of Constantinople.

'This led to a decided difference of opinion between the two Emperors. After one of their discussions, Napoleon stayed poring over a map, and finally exclaimed, "Constantinople! Never! It is the empire of the world." Doubtless it was on this subject that Alexander cherished some secret annoyance. Certain it is that, despite all his professions of devotion to Napoleon, he went back to St. Petersburg ill at ease and possessed with a certain awe of the conqueror.'

And as years went by Russia, though nominally the ally of France, and to some extent enforcing the continental blockade, was in reality intent only on winning Finland, which she finally did under engagements which she has not scrupled to violate; and when that was finished she took the earliest opportunity of breaking the chain which galled her. We might again dwell on what has perhaps been considered one of the most loyal and firm alliances recorded in history —that between the armies of England and Prussia in Belgium in 1815. Does anyone really believe that if the whole force had been under the command of Wellington, or of Blücher, it would have been handled in the disjointed and dangerous manner that it actually was? People talk of the mistakes of the one general or the other; they lose sight of the radical weakness of a combined army, and of the colossal blunder entailed on it by political jealousy—that of having two separate commanders-in-chief. As it was, we have Gneisenau doubting on June 17 whether Wellington would fight, and carrying out an indirect strategy—'because 'he was not sure of Wellington.'

But these are almost trifles when compared with the difficulties that beset the great coalition of 1813–14 that did eventually land Napoleon in Elba. His admirers have very commonly referred to the campaign of 1814 in France as exhibiting perhaps the most striking proof of his extraordinary genius. That it did show genius no one is likely to question; but then, as so often before, his genius was assisted by the discordant aims and wishes of his enemies.

'The alarm of Austria at the growing power of Russia and Prussia was becoming acute. She had drawn the sword only because Napoleon's resentment was more to be feared than Alexander's

ambition. But all had changed since then. The warrior who, five months ago, still had his sword at the throat of Germany, was now being pursued across the dreary flats of Champagne. And his Eastern rival, who then plaintively sued for Austria's aid, now showed a desire to establish Russian control over all the Polish lands, indemnifying Prussia for losses in that quarter by the acquisition of Saxony.'

And again:

'So deep was the Tsar's distrust of the Austrian statesman and commander-in-chief that he resolved to brush aside Metternich's diplomatic pourparlers, to push on rapidly to Paris, and there dictate peace. But it was just this eagerness of the Tsar and the Prussians to reach Paris which kept alive Austrian fears. A complete triumph to their arms would seal the doom of Poland and Saxony; and it has been thought that Schwarzenberg not only sought to save Austrian soldiers by keeping them back, but that at this time he did less than his duty in keeping touch with Blücher. Several times during the ensuing days the charge of treachery was hurled by the Prussians against the Austrians, and once at least by Frederick William himself. But it seems more probable that Metternich and Schwarzenberg held their men back merely for prudential motives until the resumption of the negotiations with France should throw more light on the tangled political jungle through which the allies were groping.'

The result of all this was that Blücher, with 50,000 men marched from Brienne north-west towards Paris, whilst the main army of about three times that number, turned south-west towards Bar-sur-Seine and Sens. It was a chance which Napoleon, with the autocratic command of a homogeneous army, was little likely to miss; the action of the allies in attempting a flank march, with reduced numbers, past a position held by Napoleon was, from a military point of view, suicidal.

'In four days the army of Silesia lost fully 15,000 men, and its corps were driven far asunder by Napoleon's incursion. His brilliant moves and trenchant strokes astonished the world. With less than 30,000 men he had burst into Blücher's line of march, and scattered in flight 50,000 warriors advancing on Paris in full assurance of victory. It was not chance, but science, that gave him these successes. Acting from behind the screen of the Seine, he had thrown his small but undivided force against scattered portions of a superior force.'

Not chance, but science; science, however, aided by the one certain condition of coalitions—that strategical considerations will be subordinate to political. Of the existence of this discord—this rift in the lute—Napoleon was well aware, and, of course, endeavoured to exploit it still further. His marriage had made it easy for him to approach the Austrian Emperor and at this time to urge on him the

impolicy of his continuing the war—'Why should she 'subordinate her policy to that of England and to the personal 'animosities of the Tsar? Why should she see her former 'Belgian provinces handed over to a Protestant Dutch 'Prince?' France would never give up Belgium or the Rhine boundary; otherwise, he (Napoleon) was willing to forget the past, and to make peace on terms that would be agreeable to Austria. And meantime, the pretensions of the Tsar were working in his favour. They 'excited indignation 'and alarm.

'Metternich, Castlereagh, and Hardenberg saw in them a ruse for foisting on France either Bernadotte, or an orientalised republic, or a Muscovite version of the treaty of Tilsit. . . . Alexander was evidently bent on forcing the hands of his allies, and Austria feared that he might, at the end of the war, insist on her taking Alsace as a set-off to the loss of Eastern Galicia, which he wished to absorb. . . . Metternich and Hardenberg signed a secret agreement to prevent the Tsar carrying matters with a high hand at Paris . . . and Austria formally threatened to withdraw her troops from the war unless he limited his aims to the terms propounded by the allies at Châtillon.'

The contention was sufficiently serious, but Napoleon possibly exaggerated it and trusted to his good fortune to blow it into an angry quarrel. And thus his obstinate refusal to treat on the basis of 'the frontiers of France in '1791' succeeded in forcing the allies to lay their mutual jealousies aside for the moment, and on March 9 the representatives of Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia signed a compact by which these Powers

'bound themselves not to treat singly with France for peace, but to continue the war until France was brought back to her old frontiers, and the complete independence of Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and Spain was secured. . . . Undoubtedly this compact was largely the work of Castlereagh, whose tact and calmness had done wonders in healing schisms; but so intimate a union could never have been formed among previously discordant allies but for their overmastering fear of Napoleon.'

From that time forth there were no more opportunities given to him; his attempts to thwart the allies' plans were everywhere unsuccessful. Slowly but steadily they pushed on, and on March 30 Paris capitulated. On April 6 Napoleon signed his abdication.

In all this there is, of course, nothing new to the student of politics or history; we see it around us from day to day, as we saw it in the curious 'concert' of the Powers a few years ago at Crete, or in the still more curious concert in

the Far East. There are plenty of men still living who knew of the friction between the allies in the Russian war nearly fifty years ago, and in the Chinese war which followed it; and everyone who can read ought to know how terribly the same kind of friction hampered our movements through the war of the Spanish Succession not only in Belgium and Germany, but in the Peninsula itself. And yet there are people, generally reputed sane, who seem to devote their lives to hatching scares of impossible coalitions against this country, coalitions with no policy in common, not even with common loves and hates, which are (as we used to learn) the true basis of friendship. What living experience and the facts of history—Napoleonic history more especially—teach us is that a hostile coalition is by no means so dangerous as it appears, and becomes relatively less so as the numbers of its members increase; and on the other hand that allies are even as the staff of a bruised reed, 'on which if a man lean 'it will go into his hand and pierce it'; that safety lies in our own exertions rather than in the assistance of myriads of hired confederates.

It is a commonplace of one school of political economy, desirous of showing the absolute evil of every war, that the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars added six hundred millions to our national debt. If, as we believe, the war was a righteous war, which the calls of honour and safety equally compelled us to wage, true political economy teaches that its cost was as necessary a disbursement as to a private individual would be the cost of a fire engine if the flames were spreading to his house. But by far the larger part of the enormous sum named was paid to foreigners to enable them to fight the battles which our most extravagant and wasteful economy had rendered us unable to fight for ourselves. In war, as in civil business, there is much virtue in the old maxim, 'If you want a thing done, do it yourself'; and this, indeed, was the opinion of Nelson, who wrote from the Riviera in October, 1795:

'The campaign of our allies, the Austrians and Piedmontese, is, I suppose, almost over—not that I am in the secret when it commenced. My situation with this army has convinced me, by ocular demonstration, of the futility of continental alliances. The conduct of the Court of Vienna is nothing but deception: I am certain, if it appears to that Court to be their interest to make peace with France it will be instantly done. What is Austria better than Prussia, or *vice versâ*? In one respect, perhaps, Prussia may be better than Austria: the moment he got our money he finished the farce; Austria, I fear,

may induce us to give her more, for to a certainty she will not carry on another campaign without more money.'

It must be remembered that Nelson was in the best possible position for gauging the way in which the alliance was practically worked and the value of the return our subsidies received. His view of the matter, therefore, though it has been strangely overlooked—even now by Mr. Rose—may be held to point out one contributory cause of the startling successes of Bonaparte in the campaign of 1796. Another—the age and incompetence of the Austrian generals—has been already referred to. There remains, of course, the genius of Bonaparte, with the interesting question of how far this was to be considered intuitive and how far the result of forethought and study. Intuition may be put aside by everyone who believes that genius is nothing but (*i.e.*, without) the capacity of taking pains; but the forethought and study have been the hotbed of a controversy in which one party has held that the plan of the campaign outlined in 1795, and again in the early months of 1796, was based entirely on Bonaparte's own observation of the ground; whilst others have maintained that in drawing out these plans, and afterwards in the execution of them, he was largely directed and influenced by a careful and detailed study of the history of previous campaigns in the same country, and especially those of 1745–6. M. Moris, who, though not a military man himself, was in direct communication with military men and had a familiar knowledge of the ground, wrote in 1886 :*

'The two schemes which Bonaparte drew up for 1795 are evidently inspired by the manœuvres of the Prince de Conti in the second part of the campaign of 1744. . . . As to the plan sent in on January 19, 1796, which the young general so skilfully carried out, it is the reproduction of the operations of 1745; . . . and the much vaunted march of Bonaparte from Alessandria to Lodi, including the passage of the Po at Placentia, is an exact repetition of the movements of General de la Vieuville in 1745; the same rapidity in the marches, the same vigour in the engagements.'

It is easy to exaggerate the closeness of analogies; but General Pierron, approaching the subject from the military point of view, wrote in 1889:† 'Napoleon is the pupil of 'Marshal Maillebois, or rather of his son, the Comte de

* Opérations militaires dans les Alpes et les Apennins (1742–1748), p. 9.

† Comment s'est formé le génie militaire de Napoléon Ier ?

'Maillebois, from whom he borrowed his great principles of 'war'; and supported his opinion not only by the resemblance between the conditions and circumstances of the campaigns, but by showing that as soon as he was appointed to the command of the army of Italy Bonaparte sent in a demand for—amongst other books and maps—the 'Mémoires 'de Maillebois,' the 'Histoire Militaire du Prince 'Eugène,' and the 'Campagnes de Vendôme.' General Pierron considers this presumptive evidence that Bonaparte already knew and valued the 'Mémoires de Maillebois,' or, more correctly, the Marquis de Pezay's 'Histoire des Cam- 'pagnes de Maillebois (1745–6),' 'and thinks it probable 'that he had studied them, if not earlier, at least in the 'course of 1794 and 1795, when he was deeply engaged 'upon the strategy of the Italian theatre of war.'*

An anonymous writer immediately replied to General Pierron that there was no evidence that the volumes were ever sent to Bonaparte, and still less that he ever received them. This was a fair contention, enormously strengthened, to those who had read Nelson's despatches, by a sentence in his letter to Sir John Jervis, of June 2, 1796:

'I have got the charts of Italy sent by the Directory to Bonaparte; also Maillebois' "Wars in Italy," Vauban's "Attack and Defence of Places," and Prince Eugène's history, all sent for the General. If Bonaparte is ignorant, the Directory, it would appear, wish to instruct him: pray God he may remain ignorant.'

This seemed conclusive against General Pierron's argument. And so the controversy stood for some years; but, writes Mr. Spenser Wilkinson,

'in 1896 I came upon the title of Pezay's book in the catalogue of a Vienna bookshop, with a note that the copy contained an inscription relating to Napoleon. I sent for the copy, and ascertained that it came from the library of a country house in the Southern Tyrol, of which the owner's name was Giambatta Sardagna. It bears on the flyleaf preceding the title-page of volume I. the following inscription: "Fut oublié cet ouvrage par Napoléon Bonaparte, Général en Chef, depuis Empereur des Français et Roi d'Italie, etc., etc., dans la maison de Monsieur Emili, l'an 1796." The inscription is written in a flourishing hand by an inexpert penman, who has had to rule lines to help him—a naïve proceeding little suggestive of forgery, and the price of the book was too small to admit of the hypothesis of a forgery for the purpose of enhancing its value.'

A curious little bit of bibliographical history: M. Emili was *provveditore* at Verona, where Bonaparte had his head-

* Spenser Wilkinson, 'Napoleon: the First Phase.'

quarters for some weeks in the end of 1796. It thus appears definitely settled that Bonaparte had a copy of Pezay's work in 1796, and the value he attached to it is further shown by the fact that another copy formed part of his library at St. Helena. Mr. Wilkinson, however, does not entirely agree with General Pierron's conclusions.

'I can find,' he says, 'no instance in which Bonaparte "copies Maillebois." He found in Pezay's history, and in the documents which accompany it, the details of a series of operations, which he could not follow without acquiring a flood of light upon the strategical conditions of the theatre of war in Northern Italy and upon the weak points of a coalition between Sardinia and Austria. These are the elements of which he makes use in the formation of his own plans, but his designs are governed by his own purposes and adapted to the situation of his own time. Maillebois may well have been his guide to the analysis of the problems which he had to solve, but the solution is in each case his own. . . . In a word, the genius of Napoleon is revealed in the use which he makes of Maillebois.'

This seems a full and fair answer to the question, and is probably what Mr. Rose means, though he does not clearly say so.

Another question, of interest rather than importance, relates to the heavy contributions which were levied on the Lombard States after what may be called their conquest. Mr. Rose attributes the initiative entirely to the Directory and to their despatch of May 7. 'The date,' he says, 'rebuts the statement that Bonaparte suggested to the 'Directory the pillage of Lombardy.' It may be so; though we see nothing improbable in the supposition that the despatch was based on a previous suggestion by the conqueror. At any rate he at once acted on the order, with a very suspicious readiness, and wrote to the Directory that they might speedily count on six or eight millions being at their disposal, over and above what was needed for the army.

'This,' Mr. Rose says, 'is the first definite suggestion by Bonaparte of that system of bleeding conquered lands for the benefit of the French Exchequer which enabled him speedily to gain power over the Directors. Thenceforth they began to connive at his diplomatic irregularities, and even to urge on his expeditions into wealthy districts, provided that the spoils went to Paris; while the conqueror, on his part, was able tacitly to assume that tone of authority with which the briber treats the bribed.'

If the idea was not Bonaparte's, he made it his own and improved on it as speedily and thoroughly as he did the

other ideas handed down to him by Maillebois; and, indeed, therein—in the quickness to see, the power to assimilate the ideas of other men—lay a part of the secret of his genius; the suggestion for good or bad might come from anywhere; the execution and the result were his own.

In this connection, it is worth pointing out that throughout his life Bonaparte was a voracious reader; a reader of books of solid interest, history more especially. We have already mentioned some of the volumes—quartos and folios—that he carried about with him in his campaign in Northern Italy. Mr. Wilkinson has given a list of some that he read—and made abstracts of—between 1788 and 1791, which includes Rollin's 'Ancient History,' Raynal's 'Philosophical and Political History of the European 'Trading Establishments in the Indies,' 'History of 'England,' 'History of Frederick the Great,' De Tott's 'Memoirs on the Turks and Tartars,' Mably's 'Observa-'tions on the History of France,' Necker's 'Report to the 'States-General on the State of the Finances of France.'

'In 1789 there was a riot at Seurre, and Bonaparte was sent there in command of his company, the captain being away on leave. He took with him Marigny's "Histoire des Arabes" and La Houssaie's "Histoire du Gouvernement de Venise," and apparently read both works during his two months' duty at Seurre.'

At St. Helena he accumulated 2,700 volumes; and even on the expedition to Egypt he carried with him a relatively large library; the actual numbers are not stated, but

'he had with him,' says Mr. Rose, '125 volumes of historical works, among which the translations of Thucydides, Plutarch, Tacitus, and Livy represented the life of the ancient world, while in modern life he concentrated his attention chiefly on the manners and institutions of peoples and the memoirs of great generals, as Turenne, Condé, Luxembourg, Saxe, Marlborough, Eugène, and Charles XII. Of the poets he selected the so-called Ossian, Tasso, Ariosto, Homer, Virgil, and the masterpieces of the French theatre; but he especially affected the turgid and declamatory style of Ossian. In romance, English literature was strongly represented by forty volumes of novels, of course in translations. Besides a few works on arts and sciences, he also had with him twelve volumes of Barclay's "Geography" and three volumes of Cook's "Voyages," which show that his thoughts extended to the Antipodes; and under the heading of politics he included the Bible, the Koran, the Vedas, a mythology, and Montesquieu's "Esprit des Lois."'

And these volumes he did not carry about with him for show or 'pose.' The evidence is that he read and digested

what he read, and could, when occasion served, reproduce either the actions of his great predecessors, or the 'turgid 'declamations' of Ossian. But this Egyptian library was presumably not carried across the desert and up the Nile. Nothing is said of its fate; and we may suppose that the greater part of it was left on board the 'Orient' and perished with her in Aboukir Bay.

At first sight it seems more than curious that Mr. Rose should have written the narrative of the Egyptian campaign without a single reference to the important work of Captain de la Jonquière, which we reviewed last October. But from a later passage it appears that Mr. Rose's first volume, though only now published, was printed off in the spring of last year, before M. de la Jonquière's work was published. The omission was thus unavoidable, but is none the less unfortunate; for much of the detail—as to the voyage—the seizure of Malta—the landing at Alexandria—the detention of the fleet in Aboukir Bay—and other incidents of the campaign—is at variance with what M. de la Jonquière has shown to be the fact. Of the crisis of Brueys' fate, for instance, Mr. Rose says: 'It is 'somewhat ungenerous to censure him for his decision to 'remain at Aboukir and risk a fight rather than comply 'with the dictates of a prudent but inglorious strategy.' We do not think that this rightly describes the cowardly and libellous abuse which Bonaparte and his partisans heaped on the memory of Brueys; but we know now that Bonaparte and Mr. Rose have both misstated the case, and that Brueys would gladly have gone to Corfu if he could; that at first Bonaparte would not allow him to go, and afterwards took care to make his going impossible.

This entire misapprehension of an important episode of the campaign makes us doubly regret that we have not the concluding volumes of M. de la Jonquière's work to check the account of the operations in Syria, as to which Mr. Rose, in the main, follows the beaten track. But he strives to palliate the murder of the 2,500 or more prisoners at Jaffa, on the plea of military necessity. 'The alterna- 'tive to the massacre was the detaching of a French 'battalion to conduct their prisoners to Egypt. As that 'would seriously have weakened the little army, the pri- 'soners were shot.' He entirely loses sight of the facts—most important from the military point of view, and not unimportant from the civil—that these men had laid down their arms on a promise that their lives should be spared,

and that the so-called necessity was not a necessity but a convenience; and we most vehemently protest against the assertion that 'Bonaparte's reluctant assent'—to shoot down, in cold blood and as a mere matter of convenience, some 3,000 unarmed prisoners who had surrendered on promise of quarter—'contrasts favourably with the un-'hesitating conduct of Cromwell at Drogheda'—in letting loose the fury of the storming-party against the garrison who resisted to the last, and who were, as he and all with him believed, 'barbarous wretches who had imbrued 'their hands in so much innocent blood.' This was, in truth, a most sad, most terrible incident of the war, but one not antagonistic to the spirit of the age; the other was a brutal massacre, happily unparalleled in modern history. We by no means accept Lanfrey as a sound critic or an impartial judge; but in relation to this affair his narrative seems to us more correct, his argument more sound, and his conclusion more wholesome, than that of Mr. Rose.

As to the repulsive story of the poisoning the plague-stricken patients at Jaffa as the army retired into Egypt, Mr. Rose is beating the air in disproving it. 'It has,' he says, 'been generally believed that the victims of the plague were 'then and there put out of their miseries by large doses of 'opium.' No doubt such a story was spread abroad at the time, was firmly believed in the French army, and very naturally by the English. But it has long since been given up, even by the bitterest opponents of Bonapartism; and the story has dwindled down to a statement that with reference to some dozen or so of hopeless cases which they were obliged to leave, Bonaparte suggested such a use or opium to Desgenettes, the surgeon-in-chief, who replied that it was his business to cure men, not to kill them. Napoleon himself, at St. Helena, seems to have admitted the truth of this, and it does not seem out of keeping with the character of the man or the somewhat heathen philosophy which with him stood in lieu of religion.

To us, Englishmen, few, if any, pages of Mr. Rose's book are more deeply interesting than those in which he tells of the negotiations which preceded the treaty of Amiens and continued through the peace, ending only with the renewal of the war in 1803. Perhaps no incident of the whole period has been so often and so angrily discussed as this last; and it has long been clear, even to those who held that it was unavoidable, that it was so from the beginning; that the

terms of the treaty were such as, in the hands of an unscrupulous opponent, could not but lead to misunderstanding and quarrel. Mr. Rose considers—rightly, we think—that this was due to the weakness of our Government, which, in its desire for peace, allowed itself to be duped and submitted to be bullied into concessions disastrous to our interests. But though he points out the advantage which, in such negotiations, an autocrat had over the ministers of a constitutional government controlled by public opinion, he does not seem to lay sufficient stress on the necessity our ministers were then under to make peace; on the fact that the country was sick of the war, and believed that peace was possible. A strong Government would have sooner found out that it was not possible, and have undeceived the country in a less costly manner; but Addington's was not a strong Government, either collectively or individually.

Curiously, in trying to emphasise this, Mr. Rose says: 'It 'was remarked as significant of the new docility of 'George III., that the empty title of "King of France" 'which he and his predecessors had affected, was now 'formally resigned, and the *fleurs de lys* ceased to appear 'on the royal arms.' If this is taken to imply that the resignation was connected with the treaty, it is entirely wrong; the 'empty title' and the *fleurs de lys* were dropped at the union with Ireland, when the King took the title 'Georgius tertius, Dei Gratia Britanniarum rex, fidei defensor,' a fact that was strangely ignored in the recent discussions on the title of his present Majesty. But though the change does not illustrate the weakness of Addington or his Government, it was indirectly due to the general desire for peace. On this point, the contemporary account, well-informed though non-official, is clear:

'The Executive Directory, feeble and justly contemned, had during the negotiation at Lisle insisted on the renunciation, and there was no probability that the Consular Government, more fortunate and respected and apparently more firm, would in any future treaty omit to make a similar requisition. The nation, desirous of peace, would hardly endure to hear of a protracted war for the sake of a mere title; and ministers, aware of this fact, acted discreetly in yielding to the evident temper of the times, and making, by their own choice, a change which might otherwise have been extorted on the demand of the enemy, reinforced by the clamour of the people.' *

It has been, and still is, so often alleged that the war

* Annual Register, 1801, pt. i., p. 38.

broke out again because the English Government, in violation of the treaty, refused to give up Malta, that it is worth while to pause for a few minutes on the consideration of what really took place. The evacuation of Malta—that is, the handing it over to a reconstituted Order of St. John under the guarantee of a third Power—was one, but only one, of the terms of the treaty, which, ever since its conclusion, Bonaparte had been insolently violating in almost every other point. He had annexed Holland, Switzerland, and Piedmont, and had denied the right of the English Government to interfere; it was not explicitly stated that he was not to do so, and was therefore no business of theirs. He had not only refused to make a commercial treaty with England, but had ordered a commercial blockade by all the States under his influence; and, in reply to complaints, demanded the immediate evacuation of Malta. Addington had repeatedly professed his desire to yield even this, subject to the conditions named; but the Order was not reconstituted; its property and houses in France, in Italy, and in Spain were seized; and no third Power was found to give a guarantee. Russia refused, and recommended England to keep the place; and though Addington was himself willing to give up anything for the sake of the peace, public opinion in England was rapidly changing in favour of putting a term to the aggressions of Bonaparte, accompanied, as they were, by an insolence of language and demeanour of which Mr. Rose's narrative gives but a feeble idea. For a correct impression it is necessary to turn to the more outspoken pages of Lanfrey.

Thus, sorely against his will, Addington was compelled to send to Bonaparte what was virtually an ultimatum. He demanded the evacuation of the Batavian Republic and of Switzerland, an indemnity for the King of Sardinia, the cession of Lampedusa, and an acknowledgement of England's right to occupy Malta for ten years. On these conditions he would recognise the kingdom of Etruria and the Cisalpine republic.

The change of tone inverted the positions of the two parties. Bonaparte had so often found blustering insolence triumphant on the Continent, and hitherto also in his negotiations with England, that he had pushed forward to a position from which one or the other must give way or fight. It is probable, as Mr. Rose thinks, that he did not wish to fight just then. By negotiation, and by the stupidity or weakness of our Government he had recovered all the colonies

that France or her dependencies had lost during the war; and now, with his Empire swollen on the Continent, and largely increased beyond the seas, he wanted time to consolidate it and to strengthen his navy for its defence. But his character, always headstrong, and impaired by a long course of easy good fortune and by want of resistance, could not endure contradiction, nor could his political position, not yet confirmed, permit any apparent drawing back. He was obliged to accept the war which he had forced England to declare; and in doing so showed his extreme annoyance in a petulant breach of international law and international courtesy which did England, as his enemy, no harm, but inflicted much misery and suffering on thousands of private families.

'On May 22, 1803, appeared at Paris the startling order that, as British frigates had captured two French merchantmen on the Breton coast, all Englishmen between eighteen and sixty years of age who were in France should be detained as prisoners of war. The pretext for this unheard-of action, which condemned some 10,000 Britons to prolonged detention, was that the two French ships were seized prior to the declaration of war. This is false: they were seized on May 20—that is, four days after the British Government had declared war, three days after an embargo had been laid on British vessels in French ports, and seven days after the First Consul had directed his envoy at Florence to lay an embargo on English ships in the ports of Tuscany. It is therefore obvious that Napoleon's barbarous decree merely marked his disappointment at the failure of his efforts to gain time and to deal the first stroke.'

In this way began the war which was immediately to develope Bonaparte's long conceived design for the invasion of England, and to be met by the rigorous blockade of all French ports, the first phase of which ended at Trafalgar, the second on the quarter-deck of the 'Bellerophon.'

The renewal of the war put an immediate end to Bonaparte's schemes of colonial expansion. A great deal has been said of his ambition to found a vast Eastern Empire, to rival Alexander on his own ground; and Mr. Rose repeatedly speaks of this as largely, if not mainly, influencing his conduct. It seems to us quite as likely that it was merely a daydream in which it pleased him to indulge, but that his real aim was colonial expansion, and that in that lay the secret of his persistent hostility to England. 'He sought,' according to Mr. Rose, 'to humble England, 'so that he might be free for his long-deferred Oriental 'enterprise'; but though there can be little doubt that the idea of India had for him a strange fascination, its

political interpretation seems to belong to the second aim just referred to rather than to the first. To it, however, and to all efforts in that direction, England was bound to offer a strenuous opposition, and Mr. Rose has pointed out that

'the consolidation of British power in Hindostan would in all probability never have occurred but for the apprehensions excited by the French demands [for the extension of the French districts in India]. The Marquis Wellesley could not have pursued his daring and expensive schemes of conquest, annexation, and forced alliances had not the schemes of the First Consul weakened the protests of the dividend-hunters of Leadenhall Street.'

But England was equally bound to resist any interference with her colonies, and some at least of our possessions—Tasmania, for instance, then, as in after years the South Island of New Zealand—owe their settlement to the desire—if we ought not to say to the necessity—of anticipating a French encroachment. To a peaceful expansion of France beyond the seas—though she had no experience of such—England might not have objected; and an honourable and honest peace might have allowed Bonaparte to attempt the founding colonies, which in all probability could not have been sustained in any case, but certainly could not have been sustained without the continued good will and assistance of England.

A proof of that occurred even during the short peace. He was presumably meditating on the possibility of founding a colony and establishing the French dominion, then or later on, in the South of Australia, and sent out an exploring ship, the 'Géographe,' to examine the coast, which she did from Wilson Promontory to Cape Leeuwin—ignorant of the fact that it had already been roughly surveyed by Grant and Flinders—and named some of the more striking features, among others Spencer Gulf as Golfe Bonaparte, St. Vincent Gulf as Golfe Josephine, and Kangaroo Island as Isle Decrès. There seems, however, to have been no apprehension or jealousy of a French settlement, and when the 'Géographe' came to Sydney, with all her men down with scurvy, the few cattle in the colony, though intended solely for stock, were at once slaughtered for the benefit of the strangers. Had the peace continued, a settlement might have been attempted; had it been honest, the settlement might have been allowed; but the war put an end to the scheme for the time and for ever. That it remained in Bonaparte's mind as a possibility of the future seems to be clearly

indicated by the official publication in 1807 of a map of Australia, in which the name 'Terre Napoléon' extends over the southern part of what is now Victoria and South Australia.

Another colonial scheme, of better geographical possibilities, referred to the continent of North America. In 1800, by a secret treaty with Spain, and in return for what proved a very nominal cession of Tuscany, France had acquired certain provisional rights over Louisiana, a vast territory comprising vaguely the country at the mouth of the Mississippi, and to the west and north as far as the Missouri or farther. In 1802 these rights became real, but the United States at once interfered. Public feeling there was strongly opposed to the French occupation, and 'despite his 'predilections for France,' Jefferson was compelled to forbid 'it. He accordingly sent Monroe to Paris with instructions 'to effect a compromise, or even to buy outright the French 'claims on that land.' Bonaparte yielded, and eventually sold the French claims to the States for sixty million francs. Mr. Rose puts it that 'he abandoned his Mississippi enter-'prise in favour of the Oriental schemes which were closer to 'his heart.'

As we have already said, we do not feel quite so sure about these Oriental schemes as Mr. Rose does, and think that Bonaparte's yielding was more probably in the interests of the struggle with England which he, better than anyone else, then knew must speedily recommence. If he now quarrelled with the United States, an alliance between them and England might result, with certain disaster to the newly regained French interests in the West Indies. It is possible that he was speaking his mind and not merely posing when he said: 'This accession of territory strengthens 'for ever the power of the United States, and I have just 'given to England a maritime rival that sooner or later 'will humble her pride'; or, again, 'I know the price of 'what I abandon. I have proved the importance I attach 'to this province. I renounce it with the greatest regret; 'to attempt obstinately to retain it would be folly.'

To his brothers, however, the bargain was still more distasteful. Joseph had been the chief instrument in negotiating the treaty of Amiens; Lucien, in conducting the negotiation with Spain; and both of them were indignant at seeing their work undone for the sake of what appeared to them a mere whim. The resistance or hostility of the United States seemed preferable to aggressive

policy and unending war in Europe. The two sought their brother.

'He chanced to be in his bath—a warm bath, perfumed with scents, where he believed that tired nature most readily found recovery. He ordered them to be admitted, and an interesting family discussion was the result. On his mentioning the proposed sale, Lucien retorted that the Legislature would never consent to the sacrifice. The mention of the consent of the deputies roused the spleen of the autocrat, who, from amidst the scented water, mockingly bade his brother go into mourning for the affair, which he, and he alone, intended to carry out. This gibe led Joseph to threaten that he would mount the tribune in the Chambers, and head the opposition to this unpatriotic surrender. Defiance flashed forth once more from the bath; and the First Consul finally ended their bitter retorts by spasmodically rising, as suddenly falling backwards, and drenching Joseph to the skin. His peals of scornful laughter and the swooning of the valet, who was not yet fully inured to these family scenes, interrupted the argument of the piece; but when resumed a little later Lucien wound up by declaring that if he were not his brother he would be his enemy. "My enemy!" exclaimed Napoleon; "you my enemy! I would break you—see—like this box"—and he dashed his snuff-box on the carpet. It did not break, but the portrait of Josephine was detached and broken. Whereupon Lucien picked up the pieces and handed them to his brother, remarking, "It's a pity. Meanwhile, until you can break me, it is your wife's portrait that you have broken.'

The first essential for a war against England was a strong fleet, as, indeed, Bonaparte had written in the spring of 1798; without that nothing could be done. But his want of temper and judgement, by forcing on the declaration of war, had prevented his increasing the French navy as he wished, and once again it became an object to add the Spanish navy to it. Out of this need came the pressure on Spain and the determination to force her into an active alliance. The English Government, however, was forewarned, and endeavoured to prevent the alliance from having effect by seizing the Spanish treasure ships and holding them as a material guarantee. The seizure, accompanied as it was by a sharp fight and the appalling destruction of one of the Spanish ships, was vehemently denounced as an act of piracy by all the enemies of England abroad and of the English Government at home. In reality it was a perfectly lawful and judicious action, and even the Spanish historian Couto, cited by Captain Mahan, can only say:

'The mere detention of the division from America, carrying specie which might be used in behalf of French preparations, could have been overlooked as an able and not very illegal means of bettering the

prospects of the English reclamations in consequence of the scanty satisfaction they obtained from our Court. . . . If all the circumstances are impartially weighed . . . we shall see that all the charges made against England for the seizure of the frigates may be reduced simply to want of proper foresight in the strength of the force detailed to effect it.' *

To this Mr. Rose adds, apparently meaning to shift the blame from the shoulders of the Admiralty: 'In the 'Admiralty Secret Letters I have found the instructions to 'Sir John Orde, with [five ships of the line, a frigate] and 'two sloops, to seize the treasure ships. No fight seems to 'have been expected.' No fight would have been possible had any such force been in the way. Unfortunately for the implied argument, the instructions to Orde are addressed to him at Spithead, where the ships named were lying, and are dated 'October 27'—twenty-two days after the treasure ships were seized by frigates acting—as Mr. Rose might have read in Captain Mahan's pages—under orders from Cornwallis. And yet the 'want of proper foresight' to which Couto refers was rather an unfortunate accident than a blunder. The Admiralty knew that treasure ships were expected, but had no clear intelligence what they were or where they were coming to. A large number of ships—ships of the line and frigates—were accordingly detached to look out for them—off Cadiz, off Cape Finisterre, off Corunna, and other places. It was Graham Moore's luck to fall in with them when he had a sufficient force; but he might easily have had only two ships, instead of four, and the fight would have been the more cruel, though the result would—in all probability—have been essentially the same.

A somewhat similar incident which, being on a much larger scale, has been more often and more angrily discussed, was the bombardment of Copenhagen and the seizure of the Danish navy in 1807. The discussion has been the more angry because it had nothing to go on. For all that was known the attack on Denmark might be, as—by the pro-Gallic and sentimental party it was alleged to be—an insolent and cowardly display of brute force, without any valid reason; and though the counter-allegation was that the Government had certain information that, by a secret article of the treaty of Tilsit, Denmark was to be compelled to put her fleet at the disposal of Napoleon, there was no evidence

* Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire, ii. 139.

to show how they got the information, or, indeed, that it was anything more than mere suspicion.

It has, of course, long been known that there were secret articles, and that the general sense of one of them was as has been stated, though the actual text was not revealed till about twelve years ago; but how the Government obtained the immediate knowledge of it has remained a mystery. What has always seemed a plausible guess is that they bought it from Talleyrand for a million sterling; but even on the supposition that Talleyrand was sufficiently greedy of money and unscrupulous as to the means of getting it, it is merely a guess, without anything that can be called proof to substantiate it. Mr. Rose thinks that his researches furnish a solution of the mystery. He says:

'Our Foreign Office records show that our agent at Tilsit, Mr. Mackenzie, who was on confidential terms with General Bennigsen, left post haste for England immediately after the first imperial interview; and the news which he brought, together with reports of the threatening moves of the French on Holstein, clinched the determination of our Government to checkmate the Franco-Russian aims by bringing strong pressure to bear on Denmark.'

We cannot agree that this is by any means a solution of the mystery. Before the meeting of the emperors Mackenzie wrote from Memel giving such information as he had gleaned; and no doubt this, together with the news from Copenhagen and Holstein, was calculated to arouse grave suspicions. But on such suspicions alone the Government could not have acted with the promptitude and decision it did; and Mr. Rose's story does not supply the necessary addition. He shows, indeed, that Mackenzie left Memel 'immediately after the first imperial interview' on June 25, and suggests that the further information he brought was definite and what was wanted to enable the Government to act. To us this seems in the highest degree improbable. Mr. Rose himself, indeed, supplies the contradiction to it:

'"I hate the English as much as you do, and I will second you in all your actions against them." Such are said to have been the words with which Alexander greeted Napoleon as they stepped on to the raft. Whereupon the conqueror replied, "In that case all can be arranged, and peace is made." As the two emperors were unaccompanied at that first interview it is difficult to see on what evidence this story rests. It is most unlikely that either emperor would divulge the remarks of the other on that occasion, and the words attributed to Alexander seem highly impolitic. . . . Besides, we know for certain that he was most anxious to postpone his rupture with England for some months.'

According to Mr. Rose's own argument there was thus no information to bring, and, if there had been any, Mackenzie could not have known it. The suggestion that he or any agent of his was concealed on the raft, within earshot of the speakers, is palpably absurd, and as such Mr. Rose rejects it. He thinks that Mackenzie may have been told by Bennigsen; but Bennigsen could not know more than Mackenzie did, though he supposed a good deal, and in any case there is nothing to show that Mackenzie was on those 'confidential terms' with Bennigsen which form an essential part of Mr. Rose's hypothesis. He has himself shown that he was a stranger to Bennigsen till a few days before: he had brought a letter of introduction, and Bennigsen asked him to dinner. Surely this very ordinary courtesy does not speak of confidential terms such as would lead a man in Bennigsen's position to speak of and discuss his master's secret policy with a foreigner. And thus, rejecting Mr. Rose's solution, the mystery remains for the present very much where it was. It is possible that the key to it was buried with Talleyrand; it is possible that it lies hid in the cynical maxim, 'Cherchez la femme!' it is perhaps not impossible, though we can scarcely think it probable, that, after all, our Government argued from things known to things unknown, and acted on its suspicions. Its record does not seem to warrant our attributing to it such a degree of intelligence.

Mr. Rose, however, establishes the fact that our Government hoped for a peaceful and friendly settlement with Denmark, and proposed a defensive alliance, a subsidy of 100,000*l.*, and armed assistance in case she should be attacked by France: if the offer was refused, it was still hoped that the threat of an overpowering force would prevent any resistance, but in any case the fleet must go to England. As Denmark refused the alliance, and would not yield to a threat, force had to be used; the fleet went to England, and Denmark 'kept up hostilities against us for 'nearly seven years.' And 'all that resulted from Canning's 'action was the hatred of a brave people and the possession 'of their fleet.' This is not quite correct: it was not only that we possessed their fleet, but that the Danes did not. The fleet to us was useless, and few, if any, of the ships went to sea in our service; but in Danish hands, and acting under the orders of Napoleon, it might, and probably would, have done us much harm. Without 'Canning's action' the hostility of Denmark was quite certain; with it, there was at least a chance of a friendly settlement, and a positive

assurance that, if there must be hostilities, they would be innocuous.

From that time on, England's direct part in the struggle lay entirely at sea and in the peninsula, and with neither of these was Napoleon personally concerned; and the question which really dominated Europe, which underlay all the diplomatic contentions and caused the never-ending war, was the 'Continental System.' But as to the continental Powers, its operation was passive, social, financial: it does not readily lend itself to descriptive narrative, and does not fill such a large part of Mr. Rose's canvas as its importance deserves. This was perhaps a necessity; but the result is that a reader, approaching the subject for the first time, would scarcely gather from his pages the absorbing interest of that remarkable phase of the war—the land against the sea.

It is quite true that Mr. Rose describes the action of the Berlin and Milan Decrees and of the Orders in Council, and Napoleon's fixed determination to enforce his will. He writes of 'the deepening hardships entailed on Germany,' and of the war with Austria and the butchery of Aspern-Essling as 'the outcome solely of the Continental System'; of the King of Holland, flying from his country in July, 1810, sooner than bring on his subjects 'the ruin into which 'the rigid application of the Continental System was certain 'to plunge them'; of how, in February, 1811, Napoleon 'bade Sweden enforce the Continental System under pain 'of the occupation of Swedish Pomerania'; and of how, in January, 1812, 'he carried out his threat, thereby throwing 'Sweden into the arms of Russia.' He tells also how, towards the close of 1810, the Tsar

'declined to admit land-borne goods on the easy terms arranged at Tilsit, but levied heavy dues on them, especially on the *articles de luxe* that mostly hailed from France. Some such step,' he says, 'was inevitable. Unable to export freely to England, Russia had not money enough to buy costly French goods without disordering the exchange and ruining her credit. While seeking to raise revenue on French manufactures the Tsar resolved to admit on easy terms all colonial goods, especially American. English goods he would shut out as heretofore; and he claimed that this new departure was well within the limits of the treaty of Tilsit. Far different was Napoleon's view. . . . On April 2 (1812) he wrote: "If Alexander does not quickly stop the impetus which has been given, he will be carried away by it next year, and thus war will take place in spite of him, *in spite of me*, in spite of the interests of France and Russia. . . . It is an operatic scene of which the English are the shifters." What madness,' adds Mr. Rose, 'as if Russia's craving for colonial wares and solvency were a device of the diabolical islanders.'

This is all very good, and, so presented, seems sufficient; but in the book it is lost amid a crowd of political and diplomatic matter of secondary importance, so that the impression remains that, for instance, the war with Russia grew out of Napoleon's annexation of the Duchy of Oldenburg—a necessity, indeed, of the Continental System—rather than out of the Continental System itself; although he does say definitely: 'It suited the French Emperor to 'aver that the quarrel was about Poland rather than the 'Continental System,' as, in fact, it gained him 'the ardent 'support of the Poles'; and in a note he adds: 'Napoleon 'admitted to De Pradt, his envoy at Warsaw, that Russia's 'lapse from the Continental System was the chief cause of 'the war: "Without Russia the Continental System is an '"absurdity."'

And so the war began, with, on the part of Napoleon, a display of imposing force by which he sought to overawe his Eastern rival.

'Lord of a dominion that far excelled that of the Tsar in material resources, suzerain of seven kingdoms and thirty principalities, he called his allies and vassals about him at Dresden, and gave to the world the last vision of that imperial splendour which dazzled the imagination of men. . . . It was as if Peter the Hermit had arisen to impel the peoples of Western and Central Europe once more against the immobile East. Frenchmen to the number of 200,000 formed the kernel of this vast body; 147,000 Germans from the Confederation of the Rhine followed the new Charlemagne; nearly 80,000 Italians under Eugène formed an Army of Observation; 60,000 Poles stepped eagerly forth to wrest their nation's liberty from the Muscovite grasp; and Illyrians, Swiss, and Dutch, along with a few Spaniards and Portuguese, swelled the grand army to a total of 600,000 men.'

The rest of the story is one of the most terrible and impressive in modern history. Of the 600,000 men—men in the full vigour of early manhood—who crossed the Niemen in the latter days of June, 1812, only 20,000, and those

'famished, frostbitten, unarmed spectres, staggered across the bridge of Kovno in the middle of December. . . . The remainder of that mighty host rotted away in Russian prisons, or lay at rest under Nature's winding-sheet of snow.'

Brilliant as many of Bonaparte's actions had been, astounding as had been some of his successes, beneficent as had been some of his legislation, we are entitled to doubt whether the name of a great statesman or a great soldier is rightly applied to a man who, having autocratic power and being solely responsible for the policy of the war and the strategy of the campaign, took unreasoning hatred for the

guide of his conduct, forced on the quarrel with Russia on grounds which every economist or financier must condemn, and led his army into an unknown country, trusting blindly to the 'star of destiny,' and without taking thought of, or making provision for, their food, their clothing, their shelter, or their retreat. We might emphasise this by dwelling on the fact that what he did in Russia, in defiance of all canons of the military art, he had done, years before, in Egypt, where, happily for his men, the climate was less severe and the enemy less unrelenting; or that he would have sinned in exactly the same manner in England, had not the good fortune of which he boasted rendered his design abortive. The Russian campaign was no solitary instance of the limitations of his genius, but it was on such a gigantic scale that every other is dwarfed beside it. And it was sufficient. The rest followed as inexorably as night follows day. His splendid talents could not save him from the punishment which Nature awards to those who persistently sin against her laws, and the results were Leipzig and Elba, Waterloo and St. Helena.

The concluding pages of Mr. Rose's book, which deal with Napoleon's life in his island prison, will be read with more especial interest at the present time as they traverse —in our opinion, correctly—the judgement on the conduct of our Government and of Sir Hudson Lowe which Lord Rosebery's brilliant little volume has recently brought into prominence. It is a story of detail which—as well as the author's chapter in the 'Owens College Essays'—should be studied as a careful and honest justification of Lowe, who was appointed to the very unenviable post because he was known to be an upright and courteous gentleman, an officer of unswerving integrity, and a good linguist. Mr. Rose produces convincing evidence that every discomfort in Bonaparte's position—except, of course, his detention in the island—was due to his own insolent conduct and his repeated attempts at evasion; that he and his Staff deliberately tried to make Lowe's situation intolerable, and scattered complaints and calumnies broadcast, in the hope that some would stick—as Lord Rosebery has shown they have. The lies continued even after Bonaparte's death. It was formally stated that he died of disease of the liver, brought on by confinement, the inclement climate (of a sub-tropical island), and the want of proper food (supplied at his direction at a cost of 12,000*l.* a year). The autopsy showed that he died, as his father had died, of cancer in the stomach—painful, but neither romantic nor heroic.

ART. XII.—1. *Speeches of the Earl of Rosebery at Liverpool* (*February* 14 *and* 15, 1902) *and at Glasgow* (*March* 12, 1902).

2. *Speech of the Duke of Devonshire to the Liberal Unionist Council, February* 27, 1902.

3. *Speech of the Right Hon. John Morley, M.P., at Manchester, March* 12, 1902.

WHATEVER may have been the intention of Lord Rosebery in again entering the arena of active politics, neither that statesman himself, nor anyone else, can pretend to think that his intervention has as yet tended in the smallest degree to the consolidation of the forces of the Opposition either in Parliament or the country. The Liberal Party, if the heterogeneous crowd of members on the Speaker's left hand is still to be allowed to claim that honoured name, was never less harmonious within itself than at the present moment—never less able to take common action in opposition to Ministers of the Crown. In the country the confusion within the party appears to be hardly less than in the House of Commons, and Liberals find it necessary to form and to join special political combinations, not for the purpose of furthering the general cause of the party, but in order to accentuate sectional views notoriously distasteful to other powerful bodies amongst their brother Liberals.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman holds a definite position as the Leader of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons. He was chosen for that position by the Parliamentary representatives of the Liberal electorate of Great Britain, and only last year he received a unanimous vote of confidence from a meeting of the Parliamentary party at the Reform Club. It may be said, moreover, that there is certainly at the present time no ex-Minister in the House of Commons who could command anything like so large a following. When, therefore, Lord Rosebery comes forward with the avowed intention of recasting the recent principles and methods of 'Liberalism,' when in letters and in speeches he declares that a formal meeting of the Liberal Parliamentary party is an organised hypocrisy and that the establishment of an Irish Parliament is not an end at which patriotic statesmanship can aim, and when he invites that party to make an altogether fresh start with an altogether clean slate, the Liberal Leader is at least clearly within his rights in asking Lord Rosebery to declare whether it is as a Liberal addressing Liberals that he reappears in the field of politics,

or whether his patriotic instincts have not led him to look for his country's welfare in the substitution of some new and better political combination for Mr. Gladstone's 'great 'instrument.' The Liberal Leader may think that Lord Rosebery has become a Liberal Unionist, or worse—if, indeed, that be possible! 'Comes he in peace here, or 'comes he in war?' is, at all events, the very natural and pertinent inquiry which on the part of his Liberal followers Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman ventures to put to the late Prime Minister. Whether in truth the intentions of that statesman are peaceful or warlike is not thoroughly cleared up by his vehement letter to the 'Times' of February 21 last, declaring that he is, in any case, not within Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's 'tabernacle,' and that he (Sir Henry) has no right to give himself 'Pontifical' airs. Sir Henry has shown himself 'honest and well-meaning in his devotion to 'the Liberal Party,' and he (Lord Rosebery) only wishes 'he could have shared his labours and supported his policy.'

It is quite unnecessary, after the ample discussion of which Lord Rosebery's speeches have been the subject, to examine minutely his several deliverances at Chesterfield, at Liverpool, and at Glasgow. As to the first, we held three months ago that it in no degree affected the then political situation. It afforded, in reality, no new rallying-ground for distracted Liberalism, nor did it communicate any enthusiasm or zeal to a disheartened Opposition. In these respects the later speeches have not accomplished more than the first; and the party situation at the present moment remains entirely unaffected by Lord Rosebery's recent activities. It is, however, very conceivable that Lord Rosebery's thoughts have been bent, not so much upon the immediate present as on some future period, not perhaps in truth very distant, when circumstances may have greatly modified the political situation.

When, in 1879, Mr. Gladstone returned to active politics from his voluntary retirement, he left no doubt in the public mind as to his intentions. His burning enthusiasm stirred the whole country as it had rarely been stirred before. He appealed to the country, but he appealed to it through the Liberal Party, urging on every platform as the first necessity the overthrow of Lord Beaconsfield's Government. His speeches in Midlothian covered the whole field of politics. He united and inspired Liberals of almost every shade of Liberalism, and he led them to victory. That is one way in which a minority may be turned into a majority, an Opposition into a Government.

Lord Rosebery is far too clever a man to suppose that it was for him in 1902 to follow in the footsteps of the Mr. Gladstone of 1879–80. The situation to-day is an entirely different one. Moreover, Lord Rosebery stands alone, and no one can safely predict with what colleagues or with what following he proposes to associate himself. We agree with the Duke of Devonshire that this sort of direct personal appeal to the public at large is without precedent. In this country we have no Presidential election; and if we had, a candidate for the Presidency would require to obtain the support of powerful and responsible persons and bodies before he could be nominated with the very least prospect of success. In Parliament Lord Rosebery, though possessing many personal friends, has no party, certainly no fighting party, behind him. According to ordinary British methods, Lord Rosebery's friends in either House might be expected to formulate his policy in Parliament, and to support it vigorously, if need be, in the constituencies. In this very curious campaign of the late Prime Minister two considerable factors in British politics have as yet been ignored, viz. Parliament and the electorate. Newspaper support is doubtless a valuable adjunct in political warfare, but the Press is not the people, and it is very easy to over-estimate the public support indicated by crowded meetings.

It is worth while to consider Lord Rosebery's position towards the various political parties in the State. To us he seems to have been quite explicit from the beginning in declaring that the mere reconstruction of the Liberal Party was not his object. At Glasgow he complained that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman should have supposed the Chesterfield speech was addressed to the Liberal Party. 'I 'there spoke to the public at large, and only incidentally to 'the Liberal Party' were his words at Glasgow. This tone towards the party he once led has characterised all his utterances, and the tone is in thorough accord with the line of party policy which he is pursuing. The Liberal or Home Rule Party throughout the country is doubtless at a low ebb in its fortunes, and the Opposition which represents it in the House of Commons has never been weaker or more disunited than at present, but to 'reconstruct' this Opposition on the basis of breaking up the alliance with Irish Home Rulers, of quarrelling with the Welsh Disestablishers, and the English advanced Radicals, would be to 'pulverise' the fragments that still remain of a once noble edifice. Lord Rosebery has now abandoned Home Rule,

we do not for a moment doubt with perfect sincerity. His views and his language have become almost identical with those of Mr. John Bright and other Liberal Unionists half a generation ago. But it is for holding these opinions that Liberal Unionists have been denounced by Lord Rosebery and his friends as 'dissentients' and 'traitors' to that great party which we used to be told had never failed to carry into effect any political principle to which it had once given its adherence.

Now the Front Opposition Bench in the House of Commons is occupied by men who, however much they may differ upon many matters, have agreed in one thing. They have held for fifteen years the Home Rule faith. This was their bond of union. This it was that differentiated them from Unionists, Liberal or Conservative. The establishment of a separate National Parliament in Ireland, with an Executive Government dependent upon it, was, they told us, the first and supreme object of all 'Liberals.' It was only because in this sense Lord Rosebery was a 'Liberal' that he became Mr. Gladstone's Foreign Secretary in 1886 and 1893, and that he succeeded that statesman as Prime Minister in 1894. So Mr. Asquith, who first entered Parliament by turning out as strong a Liberal as himself, solely upon the merits of his Home Rule creed. Mr. Asquith possesses great abilities, and is a forcible and eloquent speaker, but these gifts would not have introduced him into Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet had he not with enthusiasm attached himself to the party of Home Rule. And a very similar observation might be made with regard to every man on the Front Opposition Bench in either House of Parliament. With a Home Rule policy, Lord Rosebery has lately told us at Liverpool, he will have nothing to do. We are delighted to hear it. But to destroy the foundation on which a building rests is not to reconstruct the edifice, though it may be a necessary preliminary to undertaking an entirely new work.

What as to this, and as to other less important though grave matters, has the Liberal party to say to Lord Rosebery? The views of the chief men in the party in either House are known to the public. In the heyday of its prosperity the party could hardly have afforded to lose men of such distinction as Mr. Morley, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Bryce. Could it afford to part with them, and with the many who would follow them, now? One can only wonder, if Lord Rosebery were to attempt to lead the Liberal Party in opposition on the lines of his most recent speeches and letters, who

would follow him. But he tells us that he has no aspirations of this kind. 'I have no designs on the leadership of the 'Liberal Party. I have no personal ambition or object in 'view.'* The facts and conditions of the time, which Lord Rosebery himself evidently understands much better than do some of his partisans, in truth make a reconstruction of the Liberal Party under his leadership entirely impossible.

There is some reason to doubt whether those who have lately been known as 'Liberal Imperialists' realise all this as clearly as does Lord Rosebery himself. A reconstructed Liberalism would appear to be the object at which Mr. Asquith, Mr. Haldane, Sir Edward Grey, Sir Henry Fowler, and others are aiming. But then their abandonment of Home Rule, if they have abandoned it, is far less unequivocal than Lord Rosebery's. There has been far less indication on their part that they wish for a permanent breach with Irish Nationalists, still less with British Radicalism—English, Scotch, or Welsh. This is not a time for pressing forward Home Rule, they think. For the present the electorate is against them, and they are ready to let it stand over for a more favourable opportunity. They are, however, in no degree prepared, so far as we have seen, to assert and maintain the Unionist principle as an essential article of the Liberal faith. They are certainly no longer ardent Home Rulers in the old sense, but they have not yet abandoned the hope of a reconstructed Liberalism embracing all sections of the party, Moderate and Radical, in which some modifications of Irish local administration should take the place of Gladstonian Home Rule, and in which their 'Imperialistic' sentiments should have greater weight than at present. A final rupture of the party *may* supervene, and then they will take their line, but we greatly doubt whether any appreciable number of them wish to bring it about. In the party sense, unless we are mistaken, they are still 'good Liberals,' however much they may think that the old 'instrument' needs refurbishing. Whilst, therefore, Lord Rosebery appears to be looking to new political combinations and the complete abandonment of Home Rule, his lieutenants seem to aim rather at the mitigation and healing of differences within the Liberal Party, so as to enable it to rise again with renewed strength in order to dismiss the Unionists from power, and to guide the nation once more along the paths of the later Gladstonian statesmanship.

* Speech at Glasgow.

If Lord Rosebery is right in thinking that the Liberal Party, as such, is too much demoralised—too much torn asunder by internal dissensions—to regain the confidence of the nation, what is the political combination which he has in view to succeed to the present Government whose inefficiency, we gather from his speeches, ought to bring about its immediate removal from office? Doubtless, if it were generally recognised that the Government policy of conquering the Dutch Republics in South Africa had broken down in disaster, the Government itself could not stand. The majority in the House of Commons, reflecting the general sentiment of the people, would fall off, and the Ministry would very soon find itself in a minority. But it is absurd to pretend that because Government agents have been cheated in the matter of horse-supply and meat contracts, anything like a general breakdown has taken place. In operations on so gigantic a scale a Government and its agents must make some blunders, and must often be imposed upon. In every great war in the past contractors have found their opportunity in making money out of the pressing needs of the State. And we shall be greatly surprised if investigation does not show that, on the whole, the administrative business of the war, especially in the supply branches of it, has been far better managed during the present than in previous wars. Before a new political combination can succeed the existing Unionist Government, the latter must be turned out; and how does Lord Rosebery propose to take this necessary preliminary step? Apparently it is expected that dissatisfied Conservatives, independent-minded men in general, and Liberal Unionists almost *en bloc*, will rally to Lord Rosebery's standard. But why should they? Why especially should the Liberal Unionists? Has Liberal Unionism any special doctrine or standard on the subject of efficiency or inefficiency not shared by the rest of the world? Have Liberal Unionists in the Government, such as Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Lansdowne, been less responsible than Conservatives for the whole conduct of the War since it began? Inside or outside the House of Commons has there been any kind of cleavage of view in regard to the question of efficient management of the war between the Conservative and Liberal Unionist parties?

Apart altogether from the war and his doctrine of efficiency, has Lord Rosebery on general grounds any title whatever to ask for the support of Liberal Unionists? He and some of his followers seem to imagine that he has only

to lower his Home Rule colours to induce Liberal Unionists to rally to his standard as that of all true Liberals. But this is to misunderstand the whole course of events for the last fifteen years. Let not Lord Rosebery delude himself in the belief that Liberal Unionism outside the House of Commons is a very different thing from Liberal Unionism within it. In 1886 Liberals who in the past had done much to secure the predominance of that party and to forward its principles took a very serious step indeed, under the pressing necessity of preserving the Parliamentary union of the Three Kingdoms. Adhering to the principles which they and Mr. Gladstone till 1886 had always professed, they formed themselves into a separate party to uphold the principle of the Union with its necessary corollaries—the maintenance of law and order in Ireland, and the preservation of the House of Commons of the United Kingdom against insidious attacks from within. For several years, without themselves taking office, Liberal Unionists maintained in power a Conservative Government which shared these views, and was able to give effect to them. When that Government fell, and a Home Rule Government was placed in office, the alliance between Conservatives and Liberal Unionists became closer than ever in their joint struggle to avert the passing of Mr. Gladstone's insane Home Rule measure of 1893. In 1895 Liberal Unionist leaders most properly took upon themselves the full responsibility for their action in opposition, and the joint Ministry under Lord Salisbury came into being. It is quite true that upon the formation of Lord Salisbury's Cabinet the Parliamentary parties—Liberal Unionist and Conservative—previously in alliance, merged their forces. They had the same 'Whips,' and as a Parliamentary organisation Liberal Unionists ceased henceforth in the House of Commons to have a separate existence. The influence, however, of Liberal Unionists did not cease, though it was exercised perhaps in a somewhat different manner. In the constituencies the change in the situation has been less formal, though not less real in substance. The Liberal Unionist organisations almost everywhere remain. In 1886 and long afterwards Liberal electors had great difficulty in bringing themselves to vote 'with the Tories,' and Liberal Unionist Associations were of the greatest use in strengthening men to vote in accordance with their convictions. But in 1902 much of the old difficulty has passed away, and, in spite of the best efforts of Home Rule Liberals, the word 'Tory' has lost a great deal of its former unpopu-

larity. A new generation has grown up to whom the fight appears to be between Unionists and Home Rulers, and to whom the Liberal split of 1886 is mere matter of history. In the country, as in the House of Commons, the Unionists now stand together virtually as a single party.

This being the course of events during the last few years, Lord Rosebery has now, it seems, come very near to embracing the Unionist faith. As regards Ireland, he said at Liverpool that 'if the question of Irish Home Rule were the 'only domestic question, it might be possible for Liberal 'Unionists and Liberal Imperialists to get on together 'without very much difficulty.' This is satisfactory, for, the Liberal Unionists having in no degree altered their views on Home Rule, it must mean that the Liberal Imperialists are coming to the Unionist way of thinking. But can Lord Rosebery or anyone else really suppose that because he has come or is coming to share the Liberal Unionist view, *therefore* Liberal Unionists should break with the Conservatives and join him? It is evident that it is incumbent upon him, not merely to show his agreement with Liberal Unionists, but also some reason for their disagreement with, and separation from, the Conservatives. He speaks as if this would be found in domestic policy. But what is *his* domestic policy? A clean slate! And who can agree or differ with a clean slate?

To sum up. Lord Rosebery declares for 'efficiency.' So do we all. He expresses Unionist opinions. So do Conservatives as well as Liberal Unionists. As regards the war, and the way in which he would hope to terminate it, he seems substantially to agree with Mr. Chamberlain and the Government. All this is intelligible and reasonable, but where we fail to follow him is when he insists that these opinions of his are reasons for breaking up instead of strengthening the Unionist Government and party.

The notion of constructing an Opposition on the basis of substantial agreement with the Ministry on the main question of the day is a singular one. An 'alternative Govern-'ment' is the expression in general use. It seems in many quarters to be thought advisable that a number of Ministers *in posse* should hold themselves always in readiness to relieve the existing servants of the Crown of their burdens, without causing any changes except in the *personnel* of the Government. It is to be like changing horses in the old coaching days. The tired horses are taken out, a fresh team is put in, and the coach proceeds merrily along the same

road to its destination. It is not in this way hitherto that changes of government have been brought about.

In one condition of affairs only could he expect to see the formation of a 'Government of efficiency' composed of men drawn from all parties without regard to their political principles. In case of failure to carry out the policy of conquering the two Republics the country would assuredly insist on a change of Ministry. It would not tolerate the abandonment of the task it had taken in hand, nor will it, for the matter of that, remain satisfied for an indefinite period in pouring troops by the hundred thousand into Africa, and in spending hundreds of millions, without bringing the war to a triumphant conclusion. In the opinion of the general public, as usual underrating the magnitude of the task upon which the nation has been bent, the war has lasted far too long already; and very considerable dissatisfaction with the Government, rightly or wrongly, will be manifested if it lasts much longer. Fortunately, however, there is at last strong reason for believing that the Boer armed resistance is drawing to an end. The difficulties that remain are still very great, and are not as yet appreciated by the public at home. But one thing is universally recognised, viz. that we cannot really begin to grapple with these till peace has been re-established.

Short of failure in the object of the war, or indefinite delay in its accomplishment, there appears to us to be no chance whatever of a combination of parties being formed strong enough to turn out the present Government and to take its place. At present the Unionist ranks are entirely unbroken. The war and foreign and colonial questions occupy men's thoughts, largely to the exclusion of domestic politics, and on these absorbing topics many eminent Liberals habitually hold language which is hardly to be distinguished from that of his Majesty's Ministers. The policy of the war from the beginning has had their hearty support. They do not grudge the gigantic expenditure that it has entailed, and they do not, like other and more strenuous opponents of the Government, pass any criticisms on the arbitrary methods and the complete suspension of the liberties of our fellow-subjects which military rule has involved. The natural conclusion to expect from such a condition of things, judging from past experience, is not the breaking away of Unionists from the Government, but rather the still closer and closer approximation of leading Liberals to a Ministry with which they are so largely in sympathy.

It is vain for Lord Rosebery to ask what has this Government done. Unionists remember that by its means alone that fatal policy which Lord Rosebery has now wisely abandoned has been averted. Had he and his friends had their way, Ireland during these years of war would have been governed 'as a nation' by Messrs. Redmond, Dillon, and a Nationalist Parliament in Dublin! Do Liberal Imperialists think that that would have facilitated the conquest of South Africa? The fact is that when Liberals abandon Home Rule, and vigorously support the policy of the war, they for the time being cease altogether to be opponents of his Majesty's Government in the ordinary party sense of the word. In our history the effect of a war has often been to reduce almost to vanishing point the forces of the Parliamentary Opposition. The Government and the party of the Government identify themselves with the nation; and those who condemn and criticise their policy are themselves accused of sympathy with their country's foes. This silencing of effective criticism in times of popular excitement by the passionate sentiment of the day has often had unhappy consequences in this and other countries; and statesmen have too often found themselves cheered on in courses which a calmer judging posterity unhesitatingly condemns. The intolerance of a majority before now has but served to increase the violence of political reaction.

Only strong convictions and great courage can render an Opposition statesman, in times like these, strong enough to withstand the stream and to keep his feet. Whatever the political leanings of Englishmen may be, it is impossible for them not to admire the steadfastness with which Mr. John Morley upholds the flag of latter-day Gladstonian Liberalism. His ideals are always high ones, and he is able to clothe great thoughts in noble language. He condemns the war from the beginning. Even as late as the Bloemfontein Conference he believes that patience and wisdom and the power of grasping truly the full bearings of the South African question would have preserved the peace. He reminded his audience at Manchester of his speech to them in September, 1899. The moderating language he then thought it right to use, and his warnings as to the immeasurable evils which a war of races was certain to bring upon South Africa, fell upon deaf ears. In the late autumn of that unhappy year men did not see the circumstances and conditions of the South African problem in true perspective—with the sense of proportion between present

mischiefs and proposed remedies—with which, undoubtedly, history will regard it. The great cause of trouble in South African politics is racial jealousy, which wise and prudent men of both races had done much to abate, but which, of course, could not but be intensified a hundredfold by a war absolutely certain to develope the hostility between Englishmen and Dutchmen throughout the length and breadth of British South Africa. In Mr. Morley's view, as in that of the Liberal Imperialists and Lord Rosebery, there has been a lamentable want of 'efficiency' on the part of the Government; but in his opinion the inefficiency has been that of statesmen and politicians, whilst according to Lord Rosebery and his friends the only inefficiency has been in the departmental muddling and blundering in the carrying out of a policy at once wise and patriotic. The war having commenced, Mr. John Morley, we gather from his speeches, has always agreed with the immense majority of Liberal Imperialists, Liberal Unionists, and Conservatives in thinking that an end could not be found to it with safety by any measure less than the annexation of the two republics to the British Empire. Indeed, it was largely because an end, in his opinion so undesirable, seemed to be the inevitable consequence of such a war that he pressed upon his countrymen its extreme impolicy, till every effort to avert it had been tried in vain.

The Liberal Imperialists, in endeavouring to concentrate the whole strength of the Opposition on the alleged inefficiency of the Government in carrying on the war, are making the same mistake which the Government and the public made almost universally at its commencement. They still, after the event, grossly underestimate the difficulty of the task presented by the conquest of the two Dutch States; and they speak as if this detail or that detail, differently managed, would have made the whole difference! For our part we doubt whether there was ever a British ministry in power which would have wrestled more vigorously and on the whole more successfully with the gigantic enterprise gradually disclosed to them. That they ought to have realised what such a war involved before it was entered upon is beyond dispute. Their information from South Africa must have been very faulty, and they failed to appreciate the main factor in the war—the intense love of country and the fighting capacity of our foes. But had all this been understood in September, 1899, as it is understood by everyone to-day, unless, indeed, the knowledge had served to keep the

peace, how would it have helped us? Would the country or Parliament have made preparations to send a quarter of a million troops to South Africa? And would the Boers have waited till this great force was ready to advance for their conquest? As it was, the calling out of 80,000 reserves and the embarkation of a few thousand troops for South Africa at once produced the ultimatum. In no way whatever could the conquest of such a people in such a country prove to be anything but a gigantic task, involving years of warfare, tens of thousands of lives, and hundreds of millions of money. It would not have been any easier for Liberal Imperialists than for other men. Having regard to the extent of the military preparedness of the nation before the war, for which our statesmen and Parliament, rather than the War Office, were responsible, Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Brodrick deserve credit for having achieved very remarkable results. Departmentally there has been no breakdown, there has been no disaster. Let men turn to the accounts of the first year of the Crimean War to learn what mismanagement means and what disasters may result from it. We have advanced since those days, but there is still great need of improvement. A far more powerful army than has been deemed necessary in the past will now be required. It is not so much that the old system has broken down as that new exigencies have arisen which must be met with a far vaster preparation.

There would be no reason why those who share Mr. Morley's views as to the policy of the war should not when it is over act cordially with Liberal Imperialists, so far as South Africa is concerned, in opposition to the present Government. But, unfortunately for the unity of the Liberal party, there is a more abiding cause of difference between the two sections than the views they take of events in Africa nearly three years ago. Mr. Morley, with the full force of strenuous conviction, still declares for Home Rule, and it cannot be doubted that there are still a considerable number of English Liberals who adhere to the Gladstonian faith. Home Rule can never take a second place in the programme of a party. If it is to be found there at all, it must dwarf everything else and constitute the foundation policy of the statesmen who support it. If the latter get a majority in the constituencies, they will before everything else set themselves to form a Home Rule ministry. It cannot, in the nature of things, be left an open question as to which different ministers may hold different views. Mr. Morley's strong sense of conviction and his determined

consistency are to be admired in times when political principles are lightly embraced and as lightly discarded. Nevertheless, it is difficult to understand how any experienced statesman can still hold that the solution of our difficulties with Ireland is to be found in establishing an Irish nation, in the political sense of the word, with more or less abridged rights of nationhood. It is easy to find fault with 'Castle' government,' against which no doubt much useful criticism may be directed, and in which many useful reforms may be introduced. There may be hereafter much useful devolution by the Imperial Parliament to local authorities. But the real question is towards which ideal are we to work—the ideal of a single 'nation,' composed of Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen, with a common national government, or the particularist ideal of different nations, combining, if possible, for certain general purposes? Mr. Morley's love of peace is genuine and deep, but we cannot doubt that the policy he so vehemently urges would, if it could be carried out, lead us to the very verge, and probably beyond it, of civil war. Should, then, peace in South Africa be re-established, and domestic politics again resume their prominence in the rivalry of parties, the great question of Home Rule will still remain, not to rally Liberals to a combined attack upon the Unionist position, but once more to divide them by a fresh cleavage. Mr. Gladstone has bequeathed to his successors a fatal heritage. His powerful personality gave to a policy never really popular in Great Britain a support it would never have won upon its own merits or under other patronage. And now that he has gone, his policy remains as the great stumbling-block in the way of hearty co-operation amongst his old followers.

Whilst there is little sign that the return of Lord Rosebery to active politics will reinvigorate the old Liberal Party it would be unjust to him to deny that his renewed intervention in the public affairs of the State is of considerable moment. Though not, perhaps, to his party, his patriotism (and not for the first time) has been of real service to his country. When, a few years ago, he retired from the Liberal leadership his action was sufficient to defeat the dangerous and useless foreign policy upon which the hot-headed and ignorant mass of his party seemed bent. At the present moment no one can bring to bear an influence equal to his to draw back his old friends from the pursuit of the *ignis fatuus* of Home Rule. In the great stress of the South African war no one has done more than Lord

Rosebery to prevent the political criticisms of the Opposition from assuming a proportion and a direction which would have assisted our country's foes. He possesses in a very rare degree the ear of his own countrymen, and his reputation stands second to that of Lord Salisbury alone with the statesmen of the Continent. Lord Rosebery, in or out of office, cannot but wield great influence if he chooses to do so. To us at least it seems that for some time to come his importance and influence will depend upon his detachment from intimate connexion with either of the great political parties. His political principles make it impossible for him to identify himself with the Opposition; his past makes it equally impossible for him to join a Unionist Administration. The times are not such as to call for a coalition—a coalition against whom? If a new party is to be constructed it must be out of the fragments of the old ones, and the Unionist Party is entirely unbroken. But in order to render good service to the State it is fortunately not necessary for an English statesman to be a minister of the Crown or the slave of a party. Lord Rosebery doubtless values the independence of his position, and wide and deep changes must occur in the political conditions before, if he is a wise man, he will be tempted to leave it.

In the present Session the Government has laid before Parliament a very considerable programme of domestic legislation; the procedure of the House of Commons is being overhauled; the Budget and the military and naval proposals of the Ministry are of the greatest importance. In past days ample opportunity would have been found by statesmen in Opposition to consolidate their party in an attack upon some, at least, of the proposals of the Government. As yet, however, there is no sign of renewed energy or of hearty co-operation amongst Liberals, nor evidence that they are beginning to win back the confidence of the country lost to them by the events of 1886 and 1893. The Unionist Government has fallen upon troubled times, but the people as a whole show no inclination whatever to withdraw their support; for none of the leaders of the Opposition, official or otherwise, seems able to persuade them that the interests of the country can be safely entrusted to the groups of politicians who arrogate to themselves the name of the Liberal Party.

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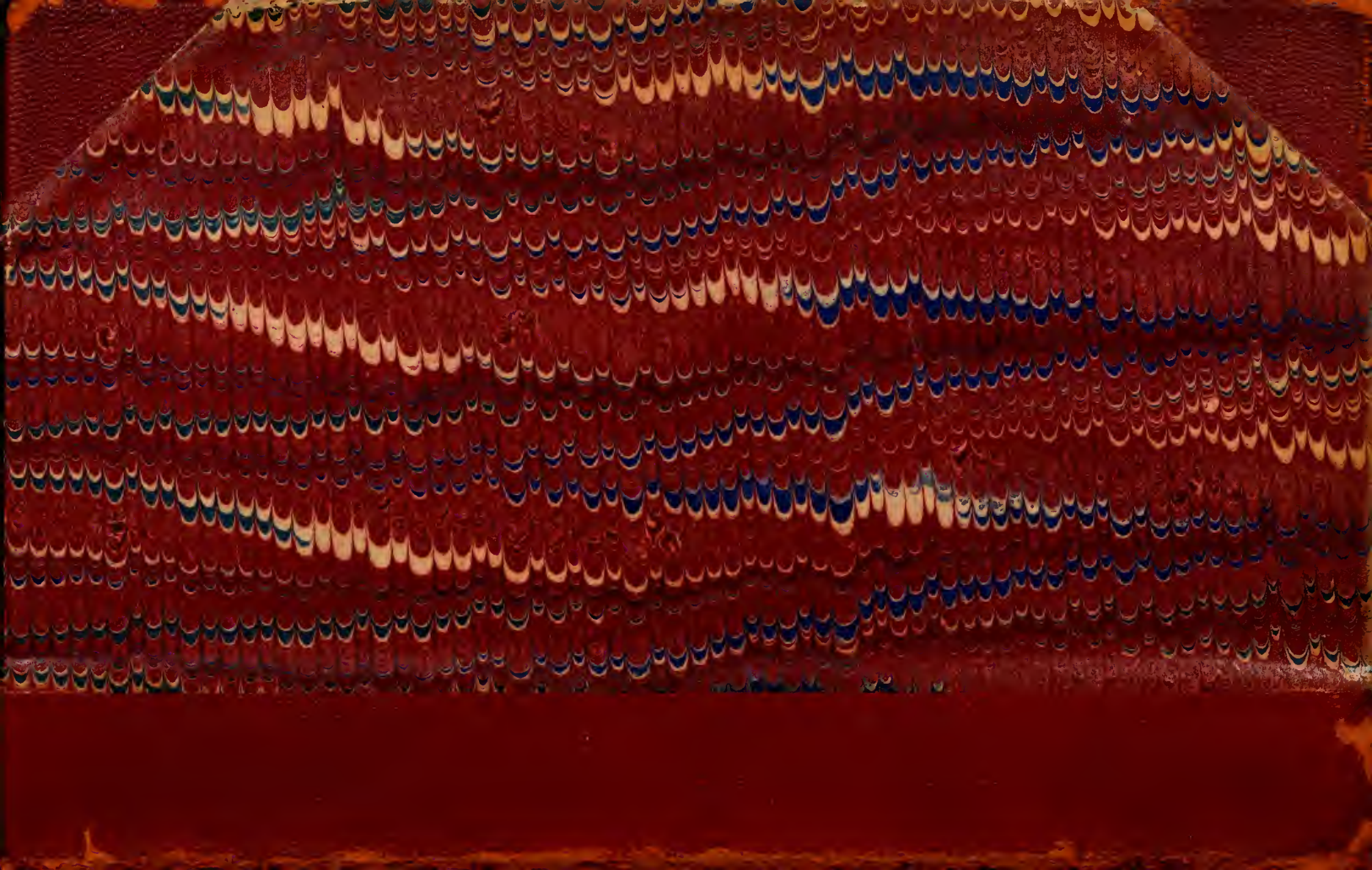
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